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nantibus eis accepit Iesus panem, et benedixit ac fregit, deditq; discipulis suis, et ait, accipite et comed
ad as they did eate, Iesus tooke the bread, and when he had blessed, he broke it and gaue it to the Disciples, and
de: this is my body. Matth. 26.

Place this before the title Page

Vol I Fathers 32

Antiquitates Apostolicæ

OR,

THE HISTORY

OF

THE LIVES,

ACTS and MARTYRDOMS

OF THE

HOLY APOSTLES

OF OUR

SAVIOUR

And the Two EVANGELISTS,

SS. *MARK* and *LUKE.*

To which is added

An Introductory Discourse concerning the Three great Dispensations of the Church, *Patriarchal*, *Mosaical*, and *Evangelical.*

Being a Continuation of *ANTIQUITATES CHRISTIANÆ*,

OR,

The Life and Death of the *Holy JESUS.*

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His *MAJESTY.*

Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 1. in Proœm. p. 2.

Ἰησοῦς ἀεὶ ψευδομαρτυρεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε, κακίας οὔσης ἐν ἀνθρώποις, οὐ κατηγορεῖται· Καὶ αὐτὸς σιωπᾷ πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ ἀποκρίνεται μὲν διὰ φωνῆς, ἀπολογεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν γνησίων ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῶν, κεκραγότι τὰ διαφέροντα, καὶ πάσης ψευδομαρτυρίας ὄντι κρείττονι, ἐλέγχων καὶ ἀναστέπων τὰς ψευδομαρτυρίας καὶ κατηγορίας.

LONDON,

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TO THE

Right Honourable, and Right Reverend Father in God

NATHANAEL,

Lord BISHOP of

DURHAM,

And Clerk of the Cloſet to His MAJESTY.

MY LORD,

NOTHING but a great experience of Your Lordſhips Candor could warrant the laying what concernment I have in theſe Papers at Your Lordſhips feet. Not but that the ſubject is in it ſelf Great and Venerable, and a conſiderable part of it built upon that Authority that needs no Patronage to defend it: But to prefix Your Lordſhips Name to a ſubject ſo thinly and meanly manag'd, may perhaps deſerve a bigger Apologie than I can make. I have only brought ſome few ſcattered handfuls of Primitive Story, contenting my ſelf to Glean, where I could not Reap. And I am well aſſur'd, that Your Lordſhips wiſdom and love to Truth would neither allow me to make my Materials, nor to trade in Legends and Fabulous reports. And yet alas! how little ſolid Foundation is left to Build upon in theſe matters! So fatally miſchievous was the careleſneſs of thoſe who ought to have been the Guardians of Books and Learning in their ſeveral Ages, in ſuffering the Records of the Ancient Church to periſh. Unfaithful Truſtees, to look no better after ſuch Divine and ineſtimable Treaſures committed to them. Not to mention thoſe infinite Devaſtations that in all Ages have been made by Wars and Flames,

which certainly have prov'd the moſt ſevere and mercileſs Plagues and Enemies to Books.

By ſuch unhappy accidents as theſe we have been robb'd of the Treaſures of the wiſer and better Ages of the World, and eſpecially the Records of the firſt times of Chriſtianity, whereof ſcarce any footſteps do remain. So that in this Enquiry I have been forc'd to traverſe remote and deſert paths, ways that afford little fruit to the weary Paſſenger: but the conſideration, that it was Primitive *and* Apoſtolical, *ſweetned my journey, and rendred it pleaſant and delightful. Our inbred thirſt after knowledge naturally obliges us to purſue the notices of former times, which are recommended to us with this peculiar advantage, that the Stream muſt needs be purer and clearer, the nearer it comes to the Fountain; for the* Ancients (*as* Plato *ſpeaks*) *were* κρείττονες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες, better than we, and dwelt nearer to the Gods. *And though 'tis true the ſtate of thoſe times is very obſcure and dark, and truth oft covered over with heaps of idle and improbable Traditions; yet may it be worth our labour to ſeek for a few Jewels, though under a whole heap of Rubbiſh.* Is not the Gleaning of the Ancients (*ſay the* Jews) better than the Vintage of later times? *The very fragments of Antiquity are Venerable, and at once inſtruct our minds, and gratifie our curioſity. Beſides, I was ſomewhat the more inclinable to retire again into theſe ſtudies, that I might get as far as I could from the crowd and the noiſe of a quarrelſome and contentious Age.*

Phileb. pag. Tom. 2.

אלא טוללו הראשונ מבציר האחרונ

MY LORD,

We live in times, wherein Religion is almoſt wholly diſputed into talk and clamour, men wrangle eternally about uſeleſs and inſignificant Notions, and which have no tendency to make a man either wiſer or better. And in theſe quarrels the Laws of Charity are violated, and men perſe-

cute

cute one another with hard names and characters of reproach, and after all conſecrate their fierceneſs with the honourable title of Zeal for Truth And what is yet a much ſorer evil, the Peace and Order of an excellent Church, incomparably the beſt that ever was ſince the firſt Ages of the Goſpel, is broken down, her holy Offices derided, her ſolemn Aſſemblies deſerted, her Laws and Conſtitutions ſlighted, the Guides and Miniſters of Religion deſpiſed, and reduc'd to their Primitive Character, The Scum and Off-ſcouring of the World. *How much theſe evils have contributed to the Atheiſm and Impiety of the preſent Age, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am, the thing it ſelf is too ſadly viſible, men are not content to be modeſt and retired Atheiſts, and with the* Fool *to ſay only* in their hearts, there is no God; *but Impiety appears with an open forehead, and diſputes its place in every company, and without any regard to the Voice of Nature, the Dictates of Conſcience, and the common ſence of Mankind, men peremptorily determine againſt a Supreme Being, account it a pleaſant divertiſement to Droll upon Religion, and a piece of Wit to plead for Atheiſm. To avoid the Preſs and troubleſome importunity of ſuch uncomfortable Reflections, I find no better way, than to retire into thoſe Primitive and better times, thoſe firſt and pureſt Ages of the Goſpel, when men really were, what they pretended to be, when a ſolid Piety and Devotion, a ſtrict Temperance and Sobriety, a Catholick and unbounded Charity, an exemplary Honeſty and Integrity, a great reverence for every thing that was Divine and Sacred, rendred Chriſtianity Venerable to the World, and led not only the Rude and the Barbarous, but the Learned and Politer part of Mankind in triumph after it.*

But, My Lord, I muſt remember that the Minutes of great Men are Sacred, and not to be invaded by every tedious impertinent addreſs. I have done, when I have

begg'd

begg'd leave to acquaint Your Lordſhip, that had it not been more through other mens fault than my own, theſe Papers had many Months ſince waited upon You in the number of thoſe Publick Congratulations, which gave You joy of that great Place, which You worthily ſuſtain in the Church. Which that You may long and proſperouſly enjoy, happily adorn, and ſucceſsfully diſcharge to the honour of God, the benefit of the Church, and the endearing Your Lordſhips Memory to Poſterity, is the hearty Prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips faithfully

devoted Servant,

WILLIAM CAVE.

TO THE
READER.

THE deſign of the following *APPARATUS* is only to preſent the Reader with a ſhort Scheme of the ſtate of things in the preceding periods of the Church, to let him ſee by what degrees and meaſures the *Evangelical* ſtate was introduc'd, and what Methods God in all Ages made uſe of to conduct Mankind in the paths of Piety and Vertue. In the Infancy of the World he taught men by the Dictates of Nature, and the common Notices of Good and Evil (τὸ πρεσβύτατον νόμιμον, as *Philo* calls them, *the moſt Ancient Law*) by lively Oracles, and great Examples of Piety. He ſet forth the Holy *Patriarchs* (as *Chryſoſtom* obſerves) as Tutors to the reſt of Mankind, who by their Religious lives might train up others to the practice of Vertue, and as Phyſicians, be able to cure the minds of thoſe, who were infected and overrun with Vice. Afterwards (*ſays he*) having ſufficiently teſtified his care of their welfare and happineſs by many inſtances of a wiſe and benign Providence towards them both in the land of *Canaan* and in *Egypt*, he gave them Prophets, and by them wrought Signs and Wonders, together with innumerable other expreſſions of his bounty. At laſt finding that none of theſe Methods did ſucceed, not Patriarchs, not Prophets, not Miracles, not daily Warnings and Chaſtiſements brought upon the World, he gave the laſt and higheſt inſtance of his love and goodneſs to Mankind, he ſent his only begotten Son out of his own boſom, τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἰατρὸν, *the great Phyſician both of Soul and Body*, who taking upon him the form of a Servant, and being born of a Virgin, converſed in the World, and bore our ſorrows and infirmities, that by reſcuing Humane Nature from under the weight and burden of Sin, he might exalt it to Eternal Life. A brief account of theſe things is the main intent of the following Diſcourſe, wherein the Reader will eaſily ſee, that I conſidered not what might, but what was fit to be ſaid, with reſpect to the end I deſigned it for. It was drawn up under ſome more diſadvantageous circumſtances, than a matter of this nature did require; which were it worth the while to repreſent to the Reader, might poſſibly plead for a ſofter Cenſure. However ſuch as it is, it is ſubmitted to the Readers Ingenuity and Candor.

Lib. de Abr. pag. 350.

Homil. XX in Geneſ. 1. 2. p. 285.

W. C.

IMPRIMATUR.

THO. TOMKYNS.

Ex Æd. Lambeth.
Feb. 25. 1674.

AN APPARATUS, OR DISCOURSE INTRODUCTORY TO THE Whole WORK, concerning the Three Great Diſpenſations OF THE CHURCH, *PATRIARCHAL, MOSAICAL,* and *EVANGELICAL.*

SECT I.

Of the PATRIARCHAL Diſpenſation.

The Tradition of Elias. *The three great Periods of the Church. The Patriarchal Age. The Laws then in force natural or poſitive. Natural Laws what; evinced from the teſtimony of natural conſcience. The Seven Precepts of the Sons of* Noah. *Their reſpect to the Law of Nature. Poſitive Laws under that diſpenſation. Eating Bloud why prohibited. The myſtery and ſignification of it. Circumciſion when commanded and why. The Laws concerning Religion. Their publick Worſhip what. Sacrifices in what ſence natural, and how far inſtituted. The manner of God's teſtifying his acceptance. What the place of their publick Worſhip. Altars, and Groves whence.* Abraham's Oak, *its long continuance, and deſtruction by* Conſtantine. *The Original of the* Druids. *The times of their religious Aſſemblies.* In proceſs of time, *Geneſ.* 4. *what meant by it. The Seventh Day whether kept from the beginning. The Miniſters of Religion, who. The Prieſthood of the firſt-born. In what caſes exerciſed by younger Sons. The ſtate of Religion ſucceſſively under the ſeveral Patriarchs. The condition of it in* Adam's *Family. The Sacrifices of* Cain *and* Abel, *and their different ſucceſs, whence.* Seth, *his great Learning and Piety. The face of the Church in the time of* Enoſh. *What meant by,* Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord. *No Idolatry before the Floud.* The Sons of God, *who. The great corruption of Religion in the time of* Jared. Enoch's *Piety, and* walking with God. *His tranſlation, what. The incomparable ſanctity of* Noah, *and his ſtrictneſs in an evil Age. The character of the men of that time. His preſervation from the Deluge. God's Covenant with him.* Sem *or* Japhet *whether the Elder Brother. The confuſion of Languages when, and why.* Abraham's *Idolatry and converſion. His eminency for Religion noted in the ſeveral inſtances of it. God's Covenant with him concerning the* Meſſiah. *The Piety of* Iſaac, *and* Jacob. Jacob's *bleſſing the twelve Tribes, and foretelling the* Meſſiah. *Patriarchs extraordinary under this diſpenſation.* Melchiſedeck *who: wherein a type of Chriſt.*

Chriſt. Job, *his Name, Country, Kindred, Quality, Religion, Sufferings; when he lived. A reflection upon the religion of the old World, and its agreement with Chriſtianity.*

Heb.1.1,2. GOD *who at ſundry times, and in divers manners ſpake in time paſt to the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his Son.* For having created Man for the nobleſt purpoſes, to love, ſerve, and enjoy his Maker; he was careful in all Ages by various Revelations of his Will to acquaint him with the notices of his duty; and to *ſhew him what was good, and what the Lord did require of him*: till all other Methods proving weak and ineffectual for the recovery and the happineſs of humane nature, God was pleaſed to crown all the former diſpenſations with the Revelation of his Son. There is among the * *Jews* an ancient Tradition of the *Houſe of Elias, that the World ſhould laſt Six Thouſand Years*, which they thus compute, שני אלפים תהו שני אלפים תורה ושני אלפים ימות המשיח *Two Thouſand Years empty*, (little being recorded of thoſe firſt Ages of the World) *Two Thouſand Years the Law, and Two Thouſand the Days of the Meſſiah.* A Tradition, which if it miniſter to no other purpoſes, does yet afford us a very convenient diviſion of the ſeveral Ages and Periods of the Church, which may be conſidered under a three-fold Oeconomy, the *Patriarchal*, *Moſaical*, and *Evangelical* diſpenſation. A ſhort view of the two former will give us great advantage to ſurvey the later, that new and better diſpenſation which God has made to the World.

* *Talm. Tract. Sanhedr. cap. Chelec. & alibi. Menaſſ. Iſr. de Reſt. lib. 3. c. 5 Concil. queſt. 30. in Geneſ.*

2. THE *Patriarchal* Age, ימי תהו as the *Jews* call it, *the days of emptineſs*, commenced from the beginning of the World, and laſted till the delivery of the Law upon Mount *Sinai*. And under this ſtate the Laws which God gave for the exerciſe of Religion, and the Government of his Church were either Natural, or Poſitive. Natural Laws are thoſe innate Notions and Principles, whether ſpeculative or practical, with which every Man is born into the World, thoſe common ſentiments of Vertue and Religion, thoſe *Principia juſti & decori*, Principles of fit and right, that naturally are upon the minds of Men, and are obvious to their reaſon at firſt ſight, commanding what is juſt and honeſt, and forbidding what is evil and uncomely; and that not only in the general, that what is good is to be embraced, and what is evil to be avoided, but in the particular inſtances of duty according to their conformity or repugnancy to natural light, being converſant about thoſe things, that do not derive their value and authority from any arbitrary conſtitutions, but from the moral and intrinſick nature of the things themſelves. Theſe Laws, as being the reſults and dictates of right reaſon, are, eſpecially as to their firſt and more immediate emanations, the ſame in all Men in the World, and in all Times and Places, המצות שנתפרסמו בכל אומות as the *Jews* call them, Precepts that are evident among all Nations, indeed they are interwoven into Mens nature, inſerted into the texture and conſtitution of their minds, and do diſcover themſelves as ſoon as ever they arrive to the free uſe and exerciſe of their reaſon. That there are ſuch Laws and Principles naturally planted in Mens breaſts, is evident from the conſent of Mankind, and the common experience of the World. Whence elſe comes it to paſs, that all wicked Men even among the Heathens themſelves, after the commiſſion of groſs ſins, ſuch as do more ſenſibly rouze and awaken conſcience, are filled with horrors and fears of puniſhment? but becauſe they are conſcious to themſelves of having violated ſome Law and Rule of Duty. Now what Law can this be? not the written

written and revealed Law, for this the Heathens never had: it muſt be therefore the inbred Law of Nature, that's born with them, and fixed in their minds, antecedently to any external revelation. *For when the Gentiles which have not the Law, do by nature* (by the light and evidence, by the force and tendency of their natural notions and dictates) *the things contained in the Law, theſe having not a Law, are a Law unto themſelves, which ſhew the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts,* λογισμοὶ, the reaſonings of their minds, *in the mean while* (μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων, by turns) *accuſing or elſe excuſing one another*; that is, although they had not a written Law, as the *Jews* had of old, and we *Chriſtians* have at this day, yet by the help of their natural Principles they performed the ſame actions, and diſcharged the ſame Duties that are contained in, and commanded by the written and external Law, ſhewing by their practices that they had a Law (ſome common notions of good and evil) written in their hearts. And to this their very Conſciences bear witneſs, for according as they either obſerve or break theſe natural Laws, their Conſciences do either acquit or condemn them. Hence we find God in the very infancy of the World, appealing to *Cain* for the truth of this, as a thing ſufficiently plain and obvious, *Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen? if thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted,* שְׂאֵת *be lift up?* able to walk with a pleaſed and a chearful countenance, the great indication of a mind ſatisfied in the conſcience of its duty: *but if thou doeſt not well, ſin lies at the door*; the puniſhments of ſin will be ready to follow thee, and conſcience as a Miniſter of vengeance will perpetually purſue and haunt thee. By theſe Laws Mankind was principally governed in the firſt Ages of the World, there being for near Two Thouſand Years no other fixed and ſtanding Rule of Duty, than the dictates of this Law of Nature; thoſe Principles of Vice and Vertue, of Juſtice and Honeſty, that are written in the heart of every Man.

Rom. 2. 14.

Gen. 4. 6, 7.

3. THE *Jews* very frequently tell us of ſome particular commands to the number of Seven, which they call מצות בני נוח *the Precepts of the Sons of Noah*, Six whereof were given to *Adam* and his Children, and the Seventh given to *Noah*, which they thus reckon up. The firſt was על עבודה זרה *concerning ſtrange worſhip*, that they ſhould not give Divine honour to Idols, or the Gods of the Heathens, anſwerable to the two firſt commands of the Decalogue, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me; thou ſhalt not make unto thee any graven Image, nor the likeneſs of any thing, that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth; thou ſhalt not bow down thy ſelf to them, or ſerve them: for, &c.* From the violation of this Law it was that *Job*, one of the Patriarchs that lived under this diſpenſation, ſolemnly purges himſelf, when ſpeaking concerning the worſhip of the Celeſtial Lights, the great if not only Idolatry of thoſe early Ages, ſays he, *If I beheld the Sun when it ſhined, or the Moon walking in her brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly inticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand, this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the Judge, for I ſhould have denied the God that is above.* The ſecond על ברכת השם *concerning bleſſing*, or worſhipping, that they ſhould not blaſpheme the Name of God. This Law *Job* alſo had reſpect to, when he was careful to *ſanctifie* his Children, and to propitiate the Divine Majeſty for them every Morning, *for it may be* (ſaid he) *that my Sons have ſinned, and curſed God in their hearts.* The third was על שפיכות דמים *concerning the ſhedding of bloud*, forbidding Man-ſlaughter; a Law expreſly renewed to *Noah* after the Floud, and which poſſibly *Job* aimed at, when he vindicates himſelf, that *he had not rejoyced at the deſtruction of him that hated*

Gem. Babyl. Tit Sanhedr. cap. 7. fol. 56. Maimon. Tr. Melak. cap. 9. & alibi paſſim ap. Judæos. vid. Selden. de Jur. N. & G. l. 1. c. 10. & de Synedr. Vol. 1. c. 2. p. 8.

Job 31. 26, 27, 28.

Job 1. 6.

Job 31. 29.

ted him, or lift up himself when evil found him. Nor was all effusion of humane bloud forbidden by this Law, capital punishments being in some cases necessary for the preservation of humane Society, but only that no Man should shed the bloud of an innocent Person, or pursue a private revenge without the warrant of publick Authority. The fourth was על גלוי עריות *concerning the disclosing of uncleanness,* against filthiness and adultery, unlawful marriages, and incestuous mixtures: *If mine heart* (says *Job* in his Apology) *hath been deceived by a Woman, or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door; then let my Wife grind,* &c. *for this is an heinous crime, yea it is an iniquity to be punished by the Judges.* The fifth was על הגזל *concerning theft* and rapine, the invading another Man's right and property, the violation of bargains and compacts, the falsifying a Man's word or promise, the deceiving of another by fraud, lying, or any evil arts. From all which *Job* justifies himself, that *he had not walked with vanity, nor had his foot hasted to deceit, that his step had not turned out of the way, nor his heart walked after his eyes, nor any blot cleaved to his hands.* And elsewhere he bewails it as the great iniquity of the Times, that *there were some that removed the Land-marks, that violently took away the Flocks, and fed thereof, that drove away the Asse of the Fatherless, and took the Widows Oxe for a pledge, that turned the needy out of the way, and made the poor of the Earth hide themselves together, &c.* The sixth was על הדינים *concerning judgments,* or the administration of Justice, that Judges and Magistrates should be appointed in every Place for the Order and Government of Civil Societies, the determination of Causes, and executing of Justice between Man and Man. And that such there then were, seems evident from the עון פלילי which *Job* twice speaks of in one Chapter, *the judged iniquity,* which the *Jews* expound, and we truly render, *an iniquity to be punished by the Judges.* The seventh על אבר מין החי *concerning the member of any live-creature,* that is, as God expresses it in the Precept to *Noah,* they might not *eat the bloud, or the flesh with the life thereof.* Whether these Precepts were by any solemn and external promulgation particularly delivered to the *Ante-deluvian* Patriarchs (as the *Jews* seem to contend) I will not say: for my part I cannot but look upon them (the last only excepted) as a considerable part of Nature's Statute-law, as comprizing the greater strokes and lineaments of those natural dictates that are imprinted upon the souls of Men. For what more comely and reasonable, and more agreeable to the first notions of our minds, than that we should worship and adore God alone, as the Author of our beings, and the Fountain of our happiness, and not derive the lustre of his incommunicable perfections upon any Creature; that we should entertain great and honourable thoughts of God, and such as become the Grandeur and Majesty of his being; that we should abstain from doing any wrong or injury to another, from invading his right, violating his priviledges, and much more from making any attempt upon his life, the dearest blessing in this World; that we should be just and fair in our transactions, and *do to all men, as we would they should do to us;* that we should live chastely and temperately, and not by wild and extravagant lusts and sensualities offend against the natural modesty of our minds; that Order and Government should be maintained in the World, Justice advanced, and every Man secured in his just possessions? And so suitable did these Laws seem to the reason and understandings of Men, that the *Jews* though the most zealous People under Heaven of their Legal Institutions, received those *Gentiles* who observed them as Proselytes into their Church, though they did not oblige themselves to Circumcision, and the rest of the *Mosaick* Rites. Nay, in the first Age of Christianity, when the great contro-

Job 31.9,10,

Vers. 5.7.

Chap. 24.2,3, & seqq.

Chap. 31.11-18.

controversie arose between the *Jewish* and *Gentile*-Converts about the obligation of the Law of *Moses* as necessary to salvation, the observation only of these Precepts, at least a great part of them, was imposed upon the *Gentile*-Converts as the best expedient to end the difference, by the *Apostolical* Synod at *Jerusalem*.

4. BUT though the Law of Nature was the common Law by which God then principally governed the World, yet was not he wanting by Methods extraordinary to supply, as occasion was, the exigencies and necessities of his Church, communicating his mind to them by Dreams and Visions, and other ways of Revelation, which we shall more particularly remark, when we come to the *Mosaical* Oeconomy. Hence arose those positive Laws which we meet with in this period of the Church, some whereof are more expresly recorded, others more obscurely intimated. Among those that are more plain and obvious two are especially considerable, the prohibition for not eating *bloud*, and the Precept of *Circumcision*, the one given to *Noah*, the other to *Abraham*. The prohibition concerning bloud is thus recorded, *every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you: but flesh with the life thereof, which is the bloud thereof, shall you not eat.* The bloud is the *vehiculum* to carry the spirits, as the Veins are the chanels to convey the bloud, now the *animal* spirits give vital heat and activity to every part, and being let out, the bloud presently cools, and the Creature dies. *Not flesh with the bloud, which is the life thereof*, that is, not flesh while it is alive, while the bloud and the spirits are yet in it. The mystery and signification whereof was no other than this, that God would not have Men train'd up to arts of cruelty, or whatever did but carry the colour and aspect of a mercileſs and a savage temper, lest severity towards Beasts should degenerate into fierceness towards Men. It's good to defend the out-guards, and to stop the remotest ways that lead towards sin, especially considering the violent propensions of humane nature to passion and revenge. Men commence bloudy and inhumane by degrees, and little approaches in time render a thing in it self abhorrent not only familiar, but delightful. The *Romans* who at first entertained the People in the *Amphitheatre* only with wild Beasts killing one another, came afterwards wantonly to sport away the Lives of the *Gladiators*, yea to cast Persons to be devoured by Bears and Lions, for no other end than the divertisement and pleasure of the People. He who can please himself in tearing and eating the Parts of a living Creature, may in short time make no scruple to do violence to the Life of Man. Besides eating bloud naturally begets a savage temper, makes the spirits rank and fiery, and apt to be easily inflamed and blown up into choler and fierceness. And that hereby God did design to bar out ferity, and to secure mercy and gentleness, is evident from what follows after: *and surely your bloud of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of Man, at the hand of every Man's brother will I require the life of man; whoso sheddeth Man's bloud, by Man shall his bloud be shed.* The life of a Beast might not be wantonly sacrificed to Mens humours, therefore not Man's; the life of Man being so sacred, and dear to God, that if kill'd by a Beast, the Beast it self was to die for it; if by man, that man's life was to go for retaliation, *by man shall his bloud be shed*; where by *man* we must necessarily understand the ordinary Judge and Magistrate, or בית דין של מתן as the *Jews* call it, *the lower Judicature*, with respect to that Divine and Superiour Court, the immediate judgment of God himself.

Gen. 9. 3, 4.

Ῥώμης πρὸς πράξεις ἐγειρούσης, καὶ ἰλιάδ[illegible] κακῶν ἡ ἄψυχος καὶ λιτὴ τροφὴ, καὶ πᾶσιν εὐπορ[illegible] ἀφαιρεῖται ἡμᾶς, εἰρήνην παρασκευάζουσα τῷ σωτήρια ἡμῖν ἐκποριζόντι λογισμῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μαζοφάγων, φησὶν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ κλέπται καὶ πολέμιοι· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κρεοφάγων οἱ συκοφάν[illegible] καὶ τύραννοι. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 1. Sect. [illegible] p. 39.

Ib. V. 5, 6.

By which means God admirably provided for the ſafety and ſecurity of Man's life, and for the order and welfare of humane ſociety: and it was no more than neceſſary, the remembrance of the violence and oppreſſion of the *Nephilim* or *Giants* before the Floud being yet freſh in memory, and there was no doubt but ſuch *mighty Hunters*, men of robuſt bodies, of barbarous and inhumane tempers, would afterwards ariſe. This Law againſt eating bloud was afterwards renewed under the *Moſaick* Inſtitution, but with this peculiar ſignification, *for the life of the fleſh is in the bloud, and I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your ſouls; for it is the bloud that maketh an atonement for the ſoul*: that is, the bloud might not be eaten, not only for the former reaſon, but becauſe God had deſigned it for particular purpoſes, to be the great Inſtrument of Expiation, and an eminent type of the Bloud of the Son of God, who was to die as the great expiatory Sacrifice for the World: Nay it was re-eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles in the infancy of Chriſtianity, and obſerved by the Primitive Chriſtians for ſeveral Ages, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

vit.17.11.

5. THE other Precept was concerning *Circumciſion*, given to *Abraham* at the time of God's entring into Covenant with him. *God ſaid unto Abraham, Thou ſhalt keep my Covenant, &c. This is my Covenant which ye ſhall keep between me and you, and thy Seed after thee, every Man-child among you ſhall be circumciſed: and ye ſhall circumciſe the fleſh of your fore-skin, and it ſhall be a token of the Covenant betwixt me and you.* God had now made a Covenant with *Abraham* to take his Poſterity for his peculiar People, and that out of them ſhould ariſe the promiſed *Meſſiah:* and as all federal compacts have ſome ſolemn and external rites of ratification, ſo God was pleaſed to add Circumciſion as the ſign and ſeal of this Covenant, partly as it had a peculiar fitneſs in it to denote the promiſed Seed, partly that it might be a diſcriminating badge of *Abraham*'s Children (that part whom God had eſpecially choſen out of the reſt of Mankind) from all other People. On *Abraham*'s part it was a ſufficient argument of his hearty compliance with the terms of this Covenant, that he would ſo chearfully ſubmit to ſo unpleaſing and difficult a ſign as was impoſed upon him. For Circumciſion could not but be both painful and dangerous in one of his Years, as it was afterwards to be to all new-born Infants: whence *Zipporah* complained of *Moſes*, commanding her to circumciſe her Son, that he was חתן דמים *an husband of blouds*, a cruel and inhumane Husband. And this the * *Jews* tell us was the reaſon, why circumciſion was omitted during their Forty Years Journey in the Wilderneſs, it was משום חולשא דאורחא *by reaſon of the trouble and inconvenience of the way*, God mercifully diſpenſing with the want of it, leſt it ſhould hinder their travelling, the foreneſs and weakneſs of the circumciſed Perſon not comporting with hard and continual Journeys. It was to be adminiſtred the *eighth day*, not ſooner, the tenderneſs of the Infant not well till then complying with it, beſides that the Mother of a Male child was reckoned legally impure till the *ſeventh* Day; not later, probably becauſe the longer it was deferred, the more unwilling would Parents be to put their Children to pain, of which they would every Day become more ſenſible, not to ſay the ſatisfaction it would be to them, to ſee their Children ſolemnly entred into Covenant. Circumciſion was afterwards incorporated into the Body of the *Jewiſh* Law, and entertained with a mighty Veneration, as their great and ſtanding Priviledge, relied on as the main Baſis and Foundation of their confidence, and hopes of acceptance with Heaven, and accounted in a manner equivalent to all the other Rites of the *Moſaick* Law.

n.17.9,10.

Talm. Tract. Sam. cap. 8.

Maimon. for. Nevoch. p. 3. c. 49. 6.

6. BUT

6. BUT besides these two, we find other positive Precepts, which though not so clearly expressed, are yet sufficiently intimated to us. Thus there seems to have been a Law that none of the Holy Line, none of the Posterity of *Seth* should marry with Infidels, or those corrupt and idolatrous Nations which God had rejected, as appears in that it's charged as a great part of the sin of the old World, that *the Sons of God* matched with *the Daughters of Men*, as also from the great care which *Abraham* took that his Son *Isaac* should not take a Wife of the *Daughters* of the *Canaanites* among whom he dwelt. There was also מצות יבום *Jus Leviratus*, whereby the next Brother to him who died without Issue was obliged to marry the Widow of the deceased, and *to raise up seed unto his Brother*, the contempt whereof cost *Onan* his Life: together with many more particular Laws which the story of those Times might suggest to us. But what is of most use and importance to us, is to observe what Laws God gave for the administration of his Worship, which will be best known by considering what worship generally prevailed in those early Times; wherein we shall especially remark the nature of their publick Worship, the Places where, the Times when, and the Persons by whom it was administred. Gen.6.2,3.

7. IT cannot be doubted but that the Holy Patriarchs of those days were careful to instruct their Children, and all that were under their charge (their Families being then very vast and numerous) in the Duties of Religion, to explain and improve the natural Laws written upon their minds, and acquaint them with those Divine Traditions, and positive Revelations which they themselves had received from God: this being part of that great character which God gave of *Abraham, I know him, that he will command his Children, and his Houshold after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.* To this they joyned Prayer and Invocation, than which no duty is more natural and necessary; more natural, because it fitly expresses that great reverence and veneration which we have for the Divine Majesty, and that propensity that is in Mankind to make known their wants: none more necessary, because our whole dependance being upon the continuance and constant returns of the Divine power and goodness, 'tis most reasonable that we should make our Daily addresses to him, *in whom we live, move, and have our being.* Nor were they wanting in returns of praise, and solemn celebrations of the goodness of Heaven, both by entertaining high and venerable thoughts of God, and by actions suitable to those honourable sentiments which they had of him. In these acts of worship they were careful to use gestures of the greatest reverence and submission, which commonly was prostration. *Abraham bowed himself towards the ground*: and when God sent the *Israelites* the happy news of their deliverance out of *Egypt, they bowed their Heads and worshipped.* A posture which hath ever been the usual mode of adoration in those *Eastern* Countries unto this day. But the greatest instance of the Publick Worship of those times was *Sacrifices*; a very early piece of Devotion, in all probability taking its rise from *Adam*'s fall. They were either *Eucharistical*, expressions of thankfulness for blessings received, or *expiatory*, offered for the remission of sin. Whether these Sacrifices were first taken up at Mens arbitrary pleasure, or positively instituted and commanded by God, might admit of a very large enquiry. But to me the case seems plainly this, That as to Eucharistical Sacrifices, such as first-fruits, and the like oblations, Mens own reason might suggest

Gen.18.19.

Gen.18.2.

Exod.4.31.

Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκε Κάϊν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ.] σκόπει πῶς τῷ συνειδότι τὴν γνῶσιν ἐναπέθετο τῆς φύσεως δημιουργός· τίς γὰρ ἂν εἰπέ μοι τοῦτον ὡδήγησε πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἔννοιαν; οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν τῷ συνειδότι γνῶσις. ἤνεγκε, φησιν, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. ἤδει γὰρ καὶ ἠπίστατο, ὅτι προσήκει καθ' περ δεσπότῃ τῶν οἰκείων κτημάτων προσάγειν τι τῶν γενῶν. οὐκ ἐπείδη αὐτὸς δεῖται, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν οἰκείαν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδείξηται αὐτὸς τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας ἀπολαύων. *Chrysost. Homil.* XVIII. *in Genes.* p.173. *Tom.*2.

ſuggeſt and perſwade them, that it was fit to preſent them as the moſt natural ſignifications of a thankful mind. And thus far there might be Sacrifices in the ſtate of Innocence: for Man being created under ſuch excellent circumſtances as he was in *Paradiſe*, could not but know that he owed to God all poſſible gratitude and ſubjection; obedience he owed him as his Supreme Lord and Maſter, gratitude, as his great Patron and Benefactor, and was therefore obliged to pay to him ſome Euchariſtical Sacrifices, as a teſtimony of his grateful acknowledgment, that he had both his being and preſervation from him. But when ſin had changed the ſcene, and Mankind was ſunk under a ſtate of guilt, he was then to ſeek for a way how to pacifie God's anger: and this was done by bloudy and expiatory ſacrifices, which God accepted in the ſinners ſtead. And as to theſe, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they ſhould be founded upon a poſitive Inſtitution, becauſe pardon of ſin being a matter of pure grace and favour, whatever was a means to ſignifie and convey that, muſt be appointed by God himſelf, firſt revealed to *Adam*, and by him communicated to his Children. The Deity propitiated by theſe atonements was wont to teſtifie his acceptance of them by ſome external and viſible ſign; *Thus Cain* ſenſibly perceived that God had reſpect to *Abel*'s ſacrifice, and not to his: though what this ſign was, it is not eaſie to determine. Moſt probably it was *fire* from Heaven coming down upon the Oblation, and conſuming it: For ſo it frequently was in the Sacri-
n.15.17. fices of the *Moſaick* diſpenſation, and ſo we find it was in that famous Sacrifice of *Abraham*, *a Lamp of Fire paſſed between the parts of the Sacrifice.* Thus when 'tis ſaid, *God had reſpect to Abel and to his offering*, *Theodotion* renders it,
lm 20.2. ἐνεπύρισεν, *he burnt it*; and to this cuſtom the *Pſalmiſt* alludes in that Petition, *Remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt Sacrifice,* ועולתך ידשנה *let thy burnt-offering be reduced into aſhes.*

8. WHERE it was that this Publick Worſhip was performed, is next to be enquired into. That they had fixed and determinate Places for the diſcharge of their religious Duties, thoſe eſpecially that were done in common, is greatly probable. Nature and the reaſon of things would put them upon it. And this moſt think is intended in that phraſe, where it is ſaid of *Cain*
d.P.Pag. and *Abel*, that *they brought their oblations*, that is, (as *Aben-Ezra* and others
Gen.4. expound it) אל מקום שקבץ לתפלתו *to the place ſet apart for divine worſhip.* And this probably was the reaſon, why *Cain* though vexed to the heart to ſee his Brother preferred before him, did not preſently ſet upon him, the ſolemnity and religion of the Place, and the ſenſible appearances of the Divine Majeſty having ſtruck an awe into him, but deferred his murderous intentions till they came into the Field, and there fell upon him. For their Sacrifices they had *Altars*, whereon they offered them, contemporary no doubt with Sacrifices themſelves, though we read not of them till after
8.20. the Floud, when *Noah* built an Altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt-offerings upon it: So *Abraham* immediately after his being called to the worſhip
12.7,8. chap.13. of the true God, in *Sichem* built an Altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him, and removing thence to a Mountain *Eaſtward*, he built another Altar, and called on the Name of the Lord, as indeed he did almoſt in every place where he came. Thus alſo when he dwelt at *Beerſheba* in the Plains
21.33. of *Mamre*, he *planted a Grove* there, and *called on the Name of the Lord the everlaſting God.* This no doubt was the common Chappel or *Oratory*, whither *Abraham* and his numerous Family, and probably thoſe whom he gained to be Proſelytes to his Religion were wont to retire for their publick adorations, as a Place infinitely advantageous for ſuch Religious purpoſes. And indeed the Ancient devotion of the World much delighted in Groves, in

Woods

Woods and Mountains, partly for the conveniency of such Places, as better composing the thoughts for divine contemplations, and resounding their joynt-praises of God to the best advantage, partly because the silence and retiredness of the Place was apt to beget a kind of sacred dread and horror in the mind of the Worshipper. Hence we find in *Ophrah* where *Gideon*'s Father dwelt, an *Altar* to *Baal*, and a *Grove* that was by it; and how common the superstitions and idolatries of the Heathen-world were in Groves and High-places, no Man can be ignorant, that is never so little conversant either in prophane or sacred stories. For this reason that they were so much abused to idolatry, God commanded the *Israelites* to *destroy their Altars, break down their Images, and cut down their Groves*: and that *they should not plant a Grove of any Trees near unto the Altar of the Lord*, lest he should seem to countenance what was so universally prostituted to false worship and idolatry. But to return to *Abraham*. He *planted a Grove*, אשל a *Tree*, which the Ancients generally make to have been a large spreading *Oak*; and some foundation there is for it in the sacred Text; for the place where *Abraham* planted it is called *the Plain of Mamre*, or as in the *Hebrew*, *he dwelt* באלני ממרא *among the Oaks of Mamre*, and so the *Syriack* renders it ܒܝܬ ܟܘܪܝܐ *The House of the Oak*: The name whereof * *Josephus* tells us, was *Ogyges*; and it is not a conjecture to be ‖ despised, that *Noah* might probably inhabit in this place, and either give the name to it, or at least derive his from it, *Ogyges* being the Name by which he is usually described in foreign Writers. This very Oak * S. *Hierom* assures us, and ‖ *Eusebius* intimates as much, was yet standing till the time of *Constantine*, and worshipped with great superstition. And * *Sozomen* tells us more particularly that there was a famous *Mart* held there every Summer, and a *Feast* celebrated by a general confluence of the neighbouring Countries, and persons of all Religions, both *Christians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, προσφόρως δὲ ταῖς θρησκείαις τιμῶσι τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον, every one doing honour to this Place according to the different Principles of their Religion: but that *Constantine* being offended that the Place should be prophan'd with the superstitions of the *Jews*, and the idolatry of the *Gentiles*, wrote with some severity to *Macarius* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and the Bishops of *Palestine*, that they should destroy the Altars and Images, and deface all Monuments of Idolatry, and restore the Place to its ancient Sanctity. Which was accordingly done, and a Church erected in the Place, where God was purely and sincerely worshipped. From this Oak, the ordinary place of *Abraham*'s worship and devotion, the Religion of the *Gentiles* doubtless derived [illegible] Oaks and Groves, and particularly the *Druids*, the great and almost only M[illegible]ers and Directors of all Learning and Religion among the Ancient *Brita*[illegible] hence borrowed their Original; who are so notoriously known to have lived wholly under Oaks and in Groves, and there to have delivered their Doctrines and Precepts, and to have exercised their Religious and mysterious Rites. That hence they fetched their denomination, either from Δρῦς (as the Ancients generally thought) or more probably from the old *Cetlic* word *Deru*, both signifying *an Oak*, and which the *Welch*, the Descendants of the Ancient *Britains*, still call Derw at this day. But of this enough.

Judg. 6. 25.

Exod. 34. 13. Deut. 16. 21.

Gen. 13. 18.

Παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρῆ. LXX. *Ita V[illegible] Samaritana: nec aliter Arabs in Genes.* 18. 1.

* *Antiquit. Id. l.* 1. *c.* 11. *p.* 19.

‖ *Vid. Dick. Delph. Phænic. c.* 12. *p.* 137. & [illegible] *pend. p.* 38.

* *De loc. He[illegible] in voce Arb[illegible]*

‖ ἡ δρὺς Ἀ[illegible] βραὰμ θεω[illegible] ρεῖται, &c. [illegible] *seb. περ. τοπ[illegible] ὀνομ. in voc[illegible]* Ἀρκώ.

* *Hist. Eccl[illegible]* 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 447.

9. FROM the *place* where, we proceed to the *times* when they usually paid their Devotions. And seeing Order is necessary in all undertakings; and much more in the actions of Religion, we cannot think that Mankind

was

was left at a roving uncertainty in a matter of ſo great importance, but that they had their ſtated and ſolemn times of Worſhip: eſpecially when we find among all Nations, even the moſt rude and unpoliſhed Heathens, times peculiarly ſet apart for the honour of their gods, and the publick ſolemnities of Religion. And ſo no queſtion it was in the more early Ages of the World, they had fix'd and appropriate Seaſons, when they met together to do homage unto God, and to offer up their joynt-acknowledgments to Heaven. Thus we read of *Cain* that he brought his oblation *in proceſs of time*, :n.4.3. מקץ ימים *at the end of days*, at one of thoſe fixed and periodical returns, when they uſed to meet in the Religious Aſſemblies, the word קץ denoting not ſimply an end, but a determinate and an appointed end. I know many with great zeal and eagerneſs contend, that the *Sabbath* or Seventh Day from the Creation was ſet apart, and univerſally obſerved as the time of Publick Worſhip, and that from the beginning of the World. But alas the foundation upon which this opinion is built, is very weak and ſandy, having no- :n.2.3. thing to rely on, but one place where it is ſaid, that *God reſting on the Seventh Day from all his Works, bleſſed the Seventh Day and ſanctified it.* Which words are reaſonably thought to have been ſet down by *Moſes* by way of *Prolepſis*, as it was in his time, if they relate at all to the *Sabbath*, and are not rather to be underſtood of God's bleſſing and ſanctifying the Seventh Day, as having then completed all his Works in the creating of Man, and in whom, as in the crown and glory of the Creation, he would ſanctifie himſelf. For that it ſhould be meant of a Weekly *Sabbath*, hath as little countenance from this Text, as it hath from the practice of thoſe times, there being no footſteps or ſhadow of any ſuch *Sabbath* kept through all the Patriarchal periods of the Church, till the times of *Moſes*, which beſides the evidence of the ſtory, is univerſally owned by the Ancient *Jews*, and very many of the Fathers do expreſly aſſert it.

10. THE laſt circumſtance concerns the *Perſons* by whom the Publick Worſhip was adminiſtred. Impoſſible it is that any Society ſhould be regularly managed, where there are not ſome peculiar Perſons to ſuperintend, direct, and govern the affairs of it. And God who in all other things is a God of Order, is much more ſo in matters of Religion: and therefore no doubt from the beginning appointed thoſe, whoſe care and buſineſs it ſhould be to diſcharge the publick parts of Piety and Devotion in the name of the reſt. Now the Prieſthood in thoſe times was veſted in the Heads of Tribes, and in the *firſt-born* of every Family. To the Patriarch or Head of every Tribe it belonged to bleſs the Family, to offer Sacrifice, to interceed for them by Prayer, and to miniſter in other ſolemn acts of Religion. And this Office hereditarily deſcended to the firſt-born, who had power to diſcharge it during the life of his Father; for it was not neceſſary, that he who was Prieſt by vertue of his primogeniture, ſhould be alſo the eldeſt of the Houſe. *Jacob*, who ſucceeded in his Brother's right, offered Sacrifices in the Name of his Father *Iſaac*, and *Abraham* was a Prieſt, though *Sem* the Head of the Family, and ten degrees removed from him in a direct line, was then alive, yea ſurvived *Abraham* (as ſome learned men think) near Fifty Years. Every firſt-born had three great Prerogatives, a double portion of the Paternal inheritance, a Lordſhip and Principality over his Brethren, and a right to the Prieſthood, to inſtruct them in the knowledge of Divine things, and to manage the common Offices of Religion. So that in thoſe times there was a particular Prieſthood in every Family, the adminiſtration whereof was uſually appropriate to the firſt-born. Thus *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Iſaac* offered Sacrifices, and *Job* (who lived about that time, or not long after) both for his Children

dren and his Friends. Thus *Eſau* was a Prieſt by his primogeniture, and that *goodly Raiment* of her ſon *Eſau* which *Rebeccah* put upon *Jacob*, when he went in to his Father, is by many not improbably underſtood of the Sacerdotal Veſtments, wherein as firſt-born he was wont to execute his Office. Of theſe Prieſts we are to underſtand that Place, *Let the Prieſts which come near to the Lord, ſanctifie themſelves.* This could not be meant of the *Levitical* Prieſts, (the *Aaronical* Order not being yet inſtituted) and therefore muſt be underſtood of the Prieſthood of the firſt-born, and ſo *Solomon Jarchi*'s gloſs expounds it. Thus when *Moſes* had built an Altar at the foot of the Mountain, he ſent *young men of the children of Iſrael, which offered burnt-offerings, and ſacrificed peace-offerings unto the Lord.* Where for *young men*, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe and the *Hieruſalem Targum* have בוכרי בני ישראל *the firſt-born of the children of Iſrael*; ſo has that of *Jonathan*, who expreſly adds this reaſon, *for unto that very Hour the worſhip remained among the firſt-born, the Tabernacle of the Covenant not being yet made, nor the Aaronical Prieſthood ſet up.* So when *Jacob* bequeathed his bleſſing to *Reuben*, *Reuben thou art my firſt-born, my might, and the beginning of my ſtrength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power*, the ſame *Jewiſh* Paraphraſts tell us, that there were three things in this bleſſing conveyed and confirmed to *Reuben*, the *Birth-right*, the *Kingdom*, and the *Prieſthood*, but that for his enormous and unnatural ſin they were transferred to others, the primogeniture to *Joſeph*, the Kingdom to *Judah*, and the Prieſthood to *Levi*. But though the Sacerdotal function ordinarily belonged to the firſt-born, yet was it not ſo wholly inveſted in them, but that it might in ſome caſes be exerciſed by younger Brothers, eſpecially when paſſing into other Families, and themſelves becoming Heads of Tribes and Families. *Abraham* we know was not a firſt-born, and it's highly probable that *Sem* himſelf was not *Noah*'s eldeſt Son, *Moſes* was a Prieſt, yea בחן הכהנים as the *Jews* call him, *the Prieſt of Prieſts*, and yet was but *Amram*'s ſecond Son, and *Aaron*'s younger Brother. [a] So that the caſe in ſhort ſeemed to lie thus: The Patriarch or ſurviving Head of every Tribe was a kind of High-Prieſt over all the Families that were deſcended from him, the firſt-born in every Family was the ordinary Prieſt, who might officiate in his Father's ſtead, and who after his deceaſe ſucceeded in his room, the younger Brethren, when leaving their Father's houſe, and themſelves becoming heads of Families, and their ſeats removed too far diſtant to make uſe of the ordinary Prieſthood, did themſelves take the office upon them, and exerciſe it over all thoſe that were under them, and ſprung from them, though the main honour and dignity was reſerved for the Prieſthood of the firſt-born. Thus *Abraham*, though but a ſecond Son, yet when become the head of a great Family, and removed into another Country, became a Prieſt, and that not only during the life of his Father, but of *Sem* himſelf, the grand ſurviving Patriarch of that time. I obſerve no more concerning this, than that this right of the firſt-born was a prime honour and priviledge, and therefore the reaſon (ſay the * *Jews*) why *Jacob* was ſo greatly deſirous of the birth-right, was becauſe in thoſe days the Prieſthood was entail'd upon it. And for this chiefly no doubt it was that *Eſau* is called βέβηλος, *a prophane perſon*, for ſelling his birth-right for a meſs of Pottage, becauſe thereby he made ſo light of the ſacred honour of the Prieſthood, the Venerable office of miniſtring before God.

Exod. 19. 22.

Exod. 24. 5.

Gen. 49. 3.

* *Bereſ. Rab. fol. 71.* *ap. Selden. de ſucceſſ. ad leg. Ebr. c. 5. p. 4.* Heb. 12. 16.

11. HAVING thus ſeen what were the Laws, what the Worſhip of thoſe times, it remains briefly to conſider what was the face of the Church, and the ſtate of Religion under the ſeveral Patriarchs of this Oeconomy. Not to meddle with the ſtory either of the Creation or Apoſtaſie of *Adam*,

no

no sooner was he fallen from that innocent and happy state wherein God had placed him, but Conscience began to stir, and he was sensible that God was angry, and saw it necessary to propitiate the offended Deity by Prayer and Invocation, by Sorrow and Repentance, and probably by offering Sacrifice; a conjecture that hath at least some countenance from those
…n.3.21. *Coats of Skins* wherewith God clothed our first Parents, which 'tis most likely to have been the Skins of Beasts slain for Sacrifice; for that they were not killed for food is evident, because flesh was not the ordinary diet (if it was at all) of those first Ages of the World. And God might purposely make choice of this sort of covering, to put our first Parents in mind of their great degeneracy, how deep they were sunk into the *animal* life, and by gratifying brutish and sensual appetites at so dear a rate, how like they were become to the Beasts that perish. And if this were so, it possibly might
…vit.7.8. give birth to that Law of *Moses*, that every Priest that offered any man's burnt-offering, should have to himself *the skin* of the burnt-offering which he had offered. But however this was, 'tis certain that *Adam* was careful to instruct his Children in the knowledge of Divine things, and to maintain Religion and the worship of God in his Family. For we find *Cain* and *Abel* bringing their *oblations*, and that at a certain time, though they had a different success. I omit the Traditions of the *East*, that the cause of the difference between *Cain* and *Abel* was about a Wife, and that they sought to decide the case by Sacrifice, and that when *Abel*'s sacrifice was accepted, *Cain* out of envy and indignation fell upon his brother, struck his head with a stone, and slew him. The present they brought was according to their different ways and institutions of life: *Cain* as an *Husbandman* brought of the *fruit of the ground*, *Abel* as a *Shepherd* brought of the *firstlings* of his Flock, and of the fat thereof: But the one was accepted, and the other rejected. The cause whereof certainly was not that the one was little and inconsiderable, the other large and noble; the one only a dry oblation, the other a burnt-offering; or that *Cain* had entertained a conceived prejudice against his Brother; the true cause lay in the different temper and disposition of their minds; *Abel* had great and honourable thoughts of God, and therefore brought of the best that he had, *Cain* mean and unworthy apprehensions, and accordingly took what came first to hand; *Abel* came with a grateful sense of the goodness of Heaven, with a mind piously and heartily devoted to the Divine Majesty, and an humble reliance upon the Divine acceptance; *Cain* brought his oblation indeed, but looked no further, was not careful to offer up himself *a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God*, as being *the most reasonable service*, too confidently bearing up himself, as we may suppose, upon the prerogative of his primogeniture. By which means *Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained*
11.4. *witness, that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts.* For *he had respect*
…4,5. *unto Abel, and to his offering: But unto Cain, and to his offering he had not respect.* And if in that fire, by which God testified his respect by consuming one oblation, and not the other, there was (as the *Jews* say) seen the face of a *Lion*, it doubtless prefigured the late promised *Messiah*, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah*, our great expiatory sacrifice, of whom all other sacrifices were but types and shadows, and in whom all our oblations are rendred grateful unto God, *The odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing unto God.*

[Margin note: …διαφορὰ τ̃ …ὑμενς λοι… κ̀ τ̃ πρ… …σεως ἡ ῥᾳ… …ία τ̃ῦ μ̃… …ἐσ δεκ̃τον …ησε τ̃ … σαγωγλω, ἀπέβλητον. …Joft. Ho… XVIII. in …ef. p. 174.]

12. *ABEL* being taken away by his envious and enraged Brother, God was pleased to repair the loss by giving his Parents another Son, whom they called *Seth*, and he accordingly proved a very Vertuous and Religious

man.

man. He was (if we may believe the Ancients) a great Scholar; the first inventor of Letters, and Writing, an accurate *Astronomer*, and taught his Children the knowledge of the Stars, who having heard from their Grandfather *Adam*, that the World was to be twice destroyed, once by Fire, and again by Water (if the story be true which *Josephus* without any great warrant reports) wrote their Experiments and the principles of their Art upon two *Pillars*, one of Brick, the other of Stone, that if the one perished, the other might remain, and convey their notions to posterity, one of which Pillars *Josephus* adds, was said to be standing in *Syria* in his time. But that which rendred *Seth* most renowned, was his piety and devotion; a good man he was, one who asserted and propagated Religion and the true worship of God, as he had received it from his Father *Adam*, notwithstanding the declensions and degeneracy, and possibly oppositions of his Brother *Cain* and his party. The *Eastern* Writers, both *Jews* and * *Arabians*, confidently assure us, that *Seth* and his retinue withdrew from *Cain*, who dwelt in the Valley, where he had killed his brother *Abel*, into a very high mountain (on the top whereof their Father *Adam* was buried) so high, if we could believe them, that they could hear the *Angels* singing *Anthems*, and did daily joyn in with that Heavenly Quire. Here they wholly devoted themselves to the daily worship of God, and obtained a mighty name and veneration for the holiness and purity of their lives. When *Seth* came to lie upon his deathbed, he summoned his Children, their Wives and Families together, blessed them, and as his last Will commanded them to worship God, adjuring them by the bloud of *Abel* (their usual and solemn oath) that they should not descend from the holy Mount, to hold any correspondence or commerce with *Cain* or his wicked faction. And then breathed his last. A command, say my Authors, which they observed for seven generations, and then came in the promiscuous mixtures.

Antiquit J lib.1.c.3.p.

* *Vid.testim nia eorum c tat.ap.Hott Smeg.Orien cap.8.p.226 & seqq.*

13. TO *Seth* succeeded his Son *Enos*, who kept up the glory and purity of Religion, and the honour of the holy Line. Of his time it is particularly recorded, *then began men to call upon the name of the Lord.* The ambiguity of the word הוחל signifying sometimes to *prophane*, sometimes to *begin*, hath begotten various apprehensions among learned men concerning this place, and led them not only into different, but quite contrary sences. The words are by some rendred thus, *Then men prophaned in calling upon the name of the Lord*; which they thus explain, that at that time when *Enos* was born, the true worship and service of God began to sink and fail, corruption and idolatry mightily prevailing by reason of *Cains* wicked and apostate Family; and that as a sad memorial of this corrupt and degenerate Age, holy *Seth* called his son's name *Enosh*, which not only simply signifies a man, but a poor, calamitous, miserable man. And this way go many of the *Jews*, and some Christian writers of great name and note. Nay *Maimonides*, one of the wisest and soberest of all the *Jewish* writers, begins his *Tract* about * *Idolatry* בימי אנוש *from the times of Enosh*, referring to this very passage; he tells us, that men did then grievously erre, and that the minds of the wise men of those days were grown gross and stupid; yea, that *Enos* himself was מן הטועים *among those that erred*, and that their Idolatry consisted in this, That they worshipped the Stars and the Host of Heaven. ‖ Others there are who expresly assert, that *Enosh* was the first that invented *Images*, *to excite the Spirit of the Creatures*, שיתפללו לאלוה באמצעותם *that by their mediation men might invocate and call upon God.* But how infirm a foundation this Text is to build all this upon, is evident. For besides, what * some have observed, that the *Hebrew* phrase is not tolerably reconcileable

Gen.4.26

* *De Ido 1.Sect.1.*

‖ *Vid.ap.H ting.loc.ci p.230.*

* *Dionys. not. in M mon.p.4.I deg.de Hi Patr.exe p.223.*

Elieʒ. cileable with ſuch a fence, if it were, yet העיקר חסר as one of the ‖ *Rab-*
taſ.Bereſ. *bins* has well noted, that there wants a foundation for any ſuch expoſition,
ibid. no mention being made in *Moſes* his ſtory of any ſuch falſe Gods as were then worſhipped, no footſteps of Idolatry appearing in the World till after the Floud. Nor indeed is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Creation of the World being yet freſh in memory, and Divine Traditions ſo lately received from *Adam*; and God frequently communicating himſelf to men, that the caſe being thus, men could in ſo ſhort a time be fallen under ſo great an apoſtaſie, as wholly to forget and renounce the true God, and give Divine honours to ſenſeleſs and inanimate creatures; I can hardly think that the *Cainites* themſelves ſhould be guilty of this, much leſs *Enoſh* and his Children. The meaning of the words then is plainly this, That in *Enoſh* his time the holy Line being greatly multiplied, they applied themſelves to the worſhip of God in a more publick and remarkable manner, either by framing themſelves into more diſtinct ſocieties for the exerciſe of publick worſhip, or by meeting at more fixed and ſtated times, or by invocating God under more ſolemn and peculiar rites than they had done before. And this probably they did the rather, to obviate that torrent of prophaneneſs and impiety, which by means of the ſons of *Cain* they ſaw flowing in upon the World. This will be further confirmed, if we take the words as by ſome they are rendred, *then men began to be called by the name of the Lord*, that is, the difference and ſeparation that was between the children of *Seth* and *Cain* every day ripening into a wider diſtance, the poſterity of *Seth* began to take to themſelves a diſtinctive title, that the World might the better diſtinguiſh between thoſe who kept to the ſervice of God, and thoſe who threw off Religion, and let looſe the reins to diſorder and impiety. And hereof we meet with clear intimation in the ſtory of thoſe times when we
5.2. read of בני אלהים *the ſons of God* (who doubtleſs were the pious and devout poſterity of *Seth*, calling themſelves after the name of the Lord, whom they conſtantly and ſincerely worſhipped, notwithſtanding the fancy of *Joſephus*, and the Fathers, that they were Angels, or that of the *Jewiſh* Paraphraſts, that they were בני רברבי the ſons of great men and Princes) in oppoſition to the בני ארם *the ſons of men*, the impure and debauched poſterity of *Cain*, who made light of Religion, and were wholly governed by earthly and ſenſual inclinations. And the matching of theſe *ſons of God* with the *daughters of men*, that is, thoſe of the Family of *Cain*, and the fatal conſequences of thoſe unhappy marriages, was that which provoked God to deſtroy the World. I have no more to add concerning *Enoſh*, than that we are told, that dying he gave the ſame commands to his Children, which he had received of his Father, that they ſhould make Religion their great care and buſineſs, and keep themſelves pure from ſociety and converſe with the Line of *Cain*.

acin.ap. 14. AFTER *Enoſh* was his ſon *Kenan*, who, as the *Arabian* * Hiſtori-
g.p.233. an informs us, ruled the people committed to him by a wiſe and excellent government, and gave the ſame charge at his death that had been given to
l.p.234. him. Next *Kenan* comes *Mahaleleel*, who carries devotion and piety in his very name, ſignifying, *one that praiſes God*, of whom they ſay, that he trained up the people in ways of juſtice and piety, bleſſed his Children at his death, and having charged them to ſeparate from the *Cainites*, appointed his ſon *Jared* to be his ſucceſſor; whoſe name denotes a *deſcent*, proba-
ac. & bly either becauſe of the notable decreaſe and declenſion of piety in his time,
c. apud or becauſe in his days ſome of the *Sethites* deſcended from the holy Moun-
ng. ubi tain to mix with the poſterity of *Cain*. For ſo the * *Oriental* writers inform
235.

us,

us, that a great noiſe and ſhout coming up from the Valley, an hundred of the holy Mountaineers agreed to go down to the ſons of *Cain*, whom *Jared* endeavoured to hinder by all the arts of counſel and perſwaſion. But what can ſtop a mind bent upon an evil courſe? down they went, and being raviſhed with the beauty of the *Cainite*-women, promiſcuouſly committed folly and lewdneſs with them; from whence ſprang a race of Giants, men of vaſt and robuſt bodies, but of more vicious and ungovernable tempers, who made their Will their Law, and Might the ſtandard and rule of Equity. Attempting to return back to the holy Mount, Heaven had ſhut up their way, the ſtones of the Mountain burning like fire when they came upon them; which whether the Reader will have faith enough to believe, I know not. *Jared* being near his death, adviſed his Children to be wiſe by the folly of their Brethren, and to have nothing to do with that prophane generation. His ſon *Enoch* followed in his ſteps, a man of admirable ſtrictneſs and piety, and peculiarly exemplary for his innocent and holy converſation, it being particularly noted of him, that *he walked with God:* He Gen. 5. 24.
ſet the Divine Majeſty before him, as the guide and pattern, the ſpectator and rewarder of his actions, in all his ways endeavoured to approve himſelf to his All-ſeeing eye, by doing nothing but what was grateful and acceptable to him; he was the great inſtance of vertue and goodneſs in an evil Age, and by the even tenor and conſtancy of a holy and a religious life ſhewed his firm belief and expectation of a future ſtate, and his hearty dependence upon the Divine goodneſs for the rewards of a better life. And God, who is never behind-hand with his ſervants, crowned his extraordinary obedience with an uncommon reward. *By faith Enoch was tranſlated, that he* Heb. 11. 5.
ſhould not ſee death, and was not found, becauſe God had tranſlated him: For before his tranſlation he had this teſtimony, that he pleaſed God. And what that faith was, is plain by what follows after, a belief of God's Being and his Bounty, *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe him: For he that cometh to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.* What this tranſlation was, and whither it was made, whether into that Terreſtrial Paradiſe out of which *Adam* was expelled and baniſhed, and whereunto *Enoch* had deſired of God he might be tranſlated, as ſome fancy, or whether placed among the Stars, as others, or carried into the higheſt Heavens, as others will have it, were nice and uſeleſs ſpeculations. 'Tis certain he was taken out of theſe mutable Regions, and ſet beyond the reach of thoſe miſeries and misfortunes, to which a preſent ſtate of ſin and mortality does betray us; tranſlated, probably, both Soul and Body, that he might be a type and *ſpecimen* of a future Reſurrection, and a ſenſible demonſtration to the World that there is a reward for the righteous, and another ſtate after this, wherein good Men ſhall be happy for ever. I paſs by the fancy of the *Jews* as vain and frivolous, that though *Enoch* was a good Man, yet was he very mutable and inconſtant, and apt to be led aſide, and that this was the reaſon, why God tranſlated him ſo ſoon, leſt he ſhould have been debauched by the charms and allurements of a wicked World. He was an eminent Prophet, and a fragment of his Prophecy is yet extant in S. *Jude*'s Epiſtle, by which it appears, that wickedneſs was then grown rampant, and the manners of men very corrupt and vicious, and that he as plainly told them of their faults, and that Divine vengeance that would certainly overtake them. Of *Methuſelah* his Son nothing conſiderable is upon Record, but his great Age, living full DCCCCLXIX. Years (the longeſt proportion which any of the Patriarchs arrived to) and died in that very Year wherein the Floud came upon the World.

15. FROM his Son *Lamech*, concerning whom we find nothing memorable, we proceed to his Grandchild *Noah*, by the very impoſition of whoſe Name his Parents preſaged that he would be a *refreſhment* and comfort to the World, and highly inſtrumental to remove that *curſe* which God by an Univerſal Deluge was bringing upon the Earth, *He called his Name Noah, ſaying, This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, becauſe of the ground which the Lord hath curſed*; he was one in whom his Parents did *acquieſce* and reſt ſatisfied, that he would be eminently uſeful and ſerviceable to the World. Indeed he proved a perſon of incomparable ſanctity and integrity, *a Preacher of righteouſneſs* to others, and who as carefully practiſed it himſelf. He *was a juſt man, and perfect in his generation, and he walked with God.* He did not warp and decline with the humour of the Age he lived in, but maintained his ſtation, and kept his Line. *He was upright in his Generation.* 'Tis no thanks to be religious, when it is the humour and faſhion of the Times: the great trial is, when we live in the midſt of a corrupt generation. It is the crown of vertue to be good, when there are all manner of temptations to the contrary, when the greateſt part of Men go the other way, when vertue and honeſty are laughed and drolled on, and cenſured as an over-wiſe and affected ſingularity; when luſt and debauchery are accounted the modes of Gallantry, and pride and oppreſſion ſuffered to ride in proſperous triumphs without controll. Thus it was with *Noah*, he contended with the Vices of the Age, and dared to own God and Religion, when almoſt all Mankind beſides himſelf had rejected and thrown them off. For in his time wickedneſs openly appeared with a brazen Forehead, and violence had covered the face of the Earth, the promiſcuous mixtures of the Children of *Seth* and *Cain* had produced *Giants* and mighty Men, men ſtrong to do evil, and who had as much will as power, ὑβρισταὶ παῖδες, καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπται καλῶν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει πεποιθησιν, as *Joſephus* deſcribes them, *a race of men inſolent and ungovernable, ſcornful and injurious, and who bearing up themſelves in the confidence of their own ſtrength, deſpiſed all juſtice and equity, and made every thing truckle under their extravagant luſts and appetites.* The very ſame character does *Lucian* give of the Men of this Age, ſpeaking of the times of *Deucalion* (their *Noah*) and the Floud, ὑβρισταὶ κάρτα ἐόντες (ſays he) ἀθέμιστα ἔργα ἔπραξαν. ἔτε γὰρ ὅρκια ἐφύλαξον, ἔτε ξενίης ἐδέχοντο, ἔτε ἱκετέων ἠνείχοντο, ἀνθ' ὧν σφίσι ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὴ ἀπίκετο. αὐλίκα γὰρ ἡ γῆ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐκδιδοῖ, &c. Men exceedingly ſcornful and contumelious, and guilty of the moſt unrighteous and enormous actions, violating all Oaths and Covenants, throwing off kindneſs and hoſpitality, and rejecting all addreſſes and ſupplications made to them. For which cauſe great miſeries overtook them: for Heaven and Earth, Seas and Rivers conſpired together to pour out mighty Flouds upon the World; which ſwept all away, but *Deucalion* only, who for his prudence and piety was left to repair Mankind. And ſo he goes on with the relation conſonant to the accounts of the Sacred ſtory. This infection had ſpread it ſelf over all parts, and was become ſo general and Epidemical, that *all Fleſh had corrupted their ways*, and ſcarce any beſide *Noah* left to keep up the face of a Church, and the profeſſion of Religion. Things being come to this paſs quickly alarm'd the Divine Juſtice, and made the World ripe for vengeance; the patience of God was now tired out, and he reſolved to make Mankind feel the juſt effects of his incenſed ſeverity. But yet in the midſt of judgment he remembers mercy: he tells them, that though he would not ſuffer his patience to be eternally proſtituted to the wanton humours of wicked men, yet that he would bear with them CXX. Years longer in order to their reformation. So loth is God to take

n. 5. 29.

n. 6. 9.

Antiquit. Jud. l. 1. c. 4. p. 8.

Dea Syria. p. 1. Tom. 2.

take advantage of the ſins of men, *not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come unto Repentance.* In the mean time righteous *Noah* found favour with Heaven (a good man hath a peculiar guardianſhip and protection in the worſt of times) and God orders him to *prepare an Ark for the ſaving of his Houſe.* An Hundred Years was this Ark in building, not but that it might have been finiſhed in a far leſs time, but that God was willing to give them ſo long a ſpace for wiſe and ſober conſiderations, *Noah* preaching all the while both by his doctrine and his practice, that they would break off their ſins by repentance, and prevent their ruine. But *they that are filthy, will be filthy ſtill*; the hardned World perſiſted in their impieties, till the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermoſt; and *deſtroyed the World of the ungodly.* God ſhut up *Noah*, his Wife, his three Sons and their Wives into the Ark, together with proviſions, and ſo many Creatures of every ſort as were ſufficient not only for food, but for reparation of the kind (Miracles muſt not be expected, where ordinary means may be had) and then *opened* the *Windows* of Heaven, and *broke* up the *Fountains* of the Deep, and brought in the Floud that ſwept all away. Twelve months *Noah* and his Family continued in this floating habitation; when the Waters being gone, and the Earth dried, he came forth, and the firſt thing he did, was to erect an *Altar*, and offer up an Euchariſtical Sacrifice to God for ſo remarkable a deliverance (ſome of the *Jews* tell us, that coming out of the Ark he was bitten by a Lion, and rendred unfit for Sacrifice, and that therefore *Sem* did it in his room) he did not concern himſelf for food, or a preſent habitation, but immediately betook himſelf to his devotion. God was infinitely pleaſed with the pious and grateful ſenſe of the good man, and openly declared that his diſpleaſure was over, and that he would no more bring upon the World ſuch effects of his ſeverity as he had lately done, and that the Ordinances of Nature ſhould duly perform their conſtant motions, and regularly obſerve their periodical revolutions. And becauſe Man was the principal Creature in this lower World, he reſtored to him his Charter of Dominion and Soveraignty over the Creatures, and by enacting ſome Laws againſt Murder and Cruelty ſecured the peace and happineſs of his life: and then eſtabliſhed a *Covenant* with *Noah* and all Mankind, that he would no more drown the World, for the ratification and enſurance whereof he placed the *Rain-bow* in the Clouds, as a perpetual ſign and memorial of his Promiſe. *Noah* after this betook himſelf to Husbandry, and planting Vineyards, and being unwarily overtaken with the fruit of the Vine, became a ſcorn to *Cham* one of his own Sons, while the two others piouſly covered their Fathers ſhame. Awaking out of his ſleep, and knowing what had been done, he prophetically curſed *Cham* and his Poſterity; bleſſed *Sem*, and in *Japhet* foretold the calling of the *Gentiles* to the worſhip of God, and the knowledge of the *Meſſiah*, that God ſhould *enlarge Japhet, and that he ſhould dwell in the Tents of Shem.* He died in the DCCCCL. Year of his Age, having ſeen both Worlds, that before the Floud, and that which came after it.

16. *SEM* and *Japhet* were the two good Sons of *Noah*, in the aſſigning whoſe primogeniture, though the Scripture be not poſitive and decretory, yet do the moſt probable reaſons appear for *Japhet*, eſpecially if we compute their Age. *Sem* was an Hundred Years old two Years after the Floud (for then he begat *Arphaxad*) now the Floud happened juſt in the DC. Year of *Noah*'s Age; whence it follows that *Sem* was born, when his Father was Five Hundred and Two Years old. But *Noah* being expreſly ſaid to have begotten Sons in the Five Hundreth Year of his Age, plain it is that there muſt be one Son at leaſt two Years Elder than *Sem*, which could Gen. 11. 1. 7. 11. 5. 32.

be no other than *Japhet*, *Cham* being acknowledged by all the Younger
10.21. Brother. And hence it is that *Sem* is called, the Brother יפת הגדול *of Japhet the Greater*, or as we render it, *the Elder*. They were both pious and devout Men, having been brought up under the religious Institutions, not only of their Father *Noah*, but their Grand-father *Lamech*, and their Great-grand-father *Methuselah*, who had for some Hundreds of Years conversed with *Adam*. The holy story records nothing concerning the state of Religion in their days, and little heed is to be given to the *Eastern* Writers, when they tell us of *Sem*, that according to the command of his Father he took the Body of *Adam*, which *Noah* had secretly hidden in the Ark, and joyning himself to *Melchisedeck*, they went and buried it in the heart of the Earth, an Angel going before, and conducting them to the place, with a great deal more, with little truth, and to as little purpose. As for the Patriarchs born after the Floud, little notice is taken of them besides the bare mention of their names, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Eber*. Of this last they say, that he was a great Prophet, that he instituted Schools and Seminaries for the advancement and propagation of Religion: and there was great reason for him to bestir himself, if it be true, what the *Arabian* Historians tell us, that now Idolatry began mightily to prevail, and men generally carved to themselves the *Images* of their Ancestors, to which upon all occasions they addressed themselves with the most solemn veneration, the *Dæmons* giving answers through the Images which they worshipped. *Heber* was the Father of the *Jewish* Nation, who from him are said to have derived the title of *Hebrews*, Ἕβερος, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχῆθεν ὀκάλουν, as *Josephus* tells us, (though there want not those who assign other reasons of the name) and that the *Hebrew* Language was preserved in his family, which till his time had been the mother-tongue, and the common Language of the World. To *Eber* succeeded his son *Peleg*, a name given him out of a Prophetical foresight of that memorable *division* that hapned in his time. For now it was that a company of bold daring persons combining themselves under the conduct and command of *Nimrod*, resolved to erect a vast and stupendous Fabrick, partly to raise themselves a mighty reputation in the World, partly to secure themselves from the Invasion of an after-deluge, and probably as a place of retreat and defence, the better to enable them to put in practice that oppression and tyranny which they designed to exercise over the World. But whatever it was, God was displeased with the attempt, and to shew how easily he can baffle the subtillest Councils, and in a moment subvert the firmest projects, on a sudden he confounded the Language of these foolish Builders, so that they were forced to desist from their vain and ambitious design, as not being able to understand and converse with one another. To *Peleg* succeeded his son *Rehu*, to *Rehu Serug*, to him *Nachor*, to *Nachor Terah*, who dwelt in *Ur of the Chaldæans*, where conversing with those Idolatrous Nations, he laps'd himself into the most gross Idolatry. So apt are men *to follow a multitude to do evil*, so fatally mischievous is ill company, and a bad example. But the best way to avoid the plague, is to remove out of the house of infection. Away goes *Terah* to *Haran*, where by repentance he is said to have recovered himself out of the *snare of the Devil*.

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17. *ABRAHAM* the second son of *Terah* succeeds in the Patriarchal Line. In his minority he was educated in the Idolatries of his Father's house, who, they say, was a maker of Statues and Images: And the * *Jews* tell us many pleasant stories of *Abraham*'s going into the shop in the absence of his Father, his breaking the Images, and jeering those that came to buy, or worship them; of his Father's carrying him to *Nimrod* to be punished,

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his witty anſwers, and miraculous eſcapes. But God who had deſigned him for higher and nobler purpoſes, called him at length out of his Father's houſe, fully diſcovered himſelf to him, and by many ſolemn promiſes and federal compacts peculiarly engaged him to himſelf. He was a man intirely devoted to the honour of God, and had conſecrated all his ſervices to the intereſts of Religion, ſcarce any duty either towards God or men for which he is not eminent upon record. Towards God, how great was his zeal and care to promote his worſhip? erecting Altars almoſt in every place, whereon he publickly offered his prayers and ſacrifice. His love to God wholly ſwallowed up the love and regard that he had to his deareſt intereſts, witneſs his intire reſignation of himſelf, his chearful renouncing all the concernments of his Eſtate and Family, and eſpecially his readineſs to ſacrifice his only ſon, the ſon of his old age, and which is above all, the ſon of the promiſe, when God by way of trial required it of him. How vigorous and triumphant was his faith, eſpecially in the great promiſe of a ſon, which he firmly embraced againſt all humane probabilities to the contrary? *Againſt hope he believed in hope, and being ſtrong in faith, gave glory to God.* How hearty was his dependence upon the Divine Providence, when called to leave his Father's houſe, and to go into a ſtrange Country, how chearfully did he *obey and go out, though he knew not whither he went?* How unconquerable was his patience, how even the compoſure of his mind in all conditions? in fifteen ſeveral journeys that he undertook, and ten difficult temptations which he underwent, he never betrayed the leaſt murmuring or hard thought of God. Towards others he ſhewed the greateſt tenderneſs and reſpect, the moſt meek and unpaſſionate temper, a mind inflamed with a deſire of peace and concord: Admirable his juſtice and equity in all his dealings, his great hoſpitality and bounty towards ſtrangers, and for that end (ſay the *Jews*) he got him an houſe near the entring into *Haran*, that he might entertain ſtrangers as they went in, or came out of the City, at his own table; as indeed he ſeems to have had that moſt excellent and Divine temper of mind, an univerſal love and charity towards all men. But his greateſt charity appeared in the care that he took of the Souls of men. *Maimonides* tells us, that he kept a publick School of inſtitution, whither he gathered men together, and inſtructed them in that truth, which he himſelf had embraced, and he gives us an account by what methods of reaſoning and information he uſed to convince and perſwade them. But whatever he did towards others, we are ſure he did it towards thoſe that were under his own charge. He had a numerous family, and a vaſt retinue, and he was as careful to inform them in the knowledge of the true God, and to inſtruct them in all the duties of Religion. 'Tis the character which God himſelf gave of him, *I know Abraham, that he will command his children, and his houſhold after him, and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord, to do juſtice and judgment.* And ſo he did, his houſe being a School of piety, wherein Religion was both taught and practiſed, many reclaimed from the errors and idolatries of the times, and all his domeſticks and dependants ſolemnly dedicated to God by Circumciſion. Therefore when 'tis ſaid, that he *brought with him all the Souls which they had gotten in Haran*, Gen. 12. 5. the Paraphraſe of *Onkelos* renders it, יתּ נפשתּא דשעבידו לאוריתּא בחרן *the Souls which they had ſubjected to the Law in Haran*; *Jonathans Targum*, and much at the ſame rate that of *Jeruſalem*, נפשתּא דיוניהון the Souls which they had *made proſelytes in Haran*, or as *Solomon Jarchi* expreſſes it, a little more after the *Hebrew* mode, the Souls which they had gathered, בתחת כנפי השכינה *under the wings of the Divine Majeſty*; and he fur- Gen. 14. 1.

Mor. Nevoch. part. 2. cap. p. 301.

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ther adds, that *Abraham* proſelyted the men, and *Sarah* the women. So when elſewhere we read of his *trained ſervants*, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Maſters expound it by חניכים למצורת thoſe that were *initiated and trained up in the knowledge of the Law.* Such being the temper of this holy man, God was pleaſed frequently to converſe with him, and to impart his mind to him; acquainting him with the ſecret counſels and purpoſes of his Providence, whence he is ſtiled *the friend of God.* But that which ſhewed him to be moſt dear to Heaven, was the Covenant which God ſolemnly made with him; wherein binding *Abraham* and his ſeed to a ſincere and univerſal obedience, he obliged himſelf to become *their God*, to be his *ſhield* and *his exceeding great reward*, to take his poſterity for his peculiar people, to encreaſe their number, and to inlarge their power, to ſettle them in a rich and a pleaſant Country (a type of that Heavenly and better Country that is above) and which was the crown of all, that *in his ſeed all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed*, that is, the promiſed *Meſſiah* ſhould proceed out of his loins, who ſhould be a common bleſſing to mankind, in whom both *Jew* and *Gentile* ſhould be juſtified and ſaved, and he by that means become (ſpiritually) *the Father of many Nations.* This Covenant was ratified and enſured on God's part by a ſolemn oath, *For when God made promiſe to Abraham, be-*
b.6.13,14. *cauſe he could ſwear by no greater, he ſware by himſelf, ſaying, Surely bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and multiplying* I *will multiply thee.* On *Abraham*'s part it was ſealed with the Sacrament of *Circumciſion*, which God inſtituted as a peculiar federal rite, to diſtinguiſh *Abraham*'s poſterity from all other people. *Abraham* died in the CLXXV. year of his Age, and was buried in the Sepulchre which himſelf had purchaſed of the ſons of *Heth.* Contemporary
t.2.7,8. with *Abraham* was his Nephew *Lot*, a *juſt man*, but *vexed with the filthy converſation of the wicked*; for dwelling in the midſt of an impure and debauched generation, *In ſeeing and hearing he vexed his righteous Soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds.* This endeared him to Heaven, who took a particular care of him, and ſent an Angel on purpoſe to conduct him and his family out of *Sodom*, before he let looſe that fatal vengeance that overturned it.

18. *Abraham* being dead, *Iſaac* ſtood up in his ſtead, the ſon of his Parents old age, and the fruit of an extraordinary promiſe. Being delivered from being a ſacrifice, he frequented (ſay the *Jews*) the School of *Sem*, wherein he was educated in the knowledge of Divine things till his marriage with *Rebeccah.* But however that was, he was a good man, we
4.63. read of his *going out to meditate* or *pray in the field at even-tide*, and elſewhere we find him publickly ſacrificing and calling upon God. In all his diſtreſſes God ſtill appeared to him, animated him againſt his fears, and encouraged him to go on in the ſteps of his Father, renewing the ſame promiſes to him which he had made to *Abraham.* Nay, ſo viſible and remarkable was the intereſt which he had in Heaven, that *Abimelech* King of *the Philiſtines* and his Courtiers thought it their wiſeſt courſe to confederate with him for
6.28. this very reaſon, becauſe *they ſaw certainly that the Lord was with him, and that he was the bleſſed of the Lord.* Religion is the trueſt intereſt, and the wiſeſt portion, 'tis the ſureſt protection, and the ſafeſt refuge. *When a man's ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.* *Iſaac* dying in the CLXXX. year of his life, the Patriarchate devolved upon his ſon *Jacob*, by vertue of the primogeniture which he had purchaſed of his brother *Eſau*, and which had been confirmed to him by the grant and bleſſing of his Father (though ſubtilly procured by the artifice and policy of his Mother) who alſo told him, that *God Almighty would bleſs and multiply*

him

him and his ſeed after him, and that the bleſſing of Abraham ſhould come upon them. He intirely devoted himſelf to the fear and ſervice of God, kept up his Worſhip, and vindicated it from the incroachments of Idolatry, he erected Altars at every turn, and zealouſly purged his houſe from thoſe *Terâphim* or Idols which *Rachel* had brought along with her out of *Laban*'s houſe, either to prevent her Father's enquiring at them which way *Jacob* had made his eſcape, or to take away from him the inſtruments of his Idolatry, or poſſibly that ſhe might have wherewith to propitiate and pacifie her Father in caſe he ſhould purſue and overtake them, as *Joſephus* thinks, though ſurely then ſhe would have produced them, when ſhe ſaw her Father ſo zealous to retrieve them. He had frequent Viſions and Divine condeſcenſions, God appearing to him, and ratifying the Covenant that he had made with *Abraham*, and changing his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, as a memorial of the mighty prevalency which he had with Heaven. In his later time he removed his family into *Egypt*, where God had prepared his way by the preferment of his ſon *Joſeph* to be *Vice-Roy* and Lord of that vaſt and fertile Country, advanced to that place of ſtate and grandeur by many ſtrange and unſearchable methods of the Divine Providence. By his two Wives, the Daughters of his Uncle *Laban*, and his two Handmaids he had twelve Sons, who afterwards became founders of the Twelve Tribes of the *Jewiſh* Nation; to whom upon his deathbed he bequeathed his bleſſings, conſigning their ſeveral portions, and the particular fates of every Tribe, among whom that of *Judah* is moſt remarkable, to whom it was foretold, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould ariſe out of that Tribe, that the Regal Power and Political Soveraignty ſhould be annexed to it, and remain in it till the *Meſſiah* came, at whoſe coming the *Scepter ſhould depart, and the Law-giver from between his knees*: And thus all their own Paraphraſts, both *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, and he of *Jeruſalem* do expound it, that there ſhould *not want Kings or Rulers of the houſe of Judah, nor Scribes to teach the Law of that race,* עד זמן דייתי מלכא משיחא דדיליה הוא מלכותא *until the time that Meſſiah the King ſhall come, whoſe the Kingdom is.* And ſo it accordingly came to paſs, for at the time of Chriſt's Birth, *Herod*, who was a ſtranger, had uſurped the Throne, debaſed the authority of their great *Sanhedrim*, murdered their Senators, deveſted them of all Judiciary power, and kept them ſo low, that they had *not power left to put a man to death. And unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be.* A prophecy exactly accompliſhed, when in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity the Nations of the World flocked to the ſtandard of *Chriſt* at the publication of the Goſpel. *Jacob* died CXLVII. years old, and was buried in *Canaan*, in the Sepulchre of his Fathers: After whoſe deceaſe his poſterity for ſome hundreds of years were afflicted under the *Egyptian* yoke. Till God remembring the Covenant he had made with their Fathers, powerfully reſcued them from the Iron Furnace, and conducted them through the wilderneſs into the Land of Promiſe, where he framed and ordered their Commonwealth, appointed Laws for the government of their Church, and ſetled them under a more fixed and certain diſpenſation.

Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 19. p. 31

Gen. 49. 10

19. HITHERTO we have ſurveyed the ſtate of the Church in the conſtant ſucceſſion of the *Patriarchal* Line. But if we ſtep a little further into the Hiſtory of thoſe times, we ſhall find that there were ſome extraordinary perſons without the Pale of that holy Tribe, renowned for the worſhip of God, and the profeſſion of Religion; among whom two are moſt conſiderable, *Melchiſedeck* and *Job*. *Melchiſedeck* was King of *Salem* in the land of *Canaan*, and *Prieſt of the moſt high God*. The ſhort account which the Scripture gives of him hath left room for various fancies and conjectures.

ctures. The opinion that has most generally obtained is, that *Melchisedeck* was *Sem*, one of the sons of *Noah*, who was of a great Age, and lived above LXX. years after *Abraham*'s coming into *Canaan*, and might therefore well enough meet him in his triumphant return from his conquest over the Kings of the Plain. But notwithstanding the universal authority which this opinion assumes to it self, it appears not to me with any tolerable probability, partly because *Canaan*, where *Melchisedeck* lived, was none of those Countries which were allotted to *Sem* and to his posterity, and unlikely it is that he should be Prince in a foreign Country: partly, because those things which the Scripture reports concerning *Melchisedeck*, do no ways agree to *Sem*, as that *he was without Father and Mother, without genealogie*, &c. whenas *Moses* does most exactly describe and record *Sem* and his Family, both as to his Ancestors, and as to his posterity. That therefore which seems most probable in the case, is, that he was one of the *Reguli*, or petty Kings (whereof there were many) in the land of *Canaan*, but a pious and devout man, and a worshipper of the true God, as there were many others in those days among the Idolatrous Nations; he being extraordinarily raised up by God from among the *Canaanites*, and brought in without mention of Parents, original or end, without any Predecessor or Successor in his office, that he might be a fitter type of the Royal and Eternal Priesthood of *Christ*. And for any more particular account concerning his person, it were folly and rashness over-curiously to enquire after what God seems industriously to have concealed from us. The great character under which the Scripture takes notice of him, is his relation to our blessed Saviour, who is more than once said to *be a Priest*, κατὰ τάξιν, *after the order*, in the same way and manner that *Melchisedeck* was, or (as the Apostle explains
7.15. himself) *after the similitude of Melchisedeck*. Our Lord was such a Priest as *Melchisedeck* was, there being a nearer similitude and conformity between them, than ever was between any other Priests whatsoever. A subject which S. *Paul* largely and particularly treats of. Passing by the minuter instances of the parallel, taken from the name of his person, *Melchisedeck*, that is, *King of righteousness*, and his title to his Kingdom, *King of Salem*, that is, *of Peace*; we shall observe three things especially wherein he was a type of *Christ*. First, in the peculiar qualification of his person, something being recorded of him uncommon to the rest of men, and that is,
7.3. that he was *without Father, without Mother*, and *without descent*. Not that *Melchisedeck* like *Adam* was immediately created, or in an instant dropt down from Heaven, but that he hath no kindred recorded in the story, which brings him in without any mention of Father or Mother, οὐκ ἴσμεν
l.12.in ποτὲ τίνα πατέρα ἔσχεν, ἢ τίνα μητέρα, as *Chrysostom* glosses, we know not
p.18. what Father or Mother he had: He was (says S. *Paul*) ἀγενεολόγητος, *without genealogie*, without having any *pedigree* extant upon record, whence the ancient *Syriack* Version truly expresses the sence of the whole passage thus, *Whose neither Father nor Mother are written*, ܩܦܪܟܬܐ *among the generations*, that is, the genealogies of the ancient Patriarchs. And thus he eminently typified *Christ*, of whom this is really true: He is without Father in respect of his humane nature, begotten only of a pure Virgin; without Mother, in respect of his Divinity, being begotten of his Father before all Worlds, by an eternal and ineffable generation. Secondly, *Melchisedeck* typified our Saviour in the duration and continuance of his office; for so 'tis said of him, that he was *without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Priest continually*.

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By which we are not to underſtand that *Melchiſedeck* never died, for being a man he was ſubject to the ſame common Law of mortality with other men: But the meaning is, that as he is ſaid to be *without Father and Mother*, becauſe the Scripture ſpeaking of him makes no mention of his Parents, his Genealogy and deſcent: So he is ſaid to *abide a Prieſt for ever, without any beginning of days, or end of life*, becauſe we have no account of any that either preceeded, or ſucceeded him in his office, no mention of the time either when he took it up, or laid it down. And herein how lively and eminent a type of *Chriſt*, the true *Melchiſedeck*, who as to his Divine nature was without beginning of days from Eternal Ages, and who either in the execution or vertue of his office abides for ever. There is no abolition, no tranſlation of his office, no expectation of any to ariſe that ſhall ſucceed him in it: *He was made a Prieſt not after the Law of a carnal Commandment*, a tranſient and mutable diſpenſation, *but after the power of an endleſs life*. Thirdly, *Melchiſedeck* was a type of *Chriſt* in his excellency above all other Prieſts. S. *Paul*'s great deſign is to evince the preheminence and precedency of *Melchiſedeck* above all the Prieſts of the *Moſaick* miniſtration, yea, above *Abraham* himſelf, the Founder and Father of the *Jewiſh* Nation, from whom they reckoned it ſo great an honour to derive themſelves. And this the Apoſtle proves by a double inſtance. Firſt, that *Abraham*, in whoſe loins the *Levitical* Prieſts then were, paid *tithes* to *Melchiſedeck*, when he *gave him the tenth of all his ſpoils*, as due to God and his Miniſters, thereby confeſſing himſelf and his poſterity inferiour to him. *Now conſider how great this man was, unto whom even the Patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the ſpoils.* Heb. 7. 4, 5, 6 &c. Secondly, that *Melchiſedeck* conferred upon *Abraham* a ſolemn benediction, it being a ſtanding part of the Prieſts office to bleſs the people. And this was an undeniable argument of his ſuperiority. *He whoſe deſcent is not counted from them* (the legal Prieſts) *received tithes of Abraham, and bleſſed him that had the promiſes: And without all contradiction the leſs is bleſſed of the better.* Ibid. Ver. 6, 7. Whereby it evidently appears, that *Melchiſedeck* was greater than *Abraham*, and conſequently than all the *Levitical* Prieſts that deſcended from him. Now herein he admirably prefigured and ſhadowed out our bleſſed Saviour, a perſon peculiarly choſen out by God, ſent into the World upon a nobler and a more important errand, owned by more ſolemn and mighty atteſtations from Heaven, than ever was any other perſon; his office incomparably beyond that of the legal Oeconomy, his perſon greater, his undertaking weightier, his deſign more ſublime and excellent, his oblation more valuable and meritorious, his prayers more prevalent and ſucceſsful, his office more durable and laſting, than ever any whoſe buſineſs it was to intercede and mediate between God and man.

20. THE other extraordinary perſon under this *Oeconomy* is *Job*, concerning whom two things are to be enquired into, Who he was, and when he lived. For the firſt, we find him deſcribed by his Name, his Country, his Kindred, his Quality, his Religion, and his Sufferings, though in many of them we are left under great uncertainties, and to the ſatisfaction only of probable conjectures. For his name, among many conjectures two are eſpecially conſiderable, though founded upon very different reaſons, one that it is from אִיּוֹב ſignifying one that *grieves* or groans, myſtically pre-ſaging thoſe grievous miſeries and ſufferings that afterwards came upon him; the other, more probably, from אָהַב to *love*, or to *deſire*, noting him the deſire and delight of his Parents, earneſtly prayed for, and affectionately embraced with the tendereſt endearments. His Country was *the land of Uz*, though where that was, is almoſt as much diſpu-

diſputed, as about the ſource of *Nilus*: Some will have it *Armenia*, others *Paleſtine*, or the land of *Canaan*, and ſome of the *Jewiſh* Maſters aſſure us, that בית מדרשו *his School*, or place of inſtitution was at *Tiberias*, and nothing more commonly ſhewed to Travellers than *Job's Well* in the way between *Ramah* and *Jeruſalem*; others place it in *Syria* near *Damaſcus*, ſo called from *Uz*, the ſuppoſed Founder of that City; others a little more Northward at *Apamea*, now called *Hama*, where his houſe is ſaid to be ſhewed at this day: Moſt make it to be part of *Idumæa* near *mount Seir*, or elſe *Arabia* the Deſart (probably it was in the confines of both) this part of *Arabia* being neareſt to the *Sabæans* and *Chaldæans*, who invaded him, and moſt applicable to his dwelling among the *Sons of the Eaſt*, to the ſituation of his friends who came to viſit him, and beſt correſponding with thoſe frequent *Arabiſms* diſcernable both in the Language and Diſcourſes of *Job* and his Friends; not to ſay that this Country produced perſons exceedingly addicted to Learning and Contemplation, and the ſtudies of natural Philoſophy, whence the wiſe men who came out of the *Eaſt* to worſhip *Chriſt* are thought by many to have been *Arabians*. For his kindred and his friends, we find four taken notice of, who came to viſit him in his diſtreſs; *Eliphaz the Temanite*, the ſon probably of *Teman*, and grandchild of *Eſau* by his eldeſt ſon *Eliphaz*, the Country deriving its name *Teman* from his Father, and was ſituate in *Idumæa* in the borders of the *Deſart Arabia*: *Bildad the Shuhite*, a deſcendant in all likelihood of *Shuah*, one of the ſons of *Abraham* by his wife *Keturah*, whoſe ſeat was in this part of *Arabia*: *Zophar the Naamathite*, a Country lying near thoſe parts: And *Elihu the Buzite*, of the off-ſpring of *Buz* the ſon of *Nahor*, and ſo nearly related to *Job* himſelf. He *was the ſon of Barachel, of the kindred of Ram*, who was the head of the Family, and his habitation was in the parts of *Arabia* the *Deſart* near *Euphrates*, or at leaſt in the Southern part of *Meſopotamia* bordering upon it. As for *Job* himſelf, he is made by ſome a *Canaanite*, of the poſterity of *Cham*; by others to deſcend from *Sem* by his ſon *Amram*, whoſe eldeſt ſons name was *Uz*; by moſt from *Eſau*, the Father of the *Idumæan* Nations; but moſt probably either from *Nahor*, *Abraham*'s brother, whoſe ſons were *Huz*, *Buz*, *Cheſed*, &c. or from *Abraham* himſelf by ſome of the ſons which he had by his wife *Keturah*, whereby an account is moſt probably given, how *Job* came to be imbued with thoſe ſeeds of Piety and true Religion, for which he was ſo eminently remarkable, as deriving them from thoſe Religious principles and inſtructions which *Abraham* and *Nahor* had bequeathed to their poſterity. His quality and the circumſtances of his External ſtate were very conſiderable, a man rich and honourable; *His ſubſtance was ſeven thouſand Sheep, and three thouſand Camels, and five hundred yoke of Oxen, and five hundred ſhe-Aſſes, and a very great houſhold*, ſo that he was *the greateſt of all the men of the Eaſt*; himſelf largely deſcribes the great honour and proſperity of his fortunes, that *he waſhed his ſteps in Butter, and the rock poured out rivers of Oil; when he went out to the gate through the City, and prepared his ſeat in the ſtreet, the young men ſaw him, and hid themſelves, the aged aroſe and ſtood up, the Princes refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth*, &c. *He delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs and him that had none to help him, the bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon him*, &c. *He brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the ſpoil out of their teeth*, &c. Indeed ſo great his ſtate and dignity, that it has led many into a perſwaſion, that he was King of *Idumæa*, a powerful and mighty Prince; a fancy that has received no ſmall encouragement from the common but groundleſs confounding of *Job* with *Jobab* King of *Edom*, of the

race

race of *Eſau*. For the ſtory gives no intimation of any ſuch royal dignity, to which *Job* was advanced, but always ſpeaks of him as a private perſon, though exceeding wealthy and proſperous, and thereby probably of extraordinary power and eſtimation in his Country. Nay, that he might not want fit Companions in his Regal capacity, three of his friends are made Kings as well as he, the LXX. Tranſlators themſelves ſtiling *Eliphaz King* of the *Temanites*, *Bildad* of the *Suchites*, and *Zophar* King of the *Minæans*, though with as little, probably leſs reaſon than the former.

BUT whatever his condition was, we are ſure he was no leſs eminent for Piety and Religion, he *was a man perfect and upright, one that feared God, and eſchewed evil.* Though living among the Idolatrous *Gentiles*, he kept up the true and ſincere worſhip of God, daily offered up Sacrifices and Prayers to Heaven, piouſly inſtructed his Children and Family, lived in an intire dependence upon the Divine Providence, in all his diſcourſes expreſſed the higheſt and moſt honourable ſentiments and thoughts of God, and ſuch as beſt became the Majeſty of an Infinite Being; in all tranſactions he was juſt and righteous, compaſſionate and charitable, modeſt and humble, indeed by the character of God himſelf, who knew him beſt, *There was none like him in the Earth, a perfect and an upright man, fearing God, and eſchewing evil*: his mind was ſubmiſſive and compliant, his patience generous and unſhaken, great even to a Proverb, *You have heard of the Patience of Job.* And enough he had to try it to the utmoſt, if we conſider what ſufferings he underwent; thoſe evils which are wont but ſingly to ſeiſe upon other men, all centred and met in him. Plundered in his Eſtate by the *Sabæan* and *Chaldæan* Free-booters (whoſe ſtanding livelihood were ſpoils and robberies) and not an Oxe or Aſſe left of all the Herd, not a Sheep or a Lamb either for Food or Sacrifice: Undone in his Poſterity, his Seven Sons, and Three Daughters being all ſlain at once by the fall of one Houſe: blaſted in his credit and good name, and that by his neareſt friends, who traduced and challenged him for a diſſembler and an hypocrite. Ruined in his health, being ſmitten with *ſore boils* from the crown of the Head to the ſole of the Foot, till his Body became a very Hoſpital of Diſeaſes: tormented in his mind with ſad and uncomfortable reflections, *The arrows of the Almighty being ſhot within him, the poiſon whereof drank up his ſpirit, the terrors of God ſetting themſelves in array againſt him.* All which were aggravated and ſet home by *Satan*, the grand Engineer of all thoſe torments, and all this continuing for at leaſt Twelve Months (ſay the *Jews*) probably for a much longer time; and yet endured with great courage and fortitude of mind, till God put a period to this tedious Trial, and crowned his ſufferings with an ample reſtitution. We have ſeen who this excellent Perſon was, we are next to enquire when he lived. And here we meet with almoſt an infinite variety of Opinions, ſome making him contemporary with *Abraham*, others with *Jacob*, which had he been, we ſhould doubtleſs have found ſome mention of him in their ſtory, as well as we do of *Melchiſedeck*: others again refer him to the time of the Law given at Mount *Sinai*, and the *Iſraelites* travels in the Wilderneſs; others to the times of the *Judges* after the ſettlement of the *Iſraelites* in the Land of Promiſe, nay, ſome to the reign of *David* and *Solomon*; and I know not whether the Reader will not ſmile at the fancy of the *Turkiſh Chronologiſts*, who make *Job Major-domo* to *Solomon*, as they make *Alexander the Great*, the General of his Army. Others go further, and place him among thoſe that were carried away in the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, yea in the time of *Ahaſuerus*, and make his fair Daughters to be of the number of thoſe beautiful young Virgins that were ſought-for for the

Vid. Maimo. Mor. Nev. part. 3. cap. p. 395.

Ang. Buſbe. de Legat. T. cic. Epiſt. 1. p. 94.

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the King. Follies that need no confutation. 'Tis certain that he was elder than *Moſes*, his Kindred and Family, his way of ſacrificing, the Idolatry riſe in his time, evidently placing him before that Age; beſides that there are not the leaſt foot-ſteps in all his Book of any of the great things done for the *Iſraelites* deliverance, which we can hardly ſuppoſe ſhould have been omitted, being examples ſo freſh in memory, and ſo appoſite to the deſign of that Book. Moſt probable therefore it is, that he lived about the time of the *Iſraelitiſh* Captivity in *Egypt*, though whether, as ſome *Jews* will have it, born that very Year that *Jacob* came down into *Egypt*, and dying that Year that they went out of *Egypt*, I dare not peremptorily affirm. And this no queſtion is the reaſon why we find nothing concerning him in the Writings of *Moſes*, the Hiſtory of thoſe Times being crowded up into a very little room, little being recorded even of the *Iſraelites* themſelves for near Two Hundred Years, more than in general that they were heavily oppreſſed under the *Egyptian* Yoke. More concerning this great and good Man, and the things relating to him, if the Reader deſire to know, he may among others conſult the elaborate exercitations of the younger *Spanhemius* in his *Hiſtoria Jobi*, where the largeſt curioſity may find enough to ſatisfie it.

22. AND now for a Concluſion to this *Oeconomy*, if we reflect a little upon the ſtate of things under this period of the World, we ſhall find that the Religion of thoſe early Ages was plain and ſimple, unforced and natural, and highly agreeable to the common dictates and notions of Mens minds. They were not educated under any foreign Inſtitutions, nor conducted by a Body of numerous Laws and written Conſtitutions, but were αὐτήκοοι καὶ αὐτομαθεῖς (as *Philo* ſays of them) tutor'd and inſtructed by the dictates of their own minds, and the Principles of that Law that was written in their hearts, following the order of Nature and right Reaſon, as the ſafeſt, and moſt ancient Rule. By which means (as one of the Ancients obſerves) ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον εὐσεβείας κατόρθωσιν τρόπον, βίῳ μὲν τῷ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κεκοσμημένοι, they maintained a free and uninterrupted courſe of Religion, conducting their lives according to the rules of Nature, ſo that having purged their minds from luſt and paſſion, and attained to the true knowledge of God, they had no need of external and written Laws. Their Creed was ſhort and perſpicuous, their notions of God great and venerable, their devotion and piety real and ſubſtantial, their worſhip grave and ſerious, and ſuch as became the grandeur and majeſty of the Divine being, their Rites and Ceremonies few and proper, their obedience prompt and ſincere, and indeed the whole conduct of their converſation diſcovering it ſelf in the moſt eſſential and important duties of the humane life. According to this ſtandard it was that our bleſſed Saviour mainly deſigned to reform Religion in his moſt excellent Inſtitutions, to retrieve the piety and purity, the innocency and ſimplicity of thoſe firſt and more uncorrupted Ages of the World, to improve the Laws of Nature, and to reduce Mankind from ritual obſervances to natural and moral duties, as the moſt vital and eſſential parts of Religion, and was therefore pleaſed to charge Chriſtianity with no more than two poſitive Inſtitutions, *Baptiſm*, and the *Lord's Supper*, that Men might learn, that the main of Religion lies not in ſuch things as theſe. Hence *Euſebius* undertakes at large to prove the faith and manners of the Holy Patriarchs, who lived before the times of *Moſes*, and the belief and practice of *Chriſtians* to be ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, one and the ſame. Which he does not only aſſert and make good in general, but deduce from particular inſtances, the examples of *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Melchiſedeck*, *Job*, &c. whom he expreſly proves to have believed and lived ἀνυπόκριτος χριστιανικῶς, altogether

il. lib. de Ab. pag. 350.

ch. Præpa. Evangel. 7. c. 6. pag.

nonſtrat. Evangel. lib. 1. 5. & 6. 10. &c. & upr. cit.

altogether after the manner of Chriſtians: Nay, that they had the *name* alſo as well as the thing, ὥϛε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριϛοῦ προσηγορίας ἡμῖν ὁμοίως κοινωνῆσαι, as he ſhews from that place (which he proves to be meant of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*) μὴ ἅπτεσθε τῶν Χριϛῶν μου, *Touch not my Chriſtians, mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.* And in ſhort, that as they had the ſame common Religion, ſo they had the common bleſſing and reward.

SECT II.

Of the MOSAICAL Diſpenſation.

Moſes *the Miniſter of this Oeconomy. His miraculous preſervation. His learned and noble education. The Divine temper of his mind. His conducting the* Iſraelites *out of* Egypt. *Their arrival at Mount* Sinai. *The Law given, and how. Moral Laws; the Decalogue whether a perfect* Compendium *of the Moral Law. The Ceremonial Laws, what. Reduced to their proper Heads. Such as concerned the matter of their Worſhip. Sacrifices, and the ſeveral kinds of them. Circumciſion. The Paſſover, and its typical relation. The place of Publick Worſhip. The Tabernacle and Temple, and the ſeveral parts of them, and their typical aſpects conſidered. Their ſtated times and feaſts, weekly, monthly, annual. The* Sabbatical *Year. The Year of* Jubilee. *Laws concerning the Perſons miniſtring; Prieſts, Levites, the High-Prieſt, how a type of Chriſt. The Deſign of the Ceremonial Law, and its abolition. The Judicial Laws, what. The Moſaick Law how divided by the Jews into affirmative and negative Precepts, and why: The ſeveral ways of Divine revelation.* Urim *and* Thummim *what, and the manner of its giving Anſwers.* Bath-Col. *Whether any ſuch way of revelation among the* Jews. *Revelation by Dreams. By Viſions. The Revelation of the Holy Spirit, what.* Moſes *his way of Prophecy wherein exceeding the reſt. The pacate way of the ſpirit of prophecy. This ſpirit when it ceaſed in the* Jewiſh *Church. The ſtate of the Church under this Diſpenſation briefly noted. From the giving of the Law till* Samuel. *From* Samuel *till* Solomon. *Its condition under the ſucceeding Kings till the Captivity. From thence till the coming of Chriſt. The ſtate of the* Jewiſh *Church in the time of Chriſt more particularly conſidered. The prophanations of the Temple. The Corruption of their Worſhip. The abuſe of the Prieſthood. The Depravation of the Law by falſe gloſſes. Their* Oral *and unwritten Law. Its original and ſucceſſion according to the mind of the* Jews. *Their unreaſonable and blaſphemous preferring it above the written Law. Their religious obſerving the* Traditions of the Elders. *The Vow of* Corban, *what. The ſuperſeding Moral Duties by it. The Sects in the* Jewiſh *Church. The* Phariſees, *their denomination, riſe, temper and principles.* Sadducees, *their impious Principles, and evil lives. The* Eſſenes, *their original, opinions, and way of life. The* Herodians, *who. The* Samaritans. Karræans. *The ſect of the* Zealots. *The* Roman *Tyranny over the* Jews.

1. THE Church, which had hitherto lyen diſperſed in private Families, and had often been reduced to an inconſiderable number, being now multiplied into a great and a populous Nation, God was pleaſed to enter into Covenant, not any longer with particular Perſons, but with the Body of the People, and to govern the Church by more certain and regular ways and methods, than it had hitherto been. This Diſpenſation began with the delivery of the Law, and continued till the final period of the *Jewiſh* ſtate, conſiſting only *of meats and drinks, and divers waſhings, and carnal Ordinances, impoſed on them until the time of reformation.* In

the ſurvey whereof we ſhall chiefly conſider what Laws were given for the Government of the Church, by what Methods of revelation God communicated his mind and will to them, and what was the ſtate of the Church, eſpecially towards the concluſion of this Oeconomy.

2. THE great Miniſter of this Diſpenſation was *Moſes* the Son of *Amram*, of the Houſe of *Levi*, a Perſon, whoſe ſignal preſervation when but an Infant preſaged him to be born for great and generous undertakings. *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* deſirous to ſuppreſs the growing numbers of the *Jewiſh* Nation had afflicted and kept them under with all the rigorous ſeverities of tyranny and oppreſſion. But this not taking its effect, he made a Law that all *Hebrew* Male-children ſhould be drowned as ſoon as born, knowing well enough how to kill the root, if he could keep any more Branches from ſpringing up. But the wiſdom of Heaven defeated his crafty and barbarous deſigns. Among others that were born at that time was *Moſes* a *goodly* Child, and whom his Mother was infinitely deſirous to preſerve: but having concealed him, till the ſaving of his might endanger the loſing her own life, her affection ſuggeſted to her this little ſtratagem: ſhe prepared an *Ark* made of Paper-reeds, and pitched within, and ſo putting him a-board this little Veſſel, threw him into the River *Nilus*, committing him to the mercy of the waves, and the conduct of the Divine Providence. God, who wiſely orders all events, had ſo diſpoſed things, that *Pharaohs* daughter (whoſe name, ſay the *Jews*, was *Bithia*, *Thermuth* ſays *Joſephus*, ſay the *Arabians*, *Sihhoun*) being troubled with a diſtemper that would not endure the hot Bathes, was come down at this time to waſh in the *Nile*, where the cries of the tender Babe ſoon reached her ears. She commanded the Ark to be brought a-ſhore, which was no ſooner opened, but the mournful oratory of the weeping Infant ſenſibly ſtruck her with compaſſionate reſentments: And the *Jews* add, that ſhe no ſooner touched the Babe, but ſhe was immediately healed, and cried out that he was a holy Child, and that ſhe would ſave his life; for which (ſay they) ſhe obtained the favour to *be brought under the wings of the Divine Majeſty*, and to be called the daughter of God. His Siſter *Miriam*, who had all this while beheld the ſcene afar off, officiouſly proffered her ſervice to the Princeſs to call an *Hebrew* Nurſe, and accordingly went and brought his Mother. To her care he was committed with a charge to look tenderly to him, and the promiſe of a reward. But the hopes of that could add but little, where nature was ſo much concerned. Home goes the Mother joyful and proud of her own pledge, and the royal charge, carefully providing for his tender years. His infant ſtate being paſs'd, he was reſtored to the Princeſs, who adopted him for her own ſon, bred him up at Court, where he was poliſhed with all the arts of a noble and ingenuous education, inſtructed in the modes of civility and behaviour, in the methods of policy and government, *Learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians*, whoſe renown for wiſdom is not only once and again taken notice of in holy Writ, but their admirable skill in all liberal Sciences, Natural, Moral and Divine, beyond the rate and proportion of other Nations, is ſufficiently celebrated by foreign Writers. To theſe accompliſhments God was pleaſed to add a Divine temper of mind, a great zeal for God, not able to endure any thing that ſeemed to claſh with the intereſts of the Divine honour and glory; a mighty courage and reſolution in God's ſervice, whoſe edge was not to be taken off either by threats or charms; *He was not afraid of the Kings commandment, nor feared the wrath of the King, for he endured as ſeeing him that is inviſible.* His contempt of the World was great and admirable, ſleighting the honours of *Pharaoh*'s Court, and the fair probabi-

1. *Jud. l. 2.* 56.

Iez. c. 48. Hotting. Orient. 402.

11. 27.

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lities of the Crown, the treaſures and pleaſures of that rich, ſoft and luxurious Country, out of a firm belief of the inviſible rewards of another World; *He refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon; Eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than the treaſures in Egypt; for he had reſpect unto the recompence of reward.* Ver. 24, 25, 2[illegible]

Joſephus relates, that when but a child he was preſented by the Princeſs to her Father, as one whom ſhe had adopted for her ſon, and deſigned for his ſucceſſor in the Kingdom, the King taking him up into his arms, put his Crown upon his head, which the child immediately pull'd off again, and throwing it upon the ground, trampled it under his feet. An action which however looked upon by ſome Courtiers then preſent, ὡς οἰωνὸν ὂν τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρων, as portending a fatal *Omen* to the Kingdom, did however evidently preſage his generous contempt of the grandeur and honours of the Court, and thoſe plauſible advantages of Soveraignty that were offered to him. His patience was inſuperable, not tired out with the abuſes and diſappointments of the King of *Egypt*, with the hardſhips and troubles of the Wilderneſs, and which was beyond all, with the croſs and vexatious humours of a ſtubborn and unquiet generation. He was of a moſt calm and treatable diſpoſition, his ſpirit not eaſily ruffled with paſſion; he who in the cauſe of God and Religion could be bold and fierce as a Lion, was in his own patient as a Lamb, God himſelf having given this character of him, *That he was the meekeſt man upon the Earth.* Loc. ſupr. cit. p. 57.

3. THIS great perſonage thus excellently qualified, God made choice of him to be the Commander and conducter of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and his Embaſſador to the King of *Egypt*, to demand the enfranchiſement of his people, and free liberty to go ſerve and worſhip the God of their Fathers. And that he might not ſeem a mere pretender to Divine revelation, but that he really had an immediate commiſſion from Heaven, God was pleaſed to furniſh him with extraordinary Credentials, and to ſeal his Commiſſion with a power of working Miracles beyond all the Arts of *Magick*, and thoſe tricks for which the *Egyptian* Sorcerers were ſo famous in the World. But *Pharaoh* unwilling to part with ſuch uſeful Vaſſals, and having oppreſſed them beyond poſſibility of reconcilement, would not hearken to the propoſal, but ſometimes downright rejected it, otherwhiles ſought by ſubtil and plauſible pretences to evade and ſhift it off; till by many aſtoniſhing Miracles, and ſevere Judgments God extorted at length a grant from him. Under the conduct of *Moſes* they ſet forwards after at leaſt two hundred years ſervitude under the *Egyptian* yoke; and though *Pharaoh* ſenſible of his error, with a great Army purſued them, either to cut them off, or bring them back, God made way for them through the midſt of the Sea, the waters becoming like a wall of Braſs on each ſide of them, till being all paſſed to the other ſhore, thoſe inviſible cords which had hitherto tied up that liquid Element, burſting in ſunder, the waters returned and overwhelmed their enemies that purſued them. Thus God by the ſame ſtroke can protect his friends, and puniſh his enemies. Nor did the Divine Providence here take its leave of them, but became their conſtant guard and defence in all their journeys, waiting upon them through their ſeveral ſtations in the wilderneſs; the moſt memorable whereof was that at Mount *Sinai* in *Arabia*: The place where God delivered them *the pattern in the Mount*, according to which the form both of their Church and State was to be framed and modelled. In order hereunto *Moſes* is called up into the Mount, where by Faſting and Prayer he converſed with Heaven,

ven, and received the body of their Laws. Three days the people were by a pious and devout care to ſanctifie and prepare themſelves for the promulgation of the Law, they might not come near their Wives, were commanded to waſh their clothes, as an embleme and repreſentation of that cleanſing of the heart, and that inward purity of mind, wherewith they were to entertain the Divine will. On the third day in the morning God deſcended from Heaven with great appearances of Majeſty and terror, with *thunders* and *lightnings*, with *black clouds* and *tempeſts*, with *ſhouts* and *the loud noiſe of a trumpet* (which trumpet, ſay the *Jews*, was made of the *horn* of that *Ram* that was offered in the room of *Iſaac*.) with *fire* and *ſmoke* on the top of the Mount, aſcending up like *the ſmoke of a Furnace*; the
Heb. 12.21. Mountain it ſelf greatly quaking, the people trembling; *nay, ſo terrible was the ſight, that Moſes* (who had ſo frequently, ſo familiarly converſed with God) *ſaid, I exceedingly fear and quake.* All which pompous trains of terror and magnificence God made uſe of at this time, to excite the more ſolemn attention to his Laws, and to beget a greater reverence and veneration for them in the minds of the people, and to let them ſee how able he was to call them to account, and by the ſevereſt penalties to vindicate the violation of his Law.

4. THE *Code* and *Digeſt* of thoſe Laws, which God now gave to the *Jews* as the terms of that National Covenant that he made with them, conſiſted of three ſorts of Precepts, *Moral, Eccleſiaſtical* and *Political*; which the *Jews* will have intimated by thoſe three words, that ſo frequently occur in the writings of *Moſes*, *Laws, Statutes* and *Judgments*. By תורת *Laws*, they underſtand the Moral Law, the notices of good and evil naturally implanted in mens minds: By חקים or *Statutes*, Ceremonial Precepts, inſtituted by God with peculiar reference to his Church: By משפטים or *Judgments*, Political Laws concerning Juſtice and Equity, the order of humane ſociety, and the prudent and peaceable managery of the Commonwealth. The *Moral* Laws inſerted into this Code are thoſe
Exod. 4.13. contained in the *Decalogue*, עשרת הדברים as they are called, *the ten words* that were written upon two Tables of Stone. Theſe were nothing elſe but a ſummary Comprehenſion of the great Laws of Nature, engraven at firſt upon the minds of all men in the World; the moſt material part whereof was now conſigned to writing, and incorporated into the body of the *Jewiſh* Law. I know the Decalogue is generally taken to be a complete *Syſtem* of all natural Laws: But whoever impartially conſiders the matter, will find that there are many inſtances of duty ſo far from being commanded in it, that they are not reducible to any part of it, unleſs hook'd in by ſubtilties of wit, and drawn thither by forc'd and unnatural inferences. What proviſion except in one caſe or two do any of thoſe Commandments make againſt neglects of duty? Where do they oblige us to do good to others, to love, aſſiſt, relieve our enemies? Gratitude and thankfulneſs to benefactors is one of the prime and eſſential Laws of Nature, and yet no where that I know of (unleſs we will have it implied in the Preface to the Law) commanded or intimated in the Decalogue: With many other caſes, which 'tis naturally evident are our duty, whereof no footſteps are to be ſeen in this *Compendium*, unleſs hunted out by nice and ſagacious reaſonings, and made out by a long train of conſequences, never originally intended in the Commandment, and which not one in a thouſand are capable of deducing from it. It is probable therefore that God reduc'd only ſo many of the Laws of Nature into writing, as were proper to the preſent ſtate and capacities of that people to whom they were given, ſuper-

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adding ſome, and explaining others by the Preaching and Miniſtery of the Prophets, who in their ſeveral Ages endeavoured to bring men out of the Shades and Thickets, into clear light and Noon-day, by clearing up mens obligations to thoſe natural and eſſential duties, in the practice whereof humane nature was to be advanced unto its juſt accompliſhment and perfection. Hence it was that our Lord, who *came not to deſtroy the Law, but to fulfil* and perfect *it*, has explained the obligations of the natural Law more fully and clearly, more plainly and intelligibly, rendred our duty more fixed and certain, and extended many inſtances of obedience to higher meaſures, to a greater exactneſs and perfection, than ever they were underſtood to have before. Thus he commands a free and univerſal charity, not only that we love our friends and relations, but that *we love our enemies, bleſs them that curſe us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe and perſecute us:* He hath forbidden malice and revenge with more plainneſs and ſmartneſs; obliged us not only to live according to the meaſures of ſobriety, but extended it to *ſelf-denial*, and *taking up the Croſs*, and laying down our lives, whenever the honour of God, and the intereſt of Religion calls for it; he not only commands us to do no wrong, but when we have done it, to make reſtitution; not only to retrench our irregular appetites; but *to cut off our right hand, and pluck out our right eye, and caſt them from us*, that is, mortifie and offer violence to thoſe vicious inclinations, which are as dear to us, as the moſt uſeful and neceſſary parts and members of our body. Beſides all this, had God intended the *Decalogue* for a perfect ſummary of the Laws of Nature, we cannot ſuppoſe that he would have taken any but ſuch into the collection, whereas the Fourth Commandment concerning the *Seventh day* is unqueſtionably Typical and Ceremonial, and has nothing more of a Natural and Eternal obligation in it, than that God ſhould be ſerved and honoured both with publick and private worſhip, which cannot be done without ſome portions of time ſet apart for it: but that this ſhould be done juſt at ſuch a time, and by ſuch proportions, upon the Seventh rather than the Sixth or the Eighth day, is no part of natural Religion. And indeed the reaſons and arguments that are annexed to it, to enforce the obſervance of it, clearly ſhew that it is of a later date, and of another nature than the reſt of thoſe Precepts in whoſe company we find it, though it ſeems at firſt ſight to paſs without any peculiar note of diſcrimination from the reſt. As for the reſt they are Laws of Eternal righteouſneſs, and did not derive their value and authority from the Divine ſanction which God here gave them at Mount *Sinai*, but from their own moral and internal goodneſs and equity, being founded in the nature of things, and the eſſential and unchangeable differences of good and evil. By which means they always were, always will be obligatory and indiſpenſable, being as Eternal and Immutable as the nature of God himſelf.

5. THE ſecond ſort of Laws were *Ceremonial*, Divine Conſtitutions concerning Ritual obſervances, and matters of Eccleſiaſtical cognizance and relation, and were inſtituted for a double end, partly for the more orderly government of the Church, and the more decent adminiſtration of the worſhip of God; partly that they might be types and figures of the Evangelical ſtate, *ſhadows of good things to come*, viſible and ſymbolical repreſentments of the *Meſſiah*, and thoſe great bleſſings and priviledges which he was to introduce into the World; which doubtleſs was the reaſon why God was ſo infinitely punctual and particular in his directions about theſe matters, giving orders about the minuteſt circumſtances of the Temple-miniſtration, becauſe every part of it had a glance at a future and better ſtate

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of things. The number of them was great, and the obſervation burdenſom, the whole Nation groaning under the ſervility of that yoke. They were ſuch as principally related to God's worſhip, and may be reduced either to ſuch as concerned the worſhip it ſelf, or the circumſtances of time, place and perſons that did attend it. Their worſhip conſiſted chiefly in three things, Prayers, Sacrifices and Sacraments. *Prayers* were daily put up together with their Offerings, and though we have very few Conſtitutions concerning them, yet the conſtant practice of that Church, and the particular forms of Prayer yet extant in their writings, are a ſufficient evidence. *Sacrifices* were the conſtant and moſt ſolemn part of their publick
Exod. 29. worſhip; yea, they had their עלת תמיד *their continual burnt-offering*, a Lamb offered Morning and Evening with a Meaſure of Flower, Oil and Wine, the charge whereof was defrayed out of the Treaſury of the Temple. The reſt of their Sacrifices may be conſidered either as they were *Expiatory*, or *Euchariſtical*. Expiatory were thoſe that were offered as an atonement for the ſins of the people, to pacifie the Divine diſpleaſure, and to procure his pardon, which they did by vertue of their Typical relation to that great Sacrifice which the Son of God was in the fulneſs of time to offer up for the ſins of the World. They were either of a more general relation, for the expiation of ſin in general, whole burnt-offerings, which were intirely (the skin and the entrails only excepted) burnt to aſhes; or of a more private and particular concernment, deſigned for the redemption of particular offences, whereof there were two ſorts: חטאת or *the ſin-offering*, for involuntary offences committed through error or ignorance, which according to the condition and capacity of the Perſon were either for the *Prieſt*, or the *Prince*, or the whole Body of the *People*, or a *private* Perſon. The other אשם or *the treſpaſs-offering*, for ſins done wittingly, ſtudied and premeditated tranſgreſſions, and which the Man could not pretend to be the effects of ſurprize or chance. *Euchariſtical* Sacrifices were teſtimonies of gratitude to God for mercies received, whereof three ſorts eſpecially. 1. מנחה or *the meat-offering*, made up of things without life, oil, fine flower, incenſe, *&c.* which the worſhipper offered as a thankful return for the daily preſervation and proviſions of life, and therefore it conſiſted only of the fruits of the ground. 2. זבח שלומים or *the peace-offering*; this was done either out of a grateful ſenſe of ſome bleſſing conferred, or as a voluntary offering to which the Perſon had obliged himſelf by vow in expectation of ſome ſafety or deliverance which he had prayed for. In this Sacrifice God had his part, the fat which was the only part of it burnt by fire, the Prieſt his, as the inſtrument of the miniſtration, the Offerer his, that he might have wherewith to *rejoyce before the Lord*. 3. תודה *a thankſgiving-offering*, or a Sacrifice of praiſe, it was a mixt kind of Sacrifice, conſiſting of living Creatures, and the fruits of the Earth, which they might offer at their own will, but it muſt be eaten the ſame day, and none of it left until the morrow. What other proviſions we meet with concerning ceremonial uncleanneſſes, firſt-fruits, the firſt-born, tenths, *&c.* are conveniently reducible to ſome of theſe heads which we have already mentioned. The laſt part of their worſhip concerned their *Sacraments*, which were two, *Circumciſion*, and the *Paſchal Supper*. Circumciſion was the federal Rite annexed by God as a Seal to the Covenant which he made with *Abraham* and his Poſterity, and accordingly renewed and taken into the Body of the *Moſaical* conſtitutions. It was to be adminiſtred the eighth day, which the *Jews* underſtand not of ſo many days complete, but the current time, ſix full days, and part of the other. In the room of this, *Baptiſm* ſucceeds in the *Chriſtian* Church.

Church. The *Paſſover*, which was the eating of the *Paſchal* Lamb, was inſtituted as an Annual memorial of their ſignal and miraculous deliverance out of *Egypt*, and as a typical repreſentation of our ſpiritual Redemption by *Chriſt* from the bondage of ſin and that Hell that follows it. It was to be celebrated with a Male-lamb without *blemiſh* taken out of the *Flock*, to note *the Lamb of God that takes away the ſins of the World*, who was *taken* from *among men, a Lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot, holy, harmleſs, and ſeparate from ſinners.* The Door-poſts of the Houſe were to be *ſprinkled* with the *bloud* of the Lamb, to ſignifie our ſecurity from the Divine vengeance by the *bloud of ſprinkling.* The Lamb was to be *roaſted* and eaten whole, typifying the great ſufferings of our bleſſed Saviour, who was to paſs through the *fire* of Divine wrath, and to be *wholly* embrac'd and entertain'd by us in all his Offices, as King, Prieſt, and Prophet. None but thoſe that were *clean* and circumciſed might eat of it, to ſhew that only true believers, holy and good men can be partakers of *Chriſt* and the merits of his Death; It was to be eaten ſtanding, with their *Loins girt*, and their ſtaff in their hand, to put them in mind what haſte they made out of the houſe of bondage, and to intimate to us what preſent diligence we ſhould uſe to get from under the empire and tyranny of ſin and *Satan*, under the conduct and aſſiſtance of *the Captain of our Salvation.* The eating of it was to be mixed with *bitter herbs*, partly as a memorial of that bitter ſervitude which they underwent in the Land of *Egypt*, partly as a type of that repentance and bearing of the croſs (duties difficult and unpleaſant) which all true Chriſtians muſt undergo. Laſtly, it was to be eaten with *unleavened* Bread, all manner of leaven being at that time to be baniſhed out of their Houſes with the moſt critical diligence and curioſity, to repreſent what infinite care we ſhould take to cleanſe and purifie our hearts, *to purge out the old leaven, that we may be a new lump:* and that ſince *Chriſt our Paſſover is ſacrificed for us, therefore we ſhould keep the Feaſt* (the Feſtival commemoration of his Death) *not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedneſs, but with the unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth.* 1 Cor. 5. 7, 8.

6. THE Places of their Publick Worſhip were either the *Tabernacle* made in the Wilderneſs, or the *Temple* built by *Solomon*, between which in the main there was no other difference, than that the Tabernacle was an ambulatory Temple, as the Temple was a ſtanding Tabernacle, together with all the rich coſtly Furniture that was in them. The parts of it were three, the *Holieſt of all*, whither none entred but the High-Prieſt, and that but once a Year, this was a type of Heaven; the *holy place*, whither the Prieſts entred every Day to perform their Sacred Miniſtrations; and the *outward Court*, whither the People came to offer up their Prayers and Sacrifices. In the *Sanctum ſanctorum*, or Holieſt of all there was the *Golden Cenſer*, typifying the Merits and Interceſſion of Chriſt; the *Ark of the Covenant*, as a repreſentation of him who is the *Mediator* of the Covenant between God and man; the *Golden Pot of Manna*, a type of our Lord, the true *Manna, the Bread that came down from Heaven*; the *Rod of Aaron that budded*, ſignifying the Branch of the Root of *Jeſſe*, that though our Saviour's Family ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of ſo much meanneſs and obſcurity, as to appear but like the *trunk* or ſtump of a Tree, yet *there ſhould come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and a branch grow out of his roots, which ſhould ſtand for an Enſign of the People, and in him ſhould the Gentiles truſt.* And within the Ark were the *two Tables of the Covenant*, to denote him, *in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge*, and who is the end and perfection of the Law: Over it were the *Cherubims of glory ſhadowing the Mercy-ſeat*, who looking Iſa. 11. 1-10. Rom. 15. 12.

looking towards each other, and both to the Mercy-ſeat denoted the two Teſtaments, or Diſpenſations of the Church, which admirably agree, and both direct to Chriſt the Mediator of the Covenant. The *Propitiatory*, or Mercy-ſeat was the Golden covering to the Ark, where God veiling his Majeſty was wont to manifeſt his Preſence, to give Anſwers, and ſhew Himſelf reconciled to the People, herein eminently prefiguring our Bleſſed Saviour, who interpoſes between us and the Divine Majeſty, *whom God hath ſet forth to be a Propitiation, through faith in his bloud for the remiſſion of ſins*; ſo that now *we may come boldly to the Throne of Grace, and find mercy to help us.* Within the *Sanctuary*, or the Holy Place was the *Golden Candleſtick* with Seven Branches, repreſenting Chriſt, who is *the Light of the World*, and who *enlightens every one that comes into the World*, and before whoſe *Throne* there are ſaid to be *ſeven Lamps of Fire, which are the ſeven ſpirits of God*: The *Table*, compaſſed about with a Border and a Crown of Gold, denoting the Miniſtry, and the Shew-bread ſet upon it, ſhadowing out Chriſt, *the Bread of Life*, who by the Miniſtry of the Goſpel is offered to the World: here alſo was the *Golden Altar of Incenſe*, whereon they burnt the ſweet Perfumes Morning and Evening, to ſignifie to us that our Lord is the true Altar, by whom all our Prayers and Services are rendred *the odour of a ſweet ſmell acceptable unto God*; to this the *Pſalmiſt* refers, *Let my Prayer be ſet forth before thee as Incenſe, and the lifting up of my hands as the Evening Sacrifice.* The third part of the Tabernacle, as alſo of the Temple, was the *Court of Iſrael*, wherein ſtood the *Brazen Altar*, upon which the Holy Fire was continually preſerved, by which the Sacrifices were conſumed, one of the Five great Prerogatives that were wanting in the ſecond Temple. Here was the *Brazen Laver*, with its Baſis, made of the brazen Looking-glaſſes of the Women that aſſembled at the Door of the Tabernacle, wherein the Prieſts waſhed their Hands and their Feet, when going into the Sanctuary, and both they and the People, when about to offer Sacrifice; to teach us to purifie our hearts and to *cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit*, eſpecially when we approach to offer up our ſervices to Heaven; hereunto *David* alludes, *I will waſh mine hands in innocency, ſo will I compaſs thine Altar, O Lord.* *Solomon* in building the Temple made an addition of a fourth Court, the *Court of the Gentiles*, whereinto the unclean *Jews* and *Gentiles* might enter, and in this was the *Corban* or Treaſury, and it is ſometimes in the New Teſtament called *the Temple.* To theſe Laws concerning the Place of Worſhip we may reduce thoſe that relate to the holy Veſſels and Utenſils of the Tabernacle and the Temple, Candleſticks, Snuffers, Diſhes, *&c.* which alſo had their proper myſteries and ſignifications.

Rev. 4. 5.

Pſalm 141. 2.

Pſalm 26. 6.

7. THE ſtated *times* and ſeaſons of their worſhip are next to be conſidered, and they were either Daily, Weekly, Monthly, or Yearly. Their *Daily* worſhip was at the time of the Morning, and the Evening Sacrifice; their *Weekly* ſolemnity was the *Sabbath*, which was to be kept with all imaginable care and ſtrictneſs, they being commanded to reſt in it from all ſervile labours, and to attend the Duties and Offices of Religion, a type of that *reſt that remains for the People of God.* Their *monthly* Feſtivals were the *New-moons*, wherein they were to blow the Trumpets over their Sacrifices and Oblations, and to obſerve them with great expreſſions of joy and triumph, in a thankful reſentment of the bleſſings which all that Month had been conferred upon them. Their *Annual* Solemnities were either ordinary or extraordinary; *Ordinary* were thoſe that returned every Year, whereof the firſt was the *Paſſover*, to be celebrated upon the Fourteenth day of the firſt Month, as a Memorial of their great deliverance out of *Egypt*:

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The ſecond, *Pentecoſt*, called alſo the *Feaſt of Weeks*, becauſe juſt ſeven Weeks, or fifty days after the *Paſſover*: Inſtituted it was partly in memory of the promulgation of the Law, publiſhed at Mount *Sinai* fifty days after their celebration of the Paſſover in *Egypt*, partly as a thankſgiving for the ingathering of their Harveſt, which uſually was fully brought in about this time. The third was the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, kept upon the Fifteenth day of the SeventhMonth for the ſpace of Seven days together; at which time they dwelt in Booths made of green Boughs, as a *memento* of that time when they ſojourn'd in Tents and Tabernacles in the Wilderneſs, and a ſenſible demonſtration of the tranſitory duration of the preſent life, that *the Earthly houſe of our Tabernacle muſt be diſſolved*, and that therefore *we ſhould ſecure a building of God, an houſe not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens.* Theſe were the three great ſolemnities, wherein all the Males were obliged to appear at *Jeruſalem*, and to preſent themſelves and their offerings in teſtimony of their homage and devotion unto God: Beſides which they had ſome of leſſer moment, ſuch as their *Feaſt of Trumpets*, and that of *Expiation.* The *Annual* Feſtivals *extraordinary* were thoſe that recurr'd but once in the periodical return of ſeveral years; ſuch was the *Sabbatical year*, wherein the Land was to lye fallow, and to reſt from ploughing and ſowing, and all manner of cultivation; and this was to be every ſeventh year, typifying the Eternal *Sabbatiſm* in Heaven, where good men ſhall *reſt from their labours, and their works ſhall follow them.* But the great *Sabbatical* year of all was that of *Jubilee*, which returned at the end of ſeven ordinary *Sabbatick* years, that is, every fiftieth year, the approach whereof was proclaimed by the ſound of Trumpets; in it ſervants were releaſed, all debts diſcharged, and mortgaged Eſtates reverted to their proper heirs. And how evidently did this ſhadow out the ſtate of the Goſpel, and our Lord's being ſent *to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the priſon to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, that they might lift up their heads, becauſe their redemption drew nigh?* Iſa. 61. 1, 2 Luke 4. 18

8. LASTLY, They had Laws concerning the *perſons* by whom their publick worſhip was adminiſtred; and here there was appointed an High-Prieſt, who had his proper offices and rules of duty, his peculiar attire and conſecration; Ordinary Prieſts, whoſe buſineſs was to inſtruct the people, to Pray and offer ſacrifice, to bleſs the Congregation, and judge in caſes of *Leproſie*, and ſuch like; at their Ordination, they were to be choſen before all the people, to be ſprinkled with the water of Expiation, their Hair ſhaved, and their Bodies waſhed, afterwards anointed, and ſacrifices to be offered for them, and then they might enter upon their Prieſtly miniſtrations. Next to theſe were the *Levites*, who were to aſſiſt the Prieſts in preparing the Sacrifices, to bear the Tabernacle (while it laſted) and lay up its Veſſels and Utenſils, to purifie and cleanſe the Veſſels and Inſtruments, to guard the Courts and Chambers of the Temple, to watch weekly in the Temple by their turns, to ſing and celebrate the praiſes of God with Hymns and Muſical Inſtruments, and to joyn with the Prieſts in judging and determining Ceremonial cauſes; they were not to be taken into the full diſcharge of their Function till the thirtieth, nor to be kept at it beyond the fiftieth year of their age; God mercifully thinking it fit to give them then a Writ of Eaſe, whoſe ſtrength might be preſumed ſufficiently impaired by truckling for ſo many years under ſuch toilſom and laborious miniſtrations. Though the Levitical Prieſts were types of *Chriſt*, yet it was the High-Prieſt, who did eminently typifie him, and that in the unity and ſingulari-

ty of his office; for though many Orders and Courses of inferior Priests and Ministers, yet was there but one High-Priest, *There is one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*; in the qualifications necessary to his election, as to place, he was to be taken out of the Tribe of *Levi*; as to his person, which was to be every ways perfect and comely, and the manner of his Consecration; in his singular capacity, that he alone might enter into the *holy of holies*, which he did once every year upon the great day of Expiation, with a mighty pomp and train of Ceremonies, killing Sacrifices, burning Incense, sprinkling the bloud of the Sacrifice before and upon the Mercy-seat, going within the veil, and making an attonement within the holy place. All which immediately referred to *Christ*, who *by the sacrifice of himself*, and *through the veil of his own flesh entred*, not into the holy place made with hands, but *into Heaven it self, now to appear in the presence of God for us*. All which might be represented more at large, but that I intend not a discourse about these matters.

9. BESIDES the Laws which we have hitherto enumerated, there were several other particular Commands, Ritual Constitutions about Meats and Drinks, and other parts of humane life. Such was the difference they were to make between the Creatures, some to be clean, and others unclean; such were several sorts of pollution and uncleanness, which were not in their own nature sins, but Ceremonial defilements; of this kind were several provisions about Apparel, Diet, and the ordering Family-affairs, all evidently of a Ceremonial aspect, but too long to be insisted on in this place. The main design of this Ceremonial Law was to point out to us the Evangelical state, *The Law had only a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things themselves, the body was Christ*, and therefore though *the Law came by Moses*, yet *grace and truth* (the truth of all those types and figures) *came by Christ*. It was time for *Moses* to resign the Chair, when once this great Prophet was come into the World. Ceremonies could no longer be of use, when once the substance was at hand: well may the Stars disappear at the rising of the Sun: the *Messiah being cut off, should cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease*. At the time of *Christ*'s death the *veil of the Temple* from top to bottom rent in sunder, to shew that his death had revealed the mysteries, and destroyed the foundations of the legal Oeconomy, and put a period to the whole Temple-ministration. Nay, the *Jews* themselves confess, that forty years before the destruction of the Temple (a date that corresponds exactly with the death of *Christ*) the *Lot did no more go up into the right hand of the Priest* (this is meant of his dismission of the Scape-goat) *nor the scarlet Ribbon*, usually laid upon the forehead of the Goat, *any more grow white*, (this was a sign that the Goat was accepted for the remission of their sins) *nor the Evening Lamp burn any longer*, and that *the gates of the Temple opened of their own accord*. By which as at once they confirm what the Gospel reports of the opening of the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by the scissure of the veil; so they plainly confess, that at that very time their Sacrifices and Temple-services began to cease and fail: As indeed the reason of them then ceasing, the things themselves must needs vanish into nothing.

Heb. 10. 1.

Joh. 1. 17.

cap 4. fol. p. Buxtorf. Ins. Oper. p. 218.

10. THE third sort of Laws given to the *Jews* were *Judicial* and Political, these were the Municipal Laws of the Nation, enacted for the good of the State, and were a kind of appendage to the second Table of the Decalogue, as the Ceremonial Laws were of the first. They might be reduced to four general heads; such as respected men in their private and domestical capacities, concerning Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Masters

Maſters and Servants; ſuch as concerned the Publick and the Commonwealth, relating to Magiſtrates, and Courts of Juſtice, to Contracts and matters of right and wrong, to Eſtates and Inheritances, to Executions and Puniſhments, *&c.* ſuch as belong'd to ſtrangers, and matters of a foreign nature, as Laws concerning Peace and War, Commerce and Dealing with perſons of another Nation; or laſtly, ſuch as ſecured the honour and the intereſts of Religion, Laws againſt Apoſtates and Idolaters, Wizards, Conjurers and falſe Prophets, againſt Blaſphemy, Sacriledge, and ſuch like; all which not being ſo proper to my purpoſe, I omit a more particular enumeration of them. Theſe Laws were peculiarly calculated for the *Jewiſh* State, and that while kept up in that Country wherein God had placed them, and therefore muſt needs determine and expire with it. Nor can they be made a pattern and ſtandard for the Laws of other Nations; for, though proceeding from the wiſeſt Law-giver, they cannot reaſonably be impoſed upon any State or Kingdom, unleſs where there is an equal concurrence of circumſtances, as there were in that people, for whom God enacted them. They went off the Stage with the *Jewiſh* Polity, and if any parts of them do ſtill remain obligatory, they bind not as *Judicial* Laws, but as branches of the Law of Nature, the reaſon of them being Immutable and Eternal. I know not whether it may here be uſeful to remark what the *Jews* ſo frequently tell us of, that the intire body of the *Moſaick* Law conſiſts of DCXIII. Precepts, intimated (ſay they) in that place where 'tis ſaid *Moſes commanded us a Law*, where the Numeral Letters of the word תורה Deut. 33. 4. or *Law* make up the number of DCXI. and the two that are wanting to make up the complete number are the two firſt Precepts of the Decalogue, which were not given by *Moſes* to the people, but immediately by God himſelf. Others ſay that there are juſt DCXIII. letters in the Decalogue, and that every letter anſwers to a Law: But ſome that have had the patience to tell them, aſſure us that there are two whole words conſiſting of ſeven letters ſupernumerary, which in my mind quite ſpoils the computation. Theſe DCXIII. Precepts they divide into CCXLVIII. *Affirmative*, according to the number of the parts of man's body (which they make account are juſt ſo many) to put him in mind to ſerve God with all his bodily powers, as if every member of his body ſhould ſay to him, עשה בי מצות *make uſe of me to fulfil the command*; and into CCCLXV. *Negative*, according to the number of the days of the year, that ſo every day may call upon a man, and ſay to him, לא תעשה בי עברה *oh do not in me tranſgreſs the Command*: Or as others will have it, they anſwer to the *Veins* or *Nerves* in the body of man; that as the complete frame and compages of man's body is made up of CCXLVIII. Members, and CCCLXV. Nerves, and the Law of ſo many affirmative, and ſo many negative Precepts, it denotes to us, that the whole perfection and accompliſhment of man lies in an accurate and diligent obſervance of the Divine Law. Each of theſe diviſions they reduce under twelve *houſes*, anſwerable to the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*. In the Affirmative Precepts the firſt Houſe is that of *Divine Worſhip*, conſiſting of twenty Precepts; the ſecond, the *Houſe of the Sanctuary*, containing XIX; the third, the *Houſe of Sacrifices*, wherein are LVII; the fourth, that of *Cleanneſs and Pollution*, containing XVIII; the fifth, of *Tithes* and *Alms*, under which are XXXII; the ſixth, of *Meats and Drinks*, containing VII; the ſeventh, of the *Paſſeover*, concerning Feaſts, containing XX; the eighth, of *Judgment*, XIII; the ninth, of *Doctrine*, XXV; the tenth, of *Marriage*, and concerning Women, XII; the eleventh, of *Judgments* criminal, VIII; the twelfth, of *Civil Judgments*, XVII. In the Negative

Auth. Tzero Hammor ap Voſſ. de leg. Div. c. 23. p. 338.

R. Moyſes Tract. de Nu præc. ap. Voſ. ib.

Vid. Menaſſ. Ben Iſrael de Reſurr. lib. 2. c. 18.

Precepts, the firſt Houſe is concerning the *worſhip of the Planets*, containing XLVII Commands; the ſecond, of *ſeparation from the Heathens*, XIII; the third, concerning *the reverence due to holy things*, XXIX; the fourth, of *Sacrifice* and *Prieſthood*, LXXXII; the fifth, of *Meats*, XXXVIII; the ſixth, of *Fields* and *Harveſt*, XVIII; the ſeventh, of *Doctrine*, XLV; the eighth, of *Juſtice*, XLVII; the ninth, of *Feaſts*, X; the tenth, of *Purity* and *Chaſtity*, XXIV; the eleventh, of *Wedlock*, VIII; the twelfth, concerning the *Kingdom*, IV. A method not contemptible, as which might miniſter to a diſtinct and uſeful explication of the whole Law of *Moſes*.

II. THE next thing conſiderable under the *Moſaical* Oeconomy, was the methods of the Divine revelation, by what ways God communicated his mind to them, either concerning preſent emergencies or future events, and this was done, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, as the Apoſtle tells us, *at ſundry times*, or by ſundry degrees and parcels, and *in diverſe manners*, by various methods of revelation, whereof three moſt conſiderable, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *audible voice*, and the *ſpirit of Prophecy*, imparted in dreams, viſions, *&c.* We ſhall make ſome brief remarks upon them, referring the Reader, who deſires fuller ſatisfaction herein, to thoſe who purpoſely treat about theſe matters. The *Urim* and *Thummim* was a way of revelation peculiar to the High Prieſt: *Thou ſhalt put on the breaſt-plate of Judg-*
d.28.30. *ment, the Urim and the Thummim, and they ſhall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord, and Aaron ſhall bear the judgment of the children of Iſrael upon his heart before the Lord continually.* Thus *Eleazar* the Prieſt is
nb.27.21. commanded to *ask counſel after the Judgment of Urim before the Lord.* What this *Urim* and *Thummim* was, and what the manner of receiving anſwers by it, is difficult, if not impoſſible to tell, there being ſcarce any one difficulty that I know of in the Bible that hath more exerciſed the thoughts either of *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian* Writers. Whether it was ſome addition to the High-Prieſts breaſt-plate made by the hand of ſome curious Artiſt, or whether only thoſe two words engraven upon it, or the great name *Jehovah* carved and put within the foldings of the breaſt-plate, or whether the twelve ſtones reſplendent with light, and completed to perfection with the Tribes names therein, or whether ſome other myſterious piece of artifice immediately framed by the hand of Heaven and given to *Moſes*, when he delivered him the two Tables of the Law, is vain and endleſs to enquire, becauſe impoſſible to determine. Nor is the manner of its giving anſwers leſs uncertain: Whether at ſuch times the freſh and orient luſtre of the ſtones ſignified the anſwer in the Affirmative, while their dull and dead colour ſpake the Negative; or whether it was by ſome extraordinary protuberancy and thruſting forth of the letters engraven upon the ſtones, from the conjunction whereof the Divine Oracle was gathered; or whether probably it might be, that when the High-Prieſt enquired of God, with this breaſt-plate upon him, God did either by a lively voice, or by immediate ſuggeſtions to his mind, give him a diſtinct and perſpicuous anſwer, illuminating his mind with the *Urim*, or the light of the knowledge of his will in thoſe caſes, and ſatisfying his doubts and ſcruples with the *Thummim* of a perfect and complete determination of thoſe difficulties that were propounded to him, thereby enabling him to give a ſatisfactory and infallible anſwer in all the particulars that lay before him. And this ſeveral of the *Jews* ſeem to intend, when they make this way of revelation one of the degrees of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and ſay that no ſooner did the High-Prieſt put on the *Pectoral*, and had the caſe propounded to him, but that he was immediately

mediately clothed with the Holy Spirit. But it's to little purpoſe to hunt after that where fancy and conjecture muſt decide the caſe. Indeed among the various conjectures about this matter, none appears with greater probability than the opinion of thoſe who conceive the *Urim* and *Thummim* to have been a couple of *Teraphim*, or little Images (probably formed in humane ſhape) put within the hollow foldings of the Pontifical breaſt-plate, from whence God by the miniſtery of an Angel vocally anſwered thoſe interrogatories which the High-Prieſt made: Nothing being more common even in the early Ages of the World, than ſuch *Teraphim* in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries, uſually placed in their Temples, and whence the *Dæmon* was wont oracularly to determine the caſes brought before him. And as God permitted the *Jews* the uſe of Sacrifices, which had been notoriouſly abuſed to Superſtition and Idolatry in the Heathen World, ſo he might indulge them theſe *Teraphim* (though now converted to a ſacred uſe) that ſo he might by degrees wean them from the Rites of the *Gentile* World, to which they had ſo fond an inclination. And this probably was the reaſon, why when *Moſes* is ſo particular in deſcribing the other parts of the Sacerdotal Ornaments, nothing at all is ſaid of this, becauſe a thing of common uſe among the Nations, with whom they had converſed, and notoriouſly known among themſelves. And ſuch we may ſuppoſe the Prophet intended, when he threatned the *Jews*, that they *ſhould abide without a Sacrifice, without an Image* or Altar, *without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim.* A notion very happily improved by an ingenious Pen, whoſe acute conjectures, and elaborate diſſertations about this matter juſtly deſerve commendation even from thoſe who differ from it. It ſeems to have been a kind of political Oracle, and to be conſulted only in great and weighty caſes, as the Election of Supreme Magiſtrates, making War, *&c.* and only by Perſons of the higheſt rank, none being permitted (ſay the *Jews*) to enquire of it, אלא למלך ולבית דיז ולמי שהצבור צריך בו unleſs in a caſe wherein the King, or the *Sanhedrim*, or the whole Congregation was concerned.

Chriſtoph. Caſtr. de P. cin. lib. 3. c. 1

Hoſ. 3. 4.

Joan. Spen. Diſſertat. Urim & T. Edit. Cant. 1670. 8.

Cod. Fom. 7. Sect. 5. pag. 167.

12. A SECOND way of Divine Revelation was by an *audible voice*, accompanied many times with *Thunder*, deſcending as it were from Heaven, and directing them in any emergency of affairs. This the *Jewiſh* Writers call בת קול, the *daughter* or Eccho of a *Voice*, which they confeſs to have been the loweſt kind of revelation, and to have been in uſe only in the times of the ſecond Temple, when all other ways of Prophecy were ceaſed. But notwithſtanding their common and confident aſſertions whether ever there was any ſuch ſtanding way of revelation as this, is juſtly queſtionable (nay, it is peremptorily denied by one incomparably verſed in the *Talmudick* Writings, who adds, that if there was any ſuch thing at any time, it was done by *Magick* Arts, and diabolical deluſions) partly becauſe it is only delivered by *Jewiſh* Writers, whoſe faith and honeſty is too well known to the World to be truſted in ſtories that make ſo much for the honour of their Nation, not to mention their extravagant propenſion to lies and fabulous reports; partly, becauſe by their own confeſſion God had withdrawn all his ſtanding Oracles and ordinary ways of Revelation, their notorious impieties having cauſed Heaven to retire, and therefore much leſs would it correſpond with them by ſuch immediate converſes; partly, becauſe this ſeemed to be a way more accommodate to the Evangelical diſpenſation at the appearance of the Son of God in the World. A voice from Heaven is the moſt immediate teſtimony, and therefore fitteſt to do honour to him who came down from Heaven, and was ſure to meet with an obdurate and incredulous Generation, and to give evidence to that Doctrine

Dr. Lightf. Hebr. in N. T. 3. 17.

that he publiſhed to the World. Thus by a *Bath-Col* or a Voice from Heaven God bare witneſs to our Saviour at his Baptiſm, and a ſecond time at his Tranſfiguration, and again at the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem*, when there came a Voice from Heaven, which the People took for Thunder, or the Communication of an Angel, and moſt of S. *John*'s intelligences from above recorded in his Book of *Revelation* are uſhered in with an, *I heard a Voice from Heaven.*

13. BUT the moſt frequent and ſtanding method of Divine communications was that whereby God was wont to tranſact with the Prophets, and in extraordinary caſes with other Men, which was either by Dreams, Viſions, or immediate Inſpirations. The way by *Dreams* was when the Perſon being overtaken with a deep ſleep, and all the exteriour ſenſes locked up, God preſented the *Species* and *Images* of things to their underſtandings, and that in ſuch a manner, that they might be able to apprehend the will of God, which they preſently did upon their awaking out of ſleep. Theſe Divine Dreams the *Jews* diſtinguiſh into two ſorts, *Monitory*, ſuch as were ſent only by way of inſtruction and admonition, to give Men notice of what they were to do, or warning of what they ſhould avoid, ſuch were the Dreams of *Pharaoh*, *Abimelech*, *Laban*, *&c.* or elſe they were Prophetical, when God by ſuch a powerful energy acted upon the mind and imagination of the Prophet, as carried the ſtrength and force of a Divine evidence along with it. This was ſometimes done by a clear and diſtinct impreſſion of the thing upon the mind without any dark or enigmatical repreſentation of it, ſuch as God made to *Samuel*, when he firſt revealed himſelf to him in the Temple: ſometimes by apparition, yet ſo as the Man though a-ſleep was able to diſcern an Angel converſing with him. By *Viſions*, God uſually communicated himſelf two ways. Firſt, when ſomething really appeared to the ſight; thus *Moſes* beheld the Buſh burning, and ſtood there while God converſed with him; *Manoah* and his Wife ſaw the Angel, while he took his leave, and in a flaming *Pyramid* went up to Heaven; the three Angels appeared to *Abraham* a little before the fatal ruine of *Sodom*; all which apparitions were unqueſtionably true and real, the Angel aſſuming an humane ſhape, that he might the freelier converſe with, and deliver his meſſage to thoſe to whom he was ſent. Secondly, by powerful impreſſions upon the imagination, uſually done while the Prophet was awake, and had the free and uninterrupted exerciſe of his reaſon, though the Viſion oft over-powered, and caſt him into a trance, that the Soul being more retired from ſenſible objects might the cloſer intend thoſe Divine notices that were repreſented to it. Thus all the Prophets had the *Idea*'s of thoſe things that they were to deliver to the People, the more ſtrongly impreſſed upon their fancies, and this commonly when they were in the greateſt ſolitude and privacy, and their powers moſt called in, that the Prophetical *influx* might have the greater force upon them. In ſome ſuch way S. *Paul* was caught up into the third Heaven, probably not ſo much by any real ſeparation of his Soul from his Body, or local tranſlation of his Spirit thither, as by a profound abſtraction of it from his corporeal Senſes, God, during the time of the trance, entertaining it with an internal and admirable ſcene of the glory and happineſs of that ſtate, as truly and effectually, as if his Soul had been really conveyed thither.

14. THIRDLY, God was wont to communicate his mind by immediate *Inſpirations*, whereby he immediately tranſacted with the underſtandings of Men, without any relation to their fancy or their ſenſes. It was the moſt pacate and ſerene way of Prophecy, God imparting his mind to the Prophet

Prophet not by Dreams or Viſions, but while they were awake, their powers active, and their minds calm and undiſturbed. This the *Jews* call רוח הקדש *the Holy Spirit*, or that kind of Revelation that was directly conveyed into the mind by the moſt efficacious irradiation and inſpiration of the Holy Spirit; God by theſe Divine illapſes enabling the Prophet clearly and immediately to apprehend the things delivered to him. And in this way the כתובים or *holy Writings* were dictated and conveyed to the World, in which reſpect the Apoſtle ſays, that *all Scripture is* Θεόπνευς, *given by divine inſpiration*. The higheſt pitch of this Prophetical revelation was נבואת משה the *gradus Moſaicus*, or that way of Prophecy that God uſed towards *Moſes*, of whom it is particularly ſaid, that *the Lord ſpake unto Moſes face to face, as a Man ſpeaketh unto his friend*: and elſewhere it is evidently diſtinguiſhed from all inferiour ways of Prophecy, *If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make my ſelf known unto him in a Viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a Dream: my Servant Moſes is not ſo, with him I will ſpeak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark ſpeeches, and the ſimilitude of the Lord ſhall he behold*: Clearly implying a mighty preheminence in God's way of revelation to *Moſes* above that of other Prophets, which the *Jewiſh* Writers make to have lyen in four things. Firſt, that in all God's communications to *Moſes* he immediately ſpake to his underſtanding, without any impreſſions upon fancy, any viſible appearances, any Dreams or Viſions of the Night. Secondly, that *Moſes* had prophecies conveyed to him without any fears or conſternations, whereas the other Prophets were aſtoniſhed and weakned at the ſight of God. Thirdly, that *Moſes* had no previous diſpoſitions or preparations to make him capable of the Divine revelation, but could directly go to God and conſult him, as *a man ſpeaketh with his friend*, other Prophets being forced many times by ſome preparatory arts to invite the Prophetick ſpirit to come upon them. Fourthly, that *Moſes* had a freedom and liberty of ſpirit to propheſie at all times, and could when he pleaſed have recourſe to the Sacred Oracle. But as to this the Scripture intimates no ſuch thing, the ſpirit of Prophecy retiring from him at ſome times as well as from the reſt of the Prophets. And indeed the Prophetick ſpirit did not reſide in the holy men by way of habit, but occaſionally, as God ſaw fitting to pour it out upon them; it was not in them as light is in the Sun, but as light in the Air, and conſequently depended upon the immediate irradiations of the Spirit of God.

Vid. Maimo. More Nevoc. part. 2. cap. 45. p. 317.

Exod. 33. 11.

Numb. 12. 6, 7, 8.

15. THESE Divine Communications were ſo conveyed to the minds of the Prophets and inſpired perſons, that they always knew them to be Divine revelations; ſo mighty and perſpicuous was the evidence that came along with them, that there could be no doubt, but they were the birth of Heaven. It's true, when the Prophetick ſpirit at any time ſeiſed upon wicked men, they underſtood not its effect upon them, nor were in the leaſt improved and bettered by it; the revelation paſſed through them, as a ſound through a Trunk, or water through a Leaden-pipe, without any particular and diſtinct apprehenſion of the thing, or uſeful impreſſion made upon their minds, as is evident beſides others in the caſe of *Caiaphas* and *Balaam*, of which laſt the *Jews* ſay expreſly נבא בר ציין אלהים ולא ידע מנבא that *he propheſied according to the will of God, but underſtood not what he propheſied*. But it was otherwiſe with the true Prophets, they always knew who 'twas that acted them, and what was the meaning of that intelligence that was communicated to them. In the *Gentile* world, when the *Dæmon* entred into the inſpired perſon, he was uſually carried out to the furious tranſports of rage and madneſs. But in the Prophets of God, although the

impulſe

impulse might sometimes be very strong and violent, (whence the Prophet *Jeremy* complains, *Mine heart within me is broken, all my bones shake, I am like a drunken man, like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of the words of his holiness*) so as a little to ruffle their imagination, yet never so as to discompose their reason, or hinder them from a clear perception of the notices conveyed upon their minds; ὁ προφήτης μετὰ καταστάσεως λογισμῶν, καὶ παρακολουθήσεως ἐλάλει, καὶ ἐφθέγγετο ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὰ πάντα ἐῤῥωμένως λέγων, says *Epiphanius*, the Prophet had his Oracles dictated by the Holy Spirit, which he delivered strenuously, and with the most firm and unshaken consistency of his rational powers; and afterwards, γεγόνασι δὲ ἐν ἐκστάσει οἱ προφῆται, οὐκ ἐν ἐκστάσει λογισμῶν, that the Prophets were often in a bodily ecstasie, but never in an ecstasie of mind, their understandings never being rendred useless and unserviceable to them. Indeed it was absolutely necessary that the Prophet should have a full satisfaction of mind concerning the truth and Divinity of his message; for how else should they perswade others, that the thing was from God, if they were not first sufficiently assured themselves; and therefore even in those methods that were most liable to doubts and questions, such as communications by dreams, we cannot think but that the same Spirit that moved and impressed the thing upon them, did also by some secret and inward operations settle their minds in the firmest belief and perswasion of what was revealed and suggested to them. All these ways of immediate revelation ceased some hundreds of years before the final period of the *Jewish* Church. A thing confessed not only by *Christians* but by *Jews* themselves, לא היה נביא בבית שני *There was no Prophet in the second Temple*; indeed they universally acknowledge, that there were five things wanting in the second Temple, built after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, which had been in that of *Solomon*, *viz.* the Ark of the Covenant, the fire from Heaven that lay upon the Altar, the *Schekinah* or presence of the Divine Majesty, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the spirit of Prophecy, which ceased (as they tell us) about the second year of *Darius*, to be sure at the death of *Malachy*, the last of that order, after whom there arose no Prophet in *Israel*, whom therefore the *Jews* call, חותם הנביאים *the seal of the Prophets.* Indeed it is no wonder that Prophecy should cease at that time, if we consider that one of the prime ends of it did then cease, which was to be a seal and an assurance of the Divine inspiration of the holy Volumes, now the *Canon* of the Old Testament being consigned and completed by *Ezra* with the assistance of *Malachy*, and some of the last Prophets, God did not think good any longer to continue this Divine and Miraculous gift among them: But especially if we consider the great degeneracy into which that Church was falling; their horrid and crying sins having made God resolve to reject them, the departure of the Prophetick spirit shewed that God had written them a bill of divorce, and would utterly cast them off; that by this means they might be awakened to a more lively expectation of that new state of things, which the *Messiah* was coming to establish in the World, wherein the Prophetick spirit should revive, and be again restored to the Church, which accordingly came to pass, as we shall elsewhere observe.

Adv. Montan. Hæres. XLVIII. p.176. *Ibid. pag.* 177.

Pizz. p. 159. *Plante Hot-ing. Th. Phil. c.* 3. *p.* 564.

16. THE third thing propounded, was to consider the state of Religion, and the Church under the successive periods of this *Oeconomy*. And here we shall only make some general remarks, a particular survey of those matters not consisting with the design of this discourse. Ecclesiastical Constitutions being made in the Wilderness, and the place for publick worship fram'd

fram'd and erected, no ſooner did they come into the promiſed Land, but the Tabernacle was ſet down at *Gilgal*, where, if the *Jewiſh* Chronology ſay true, it continued fourteen years, till they had ſubdued and divided the Land: Then fixed at *Shiloh*, and the Prieſts and Levites had Cities and Territories aſſigned to them, where it is not to be doubted but there were Synagogues, or places equivalent for prayer and the ordinary ſolemnities of Religion, and Courts for the deciſion of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes. Proſperity and a plentiful Country had greatly contributed to the depravation of mens manners, and the corruption of Religion till the times of *Samuel*, the great Reformer of that Church, who erected *Colledges*, and inſtituted *Schools* of the *Prophets*, reduced the Societies of the Levites to their Primitive order and purity, forced the Prieſts to do their duty, diligently to miniſter in the affairs of God's worſhip, and carefully to teach and inſtruct the people: A piece of reformation no more than neceſſary, *For the word of the Lord was precious in thoſe days, there was no open viſion.* CCCLXIX. years (ſay the *Jews*) the Tabernacle abode at *Shiloh*, from whence it was tranſlated to *Nob* a City in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, probably about the time that the Ark was taken, thence after thirteen years to *Gibeon*, where it remained fifty years; and laſtly, by *Solomon* to *Jeruſalem*. The Ark being taken out to carry along with them for their more proſperous ſucceſs in their War againſt the *Philiſtines*, was ever after expoſed to an ambulatory and unſetled courſe: For being taken captive by the *Philiſtines*, it was by them kept priſoner ſeven months, thence removed to *Bethſhemeſh*, and thence to *Kiriath-jearim*, where it remained in the houſe of *Abinadab* twenty years, thence ſolemnly fetched by *David*, and after three months reſt by the way in the houſe of *Obed-Edom*, brought triumphantly to *Jeruſalem*, and placed under the covert of a Tent which he had purpoſely erected for it. *David* being ſetled in the Throne, like a pious Prince took eſpecial care of the affairs of Religion, he fixed the High-Prieſt and his ſecond, augmented the courſes of the Prieſts from eight to four and twenty, appointed the Levites, and Singers, and their ſeveral turns and times of waiting, aſſigned them their proper duties and miniſteries, ſetled the *Nethinim* or Porters, the poſterity of the *Gibeonites*, made Treaſurers of the revenues belonging to holy uſes, and of the vaſt ſumms contributed towards the building of a Temple, as a more ſolemn and ſtately place for Divine worſhip, which he was fully reſolved to have erected, but that God commanded it to be reſerved for the peaceable and proſperous Reign of *Solomon*, who ſucceeding in his Father's Throne, accompliſhed it, building ſo ſtately and magnificent a Temple, that it became one of the greateſt wonders of the World. Under his ſon *Rehoboam* hapned the fatal diviſion of the Kingdom, when ten parts of twelve were rent off at once, and brought under the Empire of *Jeroboam*, who knew no better way to ſecure his new-gotten Soveraignty, than to take off the people from hankering after the Temple and the worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, and therefore out of a curſed policy erected two Golden Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, perſwading the people there to pay their publick adorations, appointing Chaplains like himſelf, Prieſts of the loweſt of the people; and from this time Religion began viſibly to ebbe and decline in that Kingdom, and Idolatry to get ground amongſt them.

17. THE two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* were loyal both to God and their Prince, continuing obedient to their lawful Sovereign, and firmly adhering to the worſhip of the Temple, though even here too impiety in ſome places maintained its ground, having taken root in the Reign of *Solomon*, who through his over-great partiality and fondneſs to his Wives had

had been betrayed to give too much countenance to Idolatry. The extirpation hereof was the design and attempt of all the pious and good Princes of *Judah*: *Jehoſaphat* ſet himſelf in good earneſt to recover Religion and the ſtate of the Church to its ancient purity and luſtre, he aboliſhed the *Groves* and *high places*, and appointed itinerant Prieſts and Levites to go from City to City to expound the Law, and inſtruct the people in the know-
Chron. 19.4. ledge of their duty; nay, he himſelf held a royal Viſitation, *Going quite through the Land, and bringing back the people to the Lord God of their Fathers.* But under the ſucceeding Kings Religion again loſt its ground, and had been quite extinct during the tyranny and uſurpation of *Athaliah*, but that good *Jehoiada* the High-Prieſt kept it alive by his admirable zeal and induſtry. While he lived, his Pupil *Joas* (who owed both his Crown and his life to him) promoted the deſign, and purged the Temple, though after his Tutors death he apoſtatized to prophaneneſs and idolatry. Nor indeed was the reformation effectually advanced till the time of *Hezekiah*, who no ſooner aſcended the Throne, but he ſummoned the Prieſts and Levites, exhorted them to begin at home, and firſt to reform themſelves, then to cleanſe and repair the Temple; he reſetled the Prieſts and Levites in their proper places and offices, and cauſed them to offer all ſorts of Sacrifices, and the Paſſeover to be univerſally celebrated with great ſtrictneſs and ſolemnity; he deſtroyed the Monuments of Idolatry, *took away the Altars in Jeruſalem*, and having given commiſſion, the people did the like in all parts of the Kingdom, breaking the Images, cutting down the Groves, throwing down the Altars and high places, *until they had utterly deſtroyed them all.* But neither greatneſs nor piety can exempt any from the common Laws of mortality, *Hezekiah* dies, and his ſon *Manaſſeh* ſucceeds, a wicked Prince, under whoſe influence impiety like a land-floud broke in upon Religion, and laid all waſte before it. But his Grandchild *Joſiah* made ſome amends, he gave ſignal inſtances of an early piety; for in the *eighth year* of his Reign,
Chron. 34.3. *while he was yet young*, he began *to ſeek after the God of David his Father*, and in the *twelfth year* he began to purge *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; he defaced whatever had been abuſed and proſtituted to Idolatry and Superſtition throughout the whole Kingdom, repaired God's houſe, and ordered its worſhip according to the preſcript of the *Moſaick* Law, a copy whereof they had found in the ruines of the Temple, ſolemnly engaged himſelf and his people to be true to Religion and the worſhip of God, and cauſed ſo great and ſolemn a Paſſeover to be held, that *there was no Paſſeover like to it kept in Iſrael from the days of Samuel.* And more he had done, had not an immature death cut him off in the midſt both of his days, and his pious deſigns and projects. Not many years after God being highly provoked by the prodigious impieties of that Nation, delivered it up to the Army of the King of *Babylon*, who demoliſhed the City, haraſſed the Land, and carried the people captive unto *Babylon*. And no wonder the Divine patience could
Chron. 36. hold no longer, when *all the chief of the Prieſts and the people tranſgreſſed very much, after all the abominations of the Heathen, and polluted the houſe of the Lord, which he had hallowed in Jeruſalem.* Seventy years they remained under this captivity, during which time the Prophet *Daniel* gave lively and particular accounts of the *Meſſiah*, that he ſhould come into the World to introduce a Law of *everlaſting righteouſneſs*, to die as a ſacrifice and expiation for the ſins of the people, and to put a period to the *Levitical* ſacrifices and oblations. And whereas other prophecies had only in general defined the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming, he particularly determines the period, that all this ſhould be at the end of LXX. *weeks*, that is, at the expiration of

CCCCXC. years; which exactly fell in with the time of our Saviour's appearing in the World. The ſeventy years captivity being run out, by the favour of the King of *Babylon* they were ſet free, and by him permitted and aſſiſted to repair *Jeruſalem*, and rebuild the Temple, which was accordingly done under the government of *Nehemiah*, and the ſucceeding Rulers, and the Temple finiſhed by *Zorobabel*, and things brought into ſome tolerable ſtate of order and decency, and ſo continued till the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*, by whom the Temple was prophaned and violated, and the *Jewiſh* Church miſerably afflicted and diſtreſſed; he thruſt out *Onias* the High-Prieſt, and put in his brother *Jaſon*, a man loſt both to Religion and good manners, and who by a vaſt ſumm of money had purchaſed the Prieſt-hood of *Antiochus*: At this time *Matthias* a Prieſt, and the head of the *Aſmonæan* Family, ſtood up for his Country; after whom came *Judas Macchabæus*, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος καὶ μεγαλοπόλεμος, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ ῥᾶσαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑποστάς, as *Joſephus* truly characters him, a man of a generous temper, and a valiant mind, ready to do or ſuffer any thing to aſſert the Liberties and Religion of his Country, followed both in his zeal and proſperous ſucceſs by his two Brothers *Jonathan* and *Simon*, ſucceſſively High-Prieſts and Commanders after him. Next him came *John* ſurnamed *Hyrcanus*, then *Ariſtobulus*, *Alexander*, *Hyrcanus*, *Ariſtobulus junior*, *Alexander*, *Antigonus*; in whoſe time *Herod* the Great having by the favour of *Antony* obtained of the *Roman Senate* the Sovereignty over the *Jewiſh* Nation, and being willing that the Prieſthood ſhould intirely depend upon his arbitrary diſpoſure, abrogated the ſucceſſion of the *Aſmonæan* Family, and put in one *Ananel*, ἱερέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων, as *Joſephus* calls him, an obſcure Prieſt, of the line of thoſe who had been Prieſts in *Babylon*. To him ſucceeded *Ariſtobulus*, to him *Jeſus* the ſon of *Phabes*, to him *Simon*, who being depoſed, next came *Matthias*, depoſed alſo by *Herod*, next him *Joazar*, who underwent the ſame fate from *Archelaus*, then *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sie*, after whom *Joazar* was again reſtored to the Chair, and under his Pontificate (though before his firſt depoſition) *Chriſt* was born, things every day growing worſe among them, till about ſeventy years after the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermoſt, and brought the *Romans*, who finally took away their place and Nation.

Antiquit. Jud. lib. 12. c. 19. p. 425.

Lib. 15. cap. 2. p. 512.

18. BEFORE we go off from this part of our diſcourſe, it may not be amiſs to take a more particular view of the ſtate of the *Jewiſh* Church, as it ſtood at the time of our Saviour's appearing in the World, as what may reflect ſome conſiderable light upon the Hiſtory of *CHRIST* and his *Apoſtles*. And if we caſt our eyes upon it at this time, *How was the Gold become dim, and the moſt fine Gold changed!* How miſerably deformed was the face of the Church, how ſtrangely degenerated from its Primitive Inſtitution! whereof we ſhall obſerve ſome particular inſtances. Their Temple though lately repaired and rebuilt by *Herod*, and that with ſo much pomp and grandeur, that *Joſephus*, who yet may juſtly be preſumed partial to the honour of his own Nation, ſays of it, that it was the moſt admirable ſtructure that was ever ſeen or heard of both for the preparation made for it, the greatneſs and magnificence of the thing it ſelf, and the infinite expence and coſt beſtowed upon it, as well as for the glory of that Divine worſhip that was performed in it, yet was it infinitely ſhort of that of *Solomon*; beſides that it had been often expoſed to rudeneſs and violence. Not to mention the horrible prophanations of *Antiochus*, it had been of late invaded by *Pompey*, who boldly ventured into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and without any ſcruple curiouſly contemplated the myſteries of that place, but ſuffered no injury to be offered

De Bell. Jud. lib. 7. cap. ult. p. 958.

offered to it. After him came *Craſſus*, who to the others boldneſs added Sacriledge, ſeizing what the others piety and modeſty had ſpared, plundering the Temple of its vaſt wealth and treaſure. *Herod* having procured the Kingdom, beſieged and took the City and the Temple, and though to ingratiate himſelf with the People he endeavoured what in him lay to ſecure it from rapine and impiety, and afterwards expended incredible Summs in its reparation, yet did he not ſtick to make it truckle under his wicked policies and deſigns. The more to indear himſelf to his Patrons at *Rome*, he ſet up a *Golden Eagle* of a vaſt dimenſion (the Arms of the *Roman* Empire) over the great Gate of the Temple: a thing ſo expreſly contrary to the Law of *Moſes*, which forbids all Images, and accounted ſo monſtrous a prophanation of that holy place, that while *Herod* lay a dying the People in a great tumult and up-roar gathered together and pull'd it down. A great part of it was become an Exchange and a Market; the place where Men were to meet with God, and to trade with Heaven, was now turned into a Ware-houſe for Merchants, and a Shop for Uſurers, and *the Houſe of Prayer* into *a Den of Thieves*. The worſhip formerly wont to be performed there with pious and devout affections, was now ſhrunk into a meer ſhell and out-ſide, they *drew near to God with their mouths, and honoured him with their lips, but their hearts were far from him*; Rites of humane invention had juſtled out thoſe of Divine Inſtitution, and their very Prayers were made traps to catch the unwary People, and to devour the Widow and the Fatherleſs. Their Prieſthood was ſo changed and altered, that it retain'd little but its ancient Name; the High-Prieſts who by their Original Charter were lineally to ſucceed, and to hold their place for life, were become almoſt annual, ſcarce a Year paſſing over, wherein one was not thruſt out, and another put in, ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοι ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, ὃ πλεῖον ἔτους ἑνὸς ὅτε ταύτης διεῖλκυν, as *Euſebius* notes out of their own Hiſtorian. Nay, which was far worſe, it was become not only annual, but venal, *Herod* expoſing it to ſale, and ſcarce admitting any to the Sacerdotal Office, who had not firſt ſufficiently paid for his Patent; and which was the natural conſequence of that, the place was filled with the refuſe of the People, Men of mean abilities, and debauched manners, who had neither parts nor piety to recommend them, he being the beſt and the fitteſt man, that offered moſt. Nay into ſo ſtrange a degeneracy were they fallen in this matter, that *Joſephus* reports, that one *Phannias* was elected High-Prieſt, not only a ruſtick and illiterate fellow, not only not of the Sacerdotal Line, but ſo intolerably ſtupid and ignorant, that when they came to acquaint him, he knew not what the High-Prieſthood meant. And not content to be impoſed upon, and tyrannized over by a Foreign Power, they fell a quarrelling among themſelves, and mutually prey'd upon one another; the High-Prieſts falling out with the inferiour Orders, and both Parties going with an armed retinue after them, ready to claſh and fight where-ever they met, the High-Prieſt ſending his Servants to fetch away the Tithes due to the inferiour Prieſts, inſomuch that many of the pooreſt of them were famiſhed for want of neceſſary food.

Joſeph. Antiqu. Jud. l. 17. c. 8. p. 596. & de Bell. Jud l. 1. c. 21. p. 772.

Euſeb. l. 1. c. 6. p. 28.

Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 772.

Joſeph. Antiqu. l. 20. c. 8. p. 898.

19. THEIR Law, which had been delivered with ſo much majeſty and magnificence, and for which they themſelves pretended ſo great a reverence, they had miſerably corrupted and depraved (the moral part of it eſpecially) and that two ways. Firſt, by groſs and abſurd interpretations, which the Teachers of thoſe times had put upon it. The *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who ruled the Chair in the *Jewiſh* Church, had by falſe and corrupt gloſſes debaſed the majeſty and purity of the Law, and made it to ſerve the purpoſes of

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an evil life: they had taught the People, that the Law required no more than external righteouſneſs, that if there was but a viſible conformity of the life, they needed not be ſolicitous about the government of their minds, or the regular conduct of their thoughts or paſſions; that ſo Men did but carry themſelves fair to the eye of the World, it was no great matter how things went in the ſecret and unſeen retirements of the Soul, nay, that a punctual obſervance of ſome external Precepts of the Law would compenſate and quit ſcores with God for the neglect or violation of the reſt. They told Men that when the Law forbad *murder*, ſo they did not actually *kill* another, and ſheath their Sword in their Brother's bowels, it was well enough, Men were not reſtrained from furious and intemperate paſſions, they might be angry, yea, though by peeviſh and uncomely ſpeeches they betray'd the rancor and malice of their minds. They confeſſed the Law made it *adultery* actually to embrace the boſom of a ſtranger, but would not have it extend to wanton thoughts and unchaſt deſires, or that it was adultery for a man to luſt after a Woman, and to commit folly with her in his heart: they told them that in all *oaths* and *vows*, if they did but perform what they had ſworn to God, the Law took no further notice of it, when as every vain and unneceſſary oath, all cuſtomary and trifling uſe of the name of God was forbidden by it. They made them believe that it was lawful for them to proceed by the rigorous Law of retaliation, to exact their own to the utmoſt, and to right and revenge themſelves; when as the Law requires a tender, compaſſionate, and benevolent temper of mind, and is ſo far from owning the rigorous punctilio's of revenge, that it obliges to meekneſs and patience, to forgiveneſs and charity, and which is the very height of charity, not only to pardon, but to *love* and befriend our greateſt *enemies*, quite contrary to the doctrine which theſe men taught, that though they were to *love* their *neighbours*, that is, *Jews*, yet might they *hate* their *enemies*. In theſe and ſuch like inſtances they had notoriouſly abuſed and evacuated the Law, and in a manner rendred it of no effect. And therefore when our Lord, as the great Prophet ſent from God, came into the World, the firſt thing he did after the entrance upon his publick Miniſtry, was to cleanſe and purifie the Law, and to remove that rubbiſh which the *Jewiſh* Doctors had caſt upon it. He reſcued it out of the hands of their poiſonous and pernicious expoſitions, reſtored it to its juſt authority, and to its own primitive ſence and meaning, he taught them that the Law did not only bind the external act, but preſcribe to the moſt inward motions of the mind, and that whoever tranſgreſſes here, is no leſs obnoxious to the Divine Juſtice, and the penalties of the Law, than he that is guilty of the moſt groſs and palpable violations of it: he ſhewed them how infinitely more pure and ſtrict the command was, than theſe Impoſtors had repreſented it, and plainly told them that if ever they expected to be happy, they muſt look upon the Law with an other-guiſe eye, and follow it after another rate, than their blind and deceitful Guides did, *For I ſay unto you, Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, you can in no caſe enter into the Kingdom of God.*

20. THE other way by which they corrupted and diſhonoured the Law, and weakned the power and reputation of it, was by preferring before it their *Oral* and unwritten Law. For beſides the Law conſigned to Writing, they had their תורה שבעל פה *their Law delivered by word of mouth*, whoſe pedigree they thus deduce. They tell us that when *Moſes* waited upon God Forty Days in the Mount, he gave him a double Law, one in Writing, the other *Traditionary*, containing the ſence and explication of the former: being come down into his Tent, he repeated it firſt to *Aaron*,

then to *Ithamar* and *Eleazar* his Sons, then to the *Seventy Elders*, and laſtly to all the People, the ſame Perſons being all this while preſent. *Aaron* who had now heard it four times recited, *Moſes* being gone out, again repeated it before them: after his departure out of the Tent, his two Sons who by this had heard it as oft as their Father, made another repetition of it, by which means the Seventy Elders came to hear it four times, and then they alſo repeated it to the Congregation, who had now alſo heard it repeated four times together, once from *Moſes*, then from *Aaron*, then from his Sons, and laſtly, from the Seventy Elders, after which the Congregation broke up, and every one went home, and taught it his Neighbour. This Oral Law *Moſes* upon his Death-bed repeated to *Joſhua*, he delivered it to the *Elders*, they to the *Prophets*, the Prophets to *the men of the great Synagogue*, the laſt of whom was *Symeon* the *Juſt*, who delivered it to *Antigonus Sochæus*, and he to his Succeſſors, the wiſe Men, whoſe buſineſs it was to recite it, and ſo it was handed through ſeveral Generations, the names of the Perſons who delivered it in the ſeveral Ages from its firſt riſe under *Moſes* till above an Hundred Years after Chriſt, being particularly enumerated by *Maimonides*. At laſt it came to *R. Jehuda*, commonly ſtiled by the *Jews* רבינו הקדוש *our holy Maſter*, the Son of *Rabban Symeon* (who flouriſhed a little before the time of the Emperor *Antoninus*) who conſidering the unſetled and tottering condition of his own Nation, and how apt theſe traditionary Precepts would be to be forgotten or miſtaken, by the weakneſs of Mens memories, or the perverſneſs of their wits, or the diſperſion of the *Jews* in other Countries, collected all theſe Laws and Expoſitions, and committed them to Writing, ſtiling his Book *Miſhnaioth*, or the *Repetition*. This was afterwards illuſtrated and explained by the *Rabbines* dwelling about *Babylon*, with infinite caſes and controverſies concerning their Law, whoſe reſolutions were at laſt compiled into another Volume, which they called *Gemara*, or *Doctrine*, and both together conſtitute the intire Body of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*, the one being the Text, the other the Comment. The folly and vanity of this account, though it be ſufficiently evident to need no confutation with any wiſe and diſcerning Man, yet have the *Jews* in all Ages made great advantage of it, magnifying and extolling it above the written Law with Titles and Elogies that hyperbolize into blaſphemy. They tell us, that this is עיקר התורה *the foundation of the Law*, for whoſe ſake it was that God entred into Covenant with the *Iſraelites*, that without this the whole Law would lye in the dark, yea be mere obſcurity and darkneſs it ſelf, as being contrary and repugnant to it ſelf, and defective in things neceſſary to be known: that it is joy to the heart, and health to the bones, that the words of it are more lovely and deſirable than the words of the Law, and a greater ſin to violate the one than the other; that it's little or no commendation for a Man to read the Bible, but to ſtudy the *Miſhna* is that for which a Man ſhall receive the reward of the other World, and that no Man can have a peaceable and quiet conſcience, who leaves the ſtudy of the *Talmud* to go to that of the Bible; that the Bible is like *Water*, the *Miſhna* like *Wine*; the *Talmud* like *ſpiced Wine*; that all the words of the *Rabbins* are the very words of the living God, from which a Man might not depart, though they ſhould tell him his right hand were his left, and his left his right; nay they bluſh not, nor tremble to aſſert, שגם העסק במקרא הוא אבוד הזמן that *to ſtudy in the holy Bible is nothing elſe but to loſe our time*; I will mention but one bold and blaſphemous ſentence more, that we may ſee how far theſe deſperate wretches are given over to a ſpirit of impiety and infatuation, they tell us, that he that diſſents from his *Rabbin* or *Teach-*

Aboth. 1. Sect. 1, 2, 1.

Chazak. ex loc. ſatis xum citat Voſſ. de iv. c. 9. & ubi varias eorum de s hujus ori- & ſucceſſi- entias re eſt.

Buxtorf. bbrev. p. & de Sy- Jud. cap. ting. Theſ. lib. 2. c. 3.

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er, בחולק על השכינה והמאמין ברברי חכמים כמאמין בשכינה *diſſents from the Divine Majeſty, but he that believes the words of the wiſe men, believes God himſelf.*

21. STRANGE! that Men ſhould ſo far offer violence to their reaſon, ſo far conquer and ſubdue their conſcience, as to be able to talk at this wild and prodigious rate: and ſtranger it would ſeem, but that we know a Generation of Men, great Patrons of *Tradition* too, in another Church, who mainly endeavour to debaſe and ſuppreſs the Scriptures, and value their unwritten Traditions at little leſs rate than this. But I let them paſs. This is no novel and up-ſtart humour of the *Jews*, they were notoriouſly guilty of it in our Saviour's days, whom we find frequently charging them with their ſuperſtitious obſervances of many little rites and uſages derived from the *Traditions of the Elders*, wherein they placed the main of Religion, and for which they had a far more ſacred regard, than for the plain and poſitive commands of God. Such were their frequent *waſhings* of their *Pots* and *Cups*, their *brazen Veſſels* and *Tables*, the purifying themſelves after they came from Market (as if the touching of others had defiled them) the waſhing their hands before every Meal, and *many other things which they had received to hold.* In all which they were infinitely nice and ſcrupulous, making the neglect of them of equal guilt with the greateſt immorality, not ſticking to affirm, that he who eats Bread with unwaſhen hands, כאילו בא על אשה זונה, *is as if he lay with an Harlot.* This it's plain they thought a ſufficient charge againſt our Lord's Diſciples, that they were not zealous obſervers of theſe things. *When they ſaw ſome of his Diſciples eat Bread with defiled (that is to ſay, with unwaſhen) hands, they found fault; and asked him, Why walk not thy Diſciples according to the Tradition of the Elders, but eat Bread with unwaſhen hands?* To whom our Saviour ſmartly anſwered, that they were the Perſons of whom the Prophet had ſpoken, who *honoured God with their lips, but their hearts were far from him,* that *in vain did they worſhip him, while for Doctrines they taught the commandments of men, laying aſide and rejecting the commandments of God, that they might hold the Tradition of men.* For they were not content to make them of equal value and authority with the Word of God, but made them a means wholly to evacuate and ſuperſede it. Whereof our Lord gives a notorious inſtance in the caſe of Parents. They could not ſay but that the Law obliged Children to honour and revere their Parents, and to adminiſter to their neceſſities in all ſtraits and exigencies, but then had found out a fine way to evade the force of the command, and that under a pious and plauſible pretence. *Moſes ſaid, Honour thy Father and thy Mother: and who ſo curſeth Father or Mother let him die the death. But ye ſay, If a man ſhall ſay to his Father or Mother, It is Corban, that is to ſay, a gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by me, he ſhall be free: And ye ſuffer him no more to do ought for his Father, or Mother.* By which is commonly underſtood, that when their Parents required relief and aſſiſtance from their Children, they put them off with this excuſe, that they had conſecrated their Eſtate to God, and might not divert it to any other uſe. Though this ſeems a ſpecious and plauſible pretence, yet it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that either they had, or would pretend that they had intirely devoted whatever they had to God, and muſt therefore refer to ſome other cuſtom. Now among the many kinds of oaths and vows that were among the *Jews* they had one, which they called נדר אסר *the vow of interdict*; whereby a man might reſtrain himſelf as to this or that particular perſon, and this or that particular thing; as, he might vow not to accept of ſuch a courteſie from this friend or that neighbour,

Mark 7.2,3 *ſeqq.*

Matth. 15. *Talm. Tr. S. cap. 1. vid. torf. Syn. Ph. c. 11. p. 236*

Mark 7. 2.

Vid. Lud. C. pell. diatri. Corban. G. Annot. in 15. 5. Coc. Excerpt. mar. Sanh. p. 273 Ho. Th. Phi. l. 1. Sect. 5. p. 3.

bour, or that he would not part with this or that thing of his own to such a man, to lend him his Horse, or give him any thing towards his maintenance, *&c.* and then the thing became utterly unlawful, and might not be done upon any consideration whatsoever, lest the Man became guilty of the violation of his Vow. The form of this Vow frequently occurs in the *Jewish* Writings, and even in the very same words wherein our Lord expresses it, קרבן שאני נהנה לך *Be it Corban or a gift* (that is, a thing sacred) *whereby I may be any ways profitable to thee,* that is, be that thing unlawful or prohibited to me, wherein I may be helpful and assistant to thee. And nothing more common than this way of vowing in the particular case of Parents, whereof there are abundant instances in the writings of the *Jewish* Masters, who thus explain the forementioned Vow, הקודש יחא כל מה שאני עושה מלבו על פי אבא *Whatever I shall gain hereafter, shall be sacred, as to the maintenance of my Father*; or as *Maimonides* expresses it, *That what I provide, my Father shall eat nothing of it,* that is, says he, *he shall receive no profit by it*; and then as they tells us, יקונם אינו יכול להפר *He that had thus vowed, might not transgress or make void his Vow.* So that when indigent Parents craved relief and assistance from their Children, and probably wearied them with importunity, it was but vowing in a passionate resentment, that they should not be better for what they had, and then they were safe, and might no more dispose any part of their Estate to that use, than they might touch the *Corban,* that which was most solemnly consecrated to God. By which means they were taught to be unnatural under a pretence of Religion, and to suffer their Parents to starve, lest themselves should violate a senceless and unlawful Vow. So that though they were under the precedent obligations of a natural duty, a duty as clearly commanded by God as words could express it, yet a blind Tradition, a rash and impious Vow, made for the most part out of passion or covetousness, should cancel and supersede all these obligations, it being unlawful henceforth to give them one penny to relieve them: *Ye suffer him no more* (says our Lord) *to do ought for his Father or his Mother, making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered.*

22. THE last instance that I shall note of the corruption and degeneracy of this Church, is the many *Sects* and divisions that were in it, a thing which the *Jews* themselves in their writings confess would happen in the days of the *Messiah,* whose Kingdom should be over-run with heretical opinions. That Church which heretofore like *Jerusalem* had been *at unity within it self,* was now miserably broken into Sects and Factions, whereof three most considerable, *Pharisees, Sadducees,* and the *Essenes.* The *Pharisees* derive their name from פרש, which may admit of a double signification, and either not unsuitable to them: It may refer to them as פורשים, *Explainers* or Interpreters of the Law, which was a peculiar part of their work, and for which they were famous and venerable among the *Jews*; or more probably to their *separation* (the most proper and natural importance of the word) so called, διὰ τὸ ἀφωρισμένους εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, as *Epiphanius* observed of old, because separated from all others in their extraordinary pretences of piety, the very *Jews* themselves thus describing a *Pharisee,* he is one שפירש עצמו מכל טימאה, *that separates himself from all uncleanness, and from all unclean meats, and from the people of the Earth,* (the common rout) *who accurately observe not the difference of Meats.* It is not certain when this Sect first thrust up its head into the World, probably not long after the times of the *Macchabees,* 'tis certain they were of considerable standing, and great account in the time of our Saviour:

xvi.

Bruch in פרוש.

Saviour: To be ſure ſtrangely wide of the mark are thoſe *Jewiſh* Chronologiſts who ſay, that the Sect of the *Phariſees* aroſe in the times of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and *Ptolomy* the *Ægyptian*, under whom the *Septuagint* tranſlation was accompliſhed; as if *Ptolomy Philadelphus* and *Tiberius Cæſar* had been Contemporaries, between whom there is the diſtance of no leſs than CCLX. years. But when ever it began, a bold and daring Sect it was, not fearing to affront Princes, and perſons of the greateſt quality, crafty and inſinuative, and who by a ſhew of great zeal, and infinite ſtrictneſs in Religion, beyond the rate of other men, had procured themſelves a mighty reverence from the people; ſo ſtrict, that (as a Learned man obſerves) *Phariſee* is uſed in the *Talmudick* writings to denote a pious and holy man; and *Benjamin* the *Jew* ſpeaking of *R. Aſcher*, ſays, he was הפרוש שנפרש a *truly devout man, ſeparate from the affairs of this world*. And yet under all this ſeeming ſeverity they were but Religious villains, ſpiteful and malicious, griping and covetous, great oppreſſors, mercileſs dealers, heady and ſeditious, proud and ſcornful, indeed guilty of moſt kinds of immorality, of whoſe temper and manners I ſay the leſs in this place, having elſewhere given an account of them. They held that the *Oral* Law was of infinitely greater moment and value than the written Word; that the Traditions of their fore-Fathers were above all things to be embraced and followed, the ſtrict obſervance whereof would entitle a man to Eternal Life; that the Souls of men are Immortal, and had their dooms awarded in the *Subterraneous* Regions; that there is a *Metempſuchoſis* or Tranſmigration of pious Souls out of one Body into another; that things come to paſs by fate, and an inevitable neceſſity, and yet that Man's will is free, that by this means men might be rewarded and puniſhed according to their works. I add no more concerning them, than that ſome great men of the Church of *Rome* ſay with ſome kind of boaſting, that ſuch as were the *Phariſees* among the *Jews*, ſuch are the *Religious* (they mean the *Monaſtical* Orders of their Church) among Chriſtians. Much good may it do them with the compariſon, I confeſs my ſelf ſo far of their mind, that there is too great a conformity between them.

R. Ged. Sch. Kabb. p. 10 citante Hott. Th. Phil. l. 1. p. 27.

L'Emper. in Benjam. Itiner. p. 147. Itiner. p. 6.

Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 6. & de Bell. J. l. 2. cap. 13, p. 788.

23. NEXT the *Phariſees* come the *Sadducees*, as oppoſite to them in their temper, as their principles; ſo called (as *Epiphanius* and ſome others will have it) from צדק *juſtice*, as pretending themſelves to be very juſt and righteous men, but this agrees not with the account given of their lives. They are generally thought to have been denominated from *Sadock* the Scholar of *Antigonus Sochæus*, who flouriſhed about the year of the World MMMDCCXX. CCLXXXIV. years before the Nativity of our Saviour. They paſs under a very ill character even among the writers of their own Nation, רשעים ובעלי מרות רעות *impious men, and of very looſe and debauched manners*: which is no more than what might be expected as the natural conſequence of their principles, this being one of their main *dogmata* or opinions, that the Soul is not Immortal, and that there is no future ſtate after this life. The occaſion of which deſperate principle is ſaid to have been a miſtake of the doctrine of their Maſter *Antigonus*, who was wont to preſs his Scholars not to be like mercenary Servants, who ſerve their Maſters merely for what they can get by them; but to ſerve God for himſelf, without expectation of rewards. This, *Sadock* and *Baithos*, two of his diſciples miſunderſtanding, thought their Maſter had peremptorily denied any ſtate of future rewards; and having laid this dangerous foundation, theſe unhappy ſuperſtructures were built upon it; that there is no Reſurrection, for if there be no reward, what need that the Body ſhould riſe again; that

Pirk. Abo cap. 1. Sect. 3. p. m. 1.

the Soul is not Immortal, nor exiſts in the ſeparate ſtate, for if it did, it muſt be either rewarded or puniſhed; and if not the Soul, then by the ſame proportion of reaſon no ſpiritual ſubſtance, neither Angel, nor Spirit; that there is no Divine Providence, but that God is perfectly placed as beyond the commiſſion, ſo beyond the inſpection and regard of what ſins or evils are done or happen in the World, as indeed what great reaſon to believe a wiſe and righteous Providence, if there be no reward or puniſhment for vertue and vice in another life? Theſe pernicious and Atheiſtical opinions juſtly expoſed them to the reproach and hatred of the people, who were wont eminently to ſtile them מינים *the Hereticks, Infidels, Epicureans*, no words being thought bad enough to beſtow upon them. They rejected the Traditions ſo vehemently aſſerted by the *Phariſees*, and taught that men were to keep to the Letter of the Law, and that nothing was to be impoſed either upon their belief or practice, but what was expreſly owned and contained in it. *Joſephus* obſerves, that they were the feweſt of all the Sects, πρῶτοι δ' τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, but uſually men of the better rank and quality; as what wonder, if rich and great men, who tumble in the pleaſures and advantages of a proſperous fortune, be willing to take ſanctuary at thoſe opinions, that afford the greateſt patronage to looſeneſs and debauchery, and care not to hear of being called to account in another World, for what they have done in this? For this reaſon the *Sadducees* ever appeared the greateſt ſticklers to preſerve the peace, and were the moſt ſevere and implacable Juſticers againſt the Authors or fomenters of tumults and ſeditions, leſt they ſhould diſturb and interrupt their ſoft and eaſie courſe of life, the only happineſs their principles allowed them to expect.

ſeph. de Bell. d. l. 2. κεφ. p. 788.

tiquit. Jud. 8. c. 2. p. 617.

24. THE *Eſſenes* ſucceed, a Sect probably diſtinct from either of the former. Paſſing by the various conjectures concerning the derivation of their name, which when dreſſed up with all advantages are ſtill but bare conjectures, they began about the times of the *Maccabees*, when the violent perſecutions of *Antiochus* forced the *Jews* for their own ſafety to retire to the Woods and Mountains. And though in time the ſtorm blew over, yet many of them were too well pleaſed with theſe undiſturbed ſolitudes to return, and therefore combined themſelves into Religious ſocieties, leading a ſolitary and contemplative courſe of life, and that in very great numbers, *there being uſually above four thouſand of them*, as both *Philo* and *Joſephus* tell us. *Pliny* takes notice of them, and deſcribes them to be a ſolitary generation, remarkable above all others in this, that they live without Women, without any embraces, without money, converſing with nothing but Woods and Palm-trees; that their number encreaſed every day as faſt as any died, perſons flocking to them from all quarters, to ſeek repoſe here, after they had been wearied with the inquietudes of an improſperous fortune. They paid a due reverence to the Temple, by ſending gifts and preſents thither, but yet worſhipped God at home, and uſed their own Rites and Ceremonies. Every ſeventh day they publickly met in their Synagogues, where the younger ſeating themſelves at the feet of the elder, one reads ſome portions out of a Book, which another, eminently skilled in the principles of their Sect, expounds to the reſt (their *dogmata*, like the Philoſophy of the Ancients, being obſcurely and enigmatically delivered to them) inſtructing them in the rules of piety and righteouſneſs, and all the duties that concerned God, others, or themſelves. They induſtriouſly tilled and cultivated the ground, and lived upon the fruits of their own labours; had all their revenues in common; there being neither rich, nor poor among them: Their manners were very harmleſs and innocent,

. Nat. lib. 5. p. 80.

Phil. lib. omnis us liber. 6. 877. ph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 2. 7. præcipue ell Jud. κεφ. β. 5. & ſeqq.

exact

exact obſervers of the rules of Juſtice, ſomewhat beyond the practice of other men. As for that branch of them that lived in *Egypt*, whoſe excellent Manners and Inſtitutions are ſo particularly deſcribed and commended by *Philo*, and whom *Euſebius* and others will needs have to have been Chriſtians converted by S. *Mark*, we have taken notice of elſewhere in S. *Mark*'s Life. We find no mention of them in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, probably becauſe living remote from Cities and all places of publick concourſe, they never concerned themſelves in the actions of *Chriſt* or his *Apoſtles*. What their principles were in matters of ſpeculation is not much material to enquire, their Inſtitutions mainly referring to practice. Out of a great regard to wiſdom and vertue they neglected all care of the body, renounced all conjugal embraces, abſtained very much from Meats and Drinks, ſome of them not eating or drinking for three, others for five or ſix days together, accounting it unbecoming men of ſuch a Philoſophical temper and *genius*, to ſpend any part of the day upon the neceſſities of the body: Their way they called θεραπείαν, *worſhip*, and their rules σοφίας δόγματα, *doctrines of wiſdom*; their contemplations were ſublime and ſpeculative, and of things beyond the ordinary notions of other Sects; they traded in the names and myſteries of *Angels*, and in all their carriages bore a great ſhew of *modeſty* and *humility*. And therefore theſe in all likelihood were the very perſons, whom S. *Paul* primarily deſigned (though not excluding others who eſpouſed the ſame principles) when he charges the *Coloſſians* to *let no man beguile them of their reward in a voluntary humility, and worſhipping of Angels, intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puffed up by his fleſhly mind*, that *being dead to the rudiments of the World, they ſhould no longer* δογματίζεσθαι, *be ſubject* to theſe *dogmata* or *ordinances*, ſuch as *Touch not, taſte not, handle not*, (the main principles of the *Eſſenian* Inſtitution) *being the commandments and doctrines of men; which things have indeed a ſhew of wiſdom in will-worſhip and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the ſatisfying of the fleſh.* Beſides theſe three greater, there were ſeveral other leſſer Sects in the *Jewiſh* Church, ſuch as the *Herodians*, ſuppoſed to have been either part of *Herod*'s guard, or a combination of men, who to ingratiate themſelves with the Prince, maintained *Herod* to be the *Meſſiah*, and at their own charge celebrated his Coronation-days, as alſo the Sabbath, when they uſed to ſet lighted Candles crowned with Violets in their windows; an opinion which S. *Hierom* juſtly laughs at as trifling and ridiculous. Probably they were a party that had eſpouſed *Herod*'s intereſt, and endeavoured to ſupport his new-gotten Soveraignty. For *Herod* being a ſtranger, and having by the *Roman* power uſurped the Kingdom, was generally hateful and burdenſom to the people, and therefore beſide the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, needed ſome to ſtand by him at home. They were peculiarly active in preſſing people to pay Tribute to *Cæſar*, *Herod* being obliged (as S. *Hierom* obſerves) by the Charter of his Soveraignty to look after the Tribute due to *Cæſar*, and they could not do him a more acceptable ſervice, by this means endearing him to his great Patrons at *Rome*. In matters of opinion they ſeem to have ſided with the *Sadducees*; what S. *Matthew* calls *the leaven of the Sadducees*, S. *Mark* ſtiles *the leaven of Herod*. Probable it is, that they had drawn *Herod* to be of their principles, that as they aſſerted his right to the Kingdom, he might favour and maintain their impious opinions. And 'tis likely enough that a man of ſo debauched manners might be eaſily tempted to take ſhelter under principles that ſo directly ſerved the purpoſes of a bad life. Another Sect in that Church were the *Samaritans*, the poſterity of thoſe who ſucceeded in the

Col. 2. 18. 21, 22, 23.

Comm. in Matth. 2. p. 66. Tom.

Loc. citat.

Matth. 16. Mark 8. 1.

the room of the ten captivated Tribes, a mixture of *Jews* and *Gentiles*; they held, that nothing but the *Pentateuch* was the Word of God, that Mount *Gerizim* was the true place of publick and ſolemn worſhip, that they were the deſcendents of *Joſeph*, and heirs of the *Aaronical* Prieſthood, and th-. no dealing or correſpondence was to be maintained with ſtrangers, nor any unclean thing to be touched. The *Karræans* were a branch of the *Sadducees*, but rejected afterwards their abominable and unſound opinions, they are the true *Textualiſts*, adhering only to the writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets, and expounding the Scripture by it ſelf, peremptorily diſowning the abſurd gloſſes of the *Talmud*, and the idle Traditions of the Rabbins, inſomuch that they admit not ſo much as the *Hebrew* points into their Bibles, accounting them part of the *Oral* and Traditionary Law; for which reaſon they are greatly hated by the reſt of the *Jews*. They are in great numbers about *Conſtantinople*, and in other places at this day. There was alſo the Sect of the *Zealots*, frequently mentioned by *Joſephus*, a Generation of men inſolent and ungovernable, fierce and ſavage, who under a pretence of extraordinary zeal for God and the honour of his Law, committed the moſt enormous outrages againſt God and Man; but of them we have given an account in the Life of S. *Simon* the *Zealot*. And yet as if all this had not been enough to render their Church miſerable within it ſelf, their ſins and inteſtine diviſions had brought in the *Roman* power upon them, who ſet Magiſtrates and Taskmaſters over them, depreſſed their great *Sanhedrim*, put in and out Senators at pleaſure, made the Temple pay tribute, and placed a Garriſon at hand to command it, abrogated a great part of their Laws, and ſtript them ſo naked both of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Order and Authority, that they had not power left ſo much as to put a man to death. All evident demonſtrations that *Shiloh* was come, and the *Scepter departed*, that *the Sacrifice and Oblation was to ceaſe*, the *Meſſiah being cut off*, *who came to finiſh tranſgreſſion, to make an end of ſins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the EVANGELICAL Diſpenſation.

The gradual revelations concerning the Meſſiah. John *the* Baptiſt Chriſt's *forerunner. His extraordinary Birth. His auſtere Education, and way of Life. His Preaching, what. His initiating proſelytes by Baptiſm. Baptiſm in uſe in the* Jewiſh *Church. Its Original, whence. His reſolution and impartiality. His Martyrdom. The character given him by* Joſephus, *and the* Jews. *The Evangelical Diſpenſation wherein it exceeds that of* Moſes. *Its perſpicuity and perfection. Its agreeableneſs to humane nature. The Evangelical promiſes better than thoſe of the Law, and in what reſpects. The aids of the Spirit plentifully afforded under the Goſpel. The admirable confirmation of this Oeconomy. The great extent and latitude of it.* Judaiſm *not capable of being communicated to all mankind. The comprehenſiveneſs of the Goſpel. The Duration of the Evangelical Covenant. The* Moſaical *Statutes in what ſence ſaid to be* for ever. *The Typical and tranſient nature of that State. The great happineſs of Chriſtians under the Oeconomy of the Goſpel.*

1. GOD having from the very infancy of the World promiſed the *Meſſiah*, as the great Redeemer of Mankind, was accordingly pleaſed in all Ages to make gradual diſcoveries and manifeſtations of him, the revelations concerning him in every Diſpenſation of the Church ſtill ſhining with a bigger and more particular light, the nearer this *Sun of Righteouſneſs* was to his riſing. The firſt Goſpel and glad tidings of him commenced with the fall of *Adam*, God out of infinite tenderneſs and commiſeration promiſing to ſend a perſon who ſhould triumphantly vindicate and reſcue mankind from the power and tyranny of their Enemies, and that he ſhould do this by taking the humane nature upon him, and being born of *the ſeed of the Woman*. No further account is given of him till the times of *Abraham*, to whom it was revealed, that he ſhould proceed out of his loins, and ariſe out of the *Jewiſh* Nation, though both *Jew* and *Gentile* ſhould be made happy by him. To his Grandchild *Jacob* God made known out of what *Tribe* of that Nation he ſhould riſe, the *Tribe of Judah*; and what would be the time of his appearing, *viz.* the *departure of the Scepter from Judah*, the abrogation of the Civil and Legiſlative power of that Tribe and People (accompliſhed in *Herod* the *Idumæan*, ſet over them by the *Roman* power.) And this is all we find concerning him under that Oeconomy. Under the Legal Diſpenſation we find *Moſes* foretelling one main errand of his coming, which was to be the great *Prophet* of the Church, to whom all were to hearken as an extraordinary perſon ſent from God to acquaint the World with the Counſels and the Laws of Heaven. The next news we hear of him is from *David*, who was told that he ſhould ſpring out of his houſe and family, and who frequently ſpeaks of his ſufferings, and the particular manner of his death, by *piercing his hands and his feet*, of his powerful Reſurrection, that *God would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer his holy one to ſee corruption*, of his triumphant *Aſcenſion* into Heaven, and glorious *ſeſſion at God's right hand*. From the Prophet *Iſaiah* we have an account of the extraordinary and miraculous manner of his Birth, that he ſhould

Deut. 18. 18, 19.

Pſalm 22. Pſalm 16. Pſalm 68. Pſalm 110.

Iſai. 7. 14.

-61.1,2. should *be born of a Virgin,* and his name be *Immanuel,* of his incomparable
-53.1,2,3, furniture of gifts and graces for the execution of his office, of the enter-
&c. tainment he was to meet with in the World, and of the nature and design of those sufferings which he was to undergo. The place of his Birth was
Mic.5.2. foretold by *Micah,* which was to be *Bethlehem-Ephratah,* the *least* of the Cities of *Judah,* but honoured above all the rest with the nativity of a Prince, who was to be *Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth had been from everlasting.*
Dan.9.24-26. Lastly, the Prophet *Daniel* fixes the particular period of his coming, expressly affirming, That the *Messiah* should appear in the World, and be *cut off* as a Victim and Expiation for the sins of the people at the expiration of LXX. prophetical *weeks,* or CCCCXC. years, which accordingly punctually came to pass.

2. FOR the date of the prophetick Scriptures concerning the time of the *Messiah*'s coming being now run out, *In the fulness of time God sent his Son made of a Woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law:* This being the truth of which *God spake by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, which have been since the World began.* But because it was not fit that so great a Person should come into the World, without an eminent Harbinger to introduce and usher in his Arrival, God had promised that he
Mal.3.1. would *send his Messenger, who should prepare his way before him, even Elijah*
-4.5,6. *the Prophet,* whom he would send *before the coming of that great day of the Lord, who should turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, &c.* This was particularly accomplished in *John* the *Baptist,* who *came in the power and spi-*
Comment. in *rit of Elias.* He was the Morning star to the Son of Righteousness, μέγας
Joan.1.15. καὶ οὐκ ἄγνωστος ὁ πρόδρομος, as S. *Cyril* says of him, the great and eminent Fore-runner, a Person remarkable upon several accounts. First for the extraordinary circumstances of his Nativity, his Birth foretold by an Angel, sent on purpose to deliver this joyful Message, a sign God intended him for great undertakings, this being never done but where God designed the Person for some uncommon services; his Parents aged, and though *both righteous before God,* yet hitherto Childless; Heaven does not dispence all its bounty to the same Person, Children, though great and desirable blessings, are yet often denied to those, for whom God has otherwise very dear regards. *Elizabeth was barren, and they were both well stricken in years.* But *is any thing too hard for the Lord?* said God to *Abraham* in the same case; God has the *Key* of the Womb in his own keeping, it is one of the Divine Prerogatives, that *he makes the barren Woman to keep house, and to be a joyful Mother of Children.* A Son is promised, and mighty things said of him: a promise which old *Zachary* had scarce faith enough to digest, and therefore had the assurance of it sealed to him by a miraculous dumbness imposed upon him till it was made good, the same Miracle at once confirming his faith, and punishing his infidelity. Accordingly his Mother conceived with Child, and as if he would do part of his errand before he was born, he *leaped in her Womb* at her salutation of the Virgin *Mary,* then newly conceived with Child of our Blessed Saviour; a piece of homage paid by one, to one, yet unborn.

3. THESE presages were not vain and fallible, but produced a Person no less memorable for the admirable strictness and austerity of his life. For having escaped *Herod*'s butcherly and merciless Executioners (the Divine providence being a shelter and a cover to him) and been educated among the rudenesses and solitudes of the Wilderness, his manners and way of life were very agreeable to his Education. His Garments borrowed from no other Wardrobe than the backs of his Neighbour-creatures, the skins of Beasts,

Camels

Camels hair, and *a Leathern girdle*, and herein he literally made good the character of *Elias*,* who is described as *an hairy man, girt with a Leathern girdle about his Loins.* His Diet suitable to his Garb, *his Meat was Locusts, and wild Honey*: *Locusts*, accounted by all Nations among the meanest and vilest sorts of food; *wild honey*, such as the natural artifice and labour of the Bees had stored up in caverns and hollow Trees, without any elaborate curiosity to prepare and dress it up. Indeed his abstinence was so great, and his food so unlike other Mens, that the Evangelist says of him, that *he came neither eating nor drinking*, as if he had eaten nothing, or at least what was worth nothing. But *Meat commends us not to God*; it is the devout mind, and the honest life that makes us valuable in the eye of Heaven. The place of his abode was not *in Kings houses*, in stately and delicate Palaces, but where he was born and bred, *the Wilderness of Judæa, he was in the Desarts until the time of his shewing unto Israel.* Divine grace is not confined to particular places, it is not the holy City, or the Temple at Mount *Sion* makes us nearer unto Heaven; God can, when he please, consecrate a Desart into a Church, make us *gather Grapes* among *Thorns*, and Religion become fruitful in a barren Wilderness.

2 Kings 1.8

Luke 1.80.

4. PREPARED by so singular an Education, and furnished with an immediate Commission from God, he entred upon the actual administration of his Office: *In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the Wilderness of Judæa, and saying, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* He was Χριστοῦ τῆς πρώτης φανερώσεως κῆρυξ, as *Justin Martyr* calls him, the Herald to Proclaim the first approach of the Holy *Jesus*, his whole Ministry tending to prepare the way to his entertainment, accomplishing herein what was of old foretold concerning him, *For this is he that was spoken of by the Prophet Esaias, saying, The Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.* He told the *Jews*, that the *Messiah* whom they had so long expected was now at hand, and his Kingdom ready to appear, that the Son of God was come down from Heaven, a Person as far beyond him in dignity, as in time and existence, to whom he was not worthy to minister in the meanest Offices; that he came to introduce a new and better state of things, to enlighten the World with the clearest Revelations of the Divine will, and to acquaint them with counsels brought from the bosom of the Father, to put a period to all the types and umbrages of the *Mosaick* Dispensation, and bring in the truth and substance of all those shadows, and to open a Fountain of grace and fulness to Mankind; to remove that state of guilt into which humane nature was so deeply sunk, and as the Lamb of God by the expiatory Sacrifice of himself to take away the sin of the World, not like the continual Burnt-offering, the Lamb offered Morning and Evening only for the sins of the House of *Israel*, but for *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Barbarian* and *Scythian*, bond and free: he told them, that God had a long time born with the sins of Men, and would now bring things to a quicker issue, and that therefore they should do well to break off their sins by repentance, and by a serious amendment and reformation of life dispose themselves for the glad tidings of the Gospel; that they should no longer bear up themselves upon their external priviledges, the *Fatherhood of Abraham*, and their being God's select and peculiar People, that God would raise up to himself another Generation, a Posterity of *Abraham* from among the *Gentiles*, who should walk in his steps, in the way of his unshaken faith, and sincere obedience; and that if all this did not move them to bring *forth fruits meet for repentance*, the *Axe was laid to the root of the Tree*, to extirpate their Church, and to hew them down as fuel for the unquenchable Fire.

Dial. cum Tryph. p. 268.

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His free and reſolute preaching together with the great ſeverity of his life procured him a vaſt Auditory, and numerous Proſelytes, for *there went out to him Jeruſalem, and all Judæa, and the Region round about Jordan;* Perſons of all ranks and orders, of all Sects and Opinions, *Phariſees* and *Sadducees, Souldiers* and *Publicans,* whoſe Vices he impartially cenſured and condemned, and preſſed upon them the duties of their particular places and relations. Thoſe whom he gained over to be Proſelytes to his Doctrine, he entred into this new Inſtitution of life by *Baptiſm* (and hence he derived his Title of the *Baptiſt*) a ſolemn and uſual way of initiating Proſelytes, no leſs than Circumciſion, and of great antiquity in the *Jewiſh* Church. *In all times* (ſays *Maimonides*) *if any Gentile would enter into Covenant, remain under the wings of the Schechina, or Divine Majeſty, and take upon him the yoke of the Law, he is bound to have* מילה וטבילה והרצאת קרבן *Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and a Peace-offering: and if a Woman, Baptiſm, and an Oblation, becauſe it is ſaid, As ye are, ſo ſhall the ſtranger be; as ye your ſelves entred into Covenant by Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and a Peace-offering, ſo ought the Proſelyte alſo in all Ages to enter in.* Though this laſt he confeſſes is to be omitted during their preſent ſtate of deſolation, and to be made when their Temple ſhall be rebuilt. This Rite they generally make contemporary with the giving of the Law. So *Maimonides, By three things* (ſays he) *the Iſraelites entred into Covenant* (he means the National Covenant at Mount *Sinai*) *by Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and an Oblation; Baptiſm being uſed ſome little time before the Law;* which he proves from that place, *Sanctifie the People to day and to morrow, and let them waſh their Clothes.* This the *Rabbins* unanimouſly expound concerning Baptiſm, and expreſly affirm, that *where-ever we read of the Waſhing of Clothes, there an obligation to Baptiſm is intended.* Thus they entred into the firſt Covenant, upon the frequent violations whereof God having promiſed to make a new and ſolemn Covenant with them in the times of the *Meſſiah,* they expected a ſecond Baptiſm, as that which ſhould be the Rite of their Initiation into it. And this probably is the reaſon, why the Apoſtle writing to the *Hebrews,* ſpeaks of the *Doctrine of Baptiſms* (in the plural number) as one of the primary and elementary Principles of the faith, wherein the *Catechumens* were to be inſtructed; meaning that beſides the Baptiſm whereby they had been initiated into the *Moſaick* Covenant, there was another by which they were to enter into this new Oeconomy, that was come upon the World. Hence the *Sanhedrim* (to whom the cognizance of ſuch caſes did peculiarly appertain) when told of *John*'s Baptiſm, never expreſſed any wonder at it, as a new upſtart Ceremony, it being a thing daily practiſed in their Church, nor found fault with the thing it ſelf, which they ſuppoſed would be a federal Rite under the diſpenſation of the *Meſſiah,* but only quarrelled with him for taking upon him to adminiſter it, when yet he denied himſelf to be one of the prime Miniſters of this new ſtate. *They ſaid unto him, Why baptizeſt thou then, if thou be not that Chriſt, nor Elias, neither that Prophet?* Either of which had he owned himſelf, they had not queſtioned his right to enter Proſelytes by this way of Baptiſm. It is called the *Baptiſm of Repentance,* this being the main qualification that he required of thoſe, who took it upon them, as the fitteſt means to diſpoſe them to receive the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the *Meſſiah;* and to intitle them to that pardon of ſin which the Goſpel brought along with it; whence he is ſaid to *baptize in the Wilderneſs,* and to *preach the Baptiſm of repentance, for the remiſſion of ſins.* And the ſucceſs was anſwerable, infinite Multitudes flocking to it, and *were baptized of him in Jordan, confeſſing their ſins.* Nor is it the leaſt part of his happineſs, that he had the honour to baptize his Saviour,

Maim. Iſſur. Biah. cap. 13. vid. Fac. Alting. Diſſert. Philol. VII. de Proſelyt. Sect. 5. p. 249. Numb. 15. 16.

Ibid. Sect. 24. p. 248.

Exod. 19. 10. Vid. R. Bechai, fol. 87. col. 2. Ibid.

Hebr. 6. 2.

John 1. 25.

Mark 1. 4.

viour, which though modeſtly declined, our Lord put upon him, and was accompanied with the moſt ſignal and miraculous atteſtations which Heaven could beſtow upon it.

5. AFTER his Preparatory Preachings in the Wilderneſs he was called to Court by *Herod*, at leaſt he was his frequent Auditor, was much delighted with his plain and impartial Sermons, and had a mighty reverence for him, the gravity of his Perſon, the ſtrictneſs of his Manners, the freedom of his Preaching commanding an awe and veneration from his Conſcience, and making him willing in many things to reform; But the bluntneſs of the holy Man came nearer, and touched the King in the tendereſt part, ſmartly reproving his adultery and inceſtuous embraces, for that Prince kept *Herodias* his Brother *Philip*'s Wife. And now all corrupt intereſts were awakened to conſpire his ruine. Extravagant Luſts love not to be controll'd and check'd, *Herodias* reſents the affront, cannot brook diſturbance in the pleaſures of her Bed, or the open challenging of her honour, and therefore by all the arts of Feminine ſubtilty meditates revenge. The iſſue was, the *Baptiſt* is caſt into Priſon, as the *præludium* to a ſadder fate. For among other pleaſures and ſcenes of mirth performed upon the King's Birth-day, *Herod* being infinitely pleaſed with the Dancing of a young Lady, Daughter of this *Herodias*, promiſed to give her Her requeſt, and ſolemnly ratified his promiſe with an Oath. She prompted by her Mother, asks the Head of *John* the *Baptiſt*, which the King partly out of a pretended reverence to his Oath, partly out of a deſire not to be interrupted in his unlawful pleaſures, preſently granted, and it was as quickly accompliſhed. Thus died the Holy man, a man ſtrict in his converſation beyond the ordinary meaſures of an Anchoret, bold and reſolute, faithful and impartial in his Office, indued with the *power and ſpirit of Elias, a burning and a ſhining light*, under whoſe light the *Jews rejoyced to ſit*, exceedingly taken with his temper and principles. He was the happy Meſſenger of the Evangelical tidings, and in that reſpect *more than a Prophet, a greater not ariſing among them that were born of Women.* In ſhort, he was a Man loved of his Friends, revered and honoured by his Enemies; *Joſephus* gives this character of him, that *he was a good man, and preſſed the Jews to the ſtudy of vertue, to the practice of piety towards God, and juſtice and righteouſneſs towards men, and to joyn themſelves to his Baptiſm, which he told them would then become effectual, and acceptable to God, when they did not only cleanſe the body, but puriſie the mind by goodneſs and vertue.* And though he gives ſomewhat a different account of *Herod*'s condemning him to die, from what is aſſigned in the Sacred Hiſtory, yet he confeſſes, that the *Jews* univerſally looked upon the putting him to death as the cauſe of the miſcarriage of *Herod*'s Army, and an evident effect of the Divine vengeance and diſpleaſure. The *Jews* in their Writings make honourable mention of his being put to death by *Herod*, becauſe reproving him for the company of his Brother *Philip*'s Wife, ſtiling him *Rabbi Johanan the High-Prieſt*, and reckoning him one מהכמי ישראל *of the wiſe men of Iſrael.* Where he is called *High-Prieſt*, probably with reſpect to his being the Son of *Zachariah*, Head or *Chief* of one of the XXIV. *Families* or courſes of the Prieſts, who are many times called Chief or *High-Prieſts* in Scripture.

Antiquit. Jud. lib. 18. c. 7. p. 626.

Zemach David Part. 1. ad Ann. 776. Mellen. 4. & Chron. Templi ſecund. fol. 54. col. 4.

6. THE Evangelical ſtate being thus proclaimed and uſhered in by the Preaching and Miniſtry of the *Baptiſt*, our Lord himſelf appeared next more fully to publiſh and confirm it, concerning whoſe Birth, Life, Death, and Reſurrection, the Doctrine he delivered, the Perſons he deputed to preach and convey it to the World, and its ſucceſs by the Miniſtry of the Apoſtles, large and particular accounts are given in the following *work*. That which may be

proper and material to obſerve in this place is, what the Scripture ſo frequently takes notice of, the excellency of this above the preceding diſpenſations, eſpecially that brought in by *Moſes*, ſo much magnified in the Old Teſtament, and ſo paſſionately admired and adhered to by the *Jews* at this day. *Jeſus is the*
b.8.6. *Mediator* κρείττονος διαθήκης, as the Apoſtle calls it, *of a better Covenant*. And better it is in ſeveral regards; beſides the infinite difference between the Perſons, who were imployed to introduce and ſettle them, *Moſes* and our *Lord*. The preheminence eminently appears in many inſtances, whereof we ſhall remark the moſt conſiderable. And firſt, the *Moſaick* diſpenſation was almoſt wholly made up of types and ſhadows, the *Evangelical* has brought in the
Joh 1.17. truth and ſubſtance, *The Law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt*. Their Ordinances were but *ſhadows of good things to come*, ſenſible repreſentations of what was to follow after, *the Body is Chriſt*, the perfection and accompliſhment of their whole ritual Miniſtration. Their Ceremonies were *Figures of thoſe things that are true*, the Land of *Canaan* typified Heaven, *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were types of the Bleſſed *Jeſus*, and the *Iſraelites after the fleſh* of the *true Iſrael which is after the Spirit*, and all their Expiatory Sacrifices did but repreſent that Great Sacrifice whereby Chriſt offered up himſelf, and by his own bloud purged away the ſins of mankind, indeed the moſt minute and inconſiderable circumſtances of the Legal Oeconomy were intended as little lights, that might gradually uſher in the ſtate of the Goſpel. A curious Artiſt that deſigns a famous and excellent piece is not wont to complete and finiſh it all at once, but firſt with his Pencil draws ſome rude lines and rough draughts before he puts his laſt hand to it. By ſuch a method the wiſe God ſeems to have delivered the firſt draughts and Images of thoſe things by *Moſes* to the Church, the ſubſtance and perfection whereof he deſigned ſhould be brought in by *Chriſt*. And how admirably did God herein condeſcend to the temper and humour of that people; for being of a more rough and childiſh diſpoſition, apt to be taken with gaudy and ſenſible objects, by the external and pompous inſtitutions of the Ceremonial Diſpenſation he prepared them for better things, as children are brought on by things accommodate to their weak capacities. The Church was then an *heir under age*, and was to be trained up in ſuch a way, as agreed beſt with its Infant-temper, till it came to be of a more ripe manly age, able to digeſt Evangelical myſteries, and then the cover and the veil was taken off, and things made to appear in their own form and ſhape.

7. HENCE in the next place appears our happineſs above them, that we are redeemed from thoſe many ſevere and burdenſom impoſitions wherewith they were clogg'd, and are now obliged only to a more eaſie and reaſonable ſervice. That the Law was a very grievous and ſervile Diſpenſation, is evident to any that conſiders, how much it conſiſted of carnal ordinances, coſtly duties, chargeable ſacrifices, and innumerable little Rites and Ceremonies. Under that ſtate they were bound to undergo (yea even new-born Infants) the bloudy and painful Ceremony of Circumciſion, to abſtain from many ſorts of food, uſeful and pleaſant to man's life, to keep multitudes of ſolemn and ſtated times, new Moons, and Ceremonial Sabbaths, to take long and tedious journeys to *Jeruſalem* to offer their ſacrifices at the Temple, to obſerve daily waſhings and purifications, to uſe infinite care and caution in every place; for if by chance they did but touch an unclean thing, beſides their preſent confinement, it put them to the expences of a ſacrifice, with hundreds more troubleſom and coſtly obſervances required of them. A cruel bondage, *heavy burdens, and grievous to be born*; under the weight whereof good men did then groan, and earneſtly breath after

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the time of reformation; the very Apoſtles complained that it was *a yoke upon their necks, which neither their Fathers nor they were able to bear.* Acts 15.10. But this yoke is taken off from our ſhoulders, and the way open into the liberties of the children of God. The Law bore a heavy hand over them, as children in their minority, we are got from under the rod and laſh of its tutorage and *Pedagogie*, and are no more ſubject to the ſeverity of its commands, to the exact punctilio's and numerouſneſs of its impoſitions. Our Lord has removed that low and troubleſome Religion, and has brought in a more manly and rational way of worſhip, more ſuitable to the perfections of God, and more accommodate to the reaſon and underſtandings of men. A Religion incomparably the wiſeſt and the beſt that ever took place in the World. God did not ſettle the Religion of the *Jews*, and their way of worſhip, becauſe good and excellent in it ſelf, but for its ſuitableneſs to the temper of that people. Happy we, whom the Goſpel has freed from thoſe intolerable obſervances to which they were obliged, and has taught us to ſerve God in a better way, more eaſie and acceptable, more humane and natural, and in which we are helped forwards by greater aids of Divine aſſiſtence, than were afforded under that Diſpenſation. All which conſpire to render our way ſmooth and plain, *Take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is eaſie, and my burden is light.*

8. THIRDLY, the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel is founded upon more noble and excellent promiſes: *A better Covenant eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes.* Heb.8.6. And better promiſes they are both for the nature and clearneſs of their revelation. They are of a more ſublime and excellent nature, as being promiſes of ſpiritual and eternal things, ſuch as immediately concern the perfection and happineſs of mankind, grace, peace, pardon, and eternal life. The Law ſtrictly conſidered as a particular Covenant with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai* had no other promiſes but of temporal bleſſings, plenty and proſperity, and the happineſs of this life. This was all that appeared above-ground, and that was expreſly held forth in that tranſaction, whatever might otherwiſe by due inferences, and proportions of reaſon be deduced from it. Now this was a great defect in that Diſpenſation, it being by this means, conſidering the nature and diſpoſition of that people, and the uſe they would make of it, apt to intangle and debaſe the minds of men, and to arreſt their thoughts and deſires in the purſuit of more ſublime and better things. I do not ſay but that under the Old Teſtament there were promiſes of ſpiritual things, and of eternal happineſs, as appears from *David*'s *Pſalms*, and ſome paſſages in the Books of the Prophets: But then theſe though they were *under* the Law, yet they were not *of* the Law, that is, did not properly belong to it as a legal Covenant; God in every age of the *Jewiſh* Church raiſing up ſome extraordinary perſons, who preached notions to the people above the common ſtandard of that Diſpenſation, and who ſpoke things more plainly, by how much nearer they approached the times of the *Meſſiah*. But under the Chriſtian Oeconomy the promiſes are evidently more pure and ſpiritual; not a temporal *Canaan*, external proſperity, or pardon of ceremonial unclearneſs, but remiſſion of ſins, reconciliation with God, and everlaſting life are propoſed and offered to us. Not but that in ſome meaſure temporal bleſſings are promiſed to us as well as them, only with this difference, to them earthly bleſſings were pledges of ſpiritual, to us ſpiritual bleſſings are enſurances of temporal, ſo far as the Divine wiſdom ſees fit for us. Nor are they better in themſelves, than they are clearly diſcovered and revealed to us. Whatever ſpiritual bleſſings were propoſed under the former ſtate were obſcure and dark, and very few of the people underſtood them: But to us *the veil is taken off*, and *we behold the glory of the Lord with open face*, eſpecially the things

John 2.25. 1 Tim. 1.10. that relate to another World; for *this is the promiſe that he hath promiſed us, even Eternal Life.* Hence our Lord is ſaid to *have brought life and immortality to light through the Goſpel.* Which he may be juſtly ſaid to have done, inaſmuch as he has given the greateſt certainty, and the cleareſt account of that ſtate. He hath given us the greateſt aſſurance and certainty of the thing, that there is ſuch a ſtate. The happineſs of the other World was a notion not ſo firmly agreed upon either amongſt *Jews* or *Gentiles.* Among the *Jews* it was peremptorily denied by the *Sadducees*, a conſiderable Sect in that Church, which we can hardly ſuppoſe they would have done, had it been clearly propounded in the Law of *Moſes.* And among the *Heathens* the moſt ſober and conſidering perſons did at ſome times at leaſt doubt of it, witneſs that confeſſion of *Socrates* himſelf, the wiſeſt and beſt man that ever was in the Heathen World, who when he came to plead his cauſe before his Judges, and had bravely diſcourſed of the happy ſtate of good men in the other Life, plainly confeſſed, that he could be content πολλάκις τεθνάναι to die a thouſand times over, were he but aſſured that thoſe things were true; and being condemned, concludes his *Apologie* with this farewell, *And now, Gentlemen, I am going off the ſtage, it's your lot to live, and mine to die, but whether of us two ſhall fare better, is ἄδηλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ, unknown to any but to God alone.* But our bleſſed Saviour has put the caſe paſt all peradventure, having plainly publiſhed this doctrine to the World, and ſealed the truth of it, and that by raiſing others from the dead, and eſpecially by his own Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, which were the higheſt pledge and aſſurance of a future Immortality. But beſides the ſecurity, he hath given the cleareſt account of the nature of it. 'Tis very probable that the *Jews* generally had of old, as 'tis certain they have at this day, the moſt groſs and carnal apprehenſions concerning the ſtate of another Life. But to us the Goſpel has perſpicuouſly revealed the inviſible things of the other World; told us what that Heaven is, which is promiſed to good men, a ſtate of ſpiritual joys, of chaſte and rational delights, a conformity of ours to the Divine Nature, a being made like to God, and an endleſs and uninterrupted communion with him.

Plog. Socrat. Platon. Sect. p. m. 45. Sect. 23. ad Apol.

9. BUT becauſe in our lapſed and degenerate ſtate we are very unable without ſome foreign aſſiſtance to attain the promiſed rewards, hence ariſes in the next place another great priviledge of the Evangelical Oeconomy, that it is bleſſed with larger and more abundant communications of the Divine Spirit, than was afforded under the *Jewiſh* ſtate. Under the one it was given by *drops*, under the other it is *poured* forth. The Law had heavy and hard commands, but gave little ſtrength to do them, it did not aſſiſt humane nature with thoſe powerful aids that are neceſſary for us in our preſent ſtate, it could *do nothing in that it was weak through the fleſh*, and *by reaſon of the weakneſs and unprofitableneſs thereof, it could make nothing perfect*: 'Twas this made it an *heavy yoke*, when the commands of it were uncouth and troubleſome, and the aſſiſtances ſo ſmall and inconſiderable. Whereas now the Goſpel does not only preſcribe ſuch Laws as are happily accommodate to the true temper of humane nature, and adapted to the reaſon of mankind, ſuch as every wiſe and prudent man muſt have pitched upon, but it affords the influences of the Spirit of God, by whoſe aſſiſtance our vitiated faculties are repaired, and we enabled under ſo much weakneſs, and in the midſt of ſo many temptations to hold on in the paths of piety and vertue. Hence it is that the plentiful effuſions of the Spirit were reſerved as the great bleſſing of the Evangelical ſtate, that God would then *pour water upon him that is thirſty, and floods upon the dry ground*, that he *would pour out his ſpirit upon their ſeed, and his bleſſing upon their off-ſpring*, whereby they ſhould *ſpring up as among the graſs,*

Rom. 8. 3. Heb. 7. 18.

Iſa. 44. 3, 4.

graſs, as willows by the water-courſes: That he would *give them a new heart, and put his Spirit within them, and cauſe them to walk in his ſtatutes, and keep his judgments to do them*: And this is the meaning of thoſe branches of the Covenant, ſo oft repeated, *I will put my Law into their minds, and write it in their hearts*, that is, by the help of my Grace and Spirit I'le enable them to live according to my Laws, as readily and willingly, as if they were written in their hearts. For this reaſon the Law is compared to a *dead letter*, the Goſpel to the *Spirit that giveth life*, thence ſtiled the *miniſtration of the Spirit*, and as ſuch ſaid to *exceed in glory*, and that to ſuch a degree, that what glory the Legal Diſpenſation had in this caſe is eclipſed into nothing. *For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this reſpect, by reaſon of the glory that excelleth, for if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.* Hence the Spirit is ſaid to be *Chriſt*'s peculiar miſſion, *I will pray the Father, and he will ſend you another comforter, even the Spirit of truth*, which was done immediately after his Aſcenſion, when he *aſcended up on high, and gave gifts to men*, even *the Holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on them abundantly through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour*: For *the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that Jeſus was not yet glorified.* Not but that he was given before, even under the old Oeconomy, but not in thoſe large and diffuſive meaſures, wherein it was afterwards communicated to the World.

Ezek. 36. 26 27. — 2 Cor. 3. 6, 7 — Verſe 10, 11 — Joh. 14. 16, 1 Ephes. 4. 8. Tit. 3. 6. — John 7. 39.

10. FIFTHLY, The Diſpenſation of the Goſpel had a better eſtabliſhment and confirmation than that of the Law; for though the Law was introduced with great ſcenes of pomp and Majeſty, yet was the Goſpel uſhered in by more kindly and rational methods, ratified by more and greater miracles, whereby our Lord unqueſtionably evinced his Divine Commiſſion, and ſhewed that he came from God, doing more miracles in three years than were done through all the periods of the *Jewiſh* Church, and many of them ſuch as were peculiar to him alone. He often raiſed the dead, which *Moſes* never did, commanded the winds and waves of the Sea, expelled Devils out of *Lunaticks* and poſſeſſed perſons, who fled aſſoon as ever he commanded them to be gone, cured many inveterate and chronical diſtempers with the ſpeaking of a word, and ſome without a word ſpoken, vertue ſilently going out from him. He ſearched men's hearts, and revealed the moſt ſecret tranſactions of their minds; had this miraculous power always reſiding in him, and could exert it when, and upon what occaſions he pleaſed, and impart it to others, communicating it to his Apoſtles and followers, and to the Primitive Chriſtians for the three firſt Ages of the Church; he never exerted it in methods of dread and terror, but in doing ſuch miracles as were highly uſeful and beneficial to the World. And as if all this had not been enough, he laid down his own life after all to give teſtimony to it. Covenants were ever wont to be ratified with bloud, and the death of ſacrifices. But when our Lord came to introduce the Covenant of the Goſpel, he did not conſecrate it with the bloud of Bulls and Goats, but with his own moſt precious bloud, as of a Lamb without ſpot and blemiſh. And could he give a greater teſtimony to the truth of his doctrine, and thoſe great things he had promiſed to the World, than to ſeal it with his bloud? Had not theſe things been ſo, 'twere infinitely unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a perſon of ſo much wiſdom and goodneſs as our Saviour was, ſhould have made the World believe ſo, and much leſs would he have choſen to die for it, and that the moſt acute and ignominious death. But he died, and roſe again for us, and appeared after his Reſurrection: His enemies had taken him away by a moſt bitter and cruel death, had guarded and ſecured his ſepulchre with all the care, power and diligence which they could invent. And yet he

roſe

roſe again the third day in triumph, viſibly converſed with his Diſciples for forty days together, and then went to Heaven. By which he gave the moſt ſolemn and undeniable aſſurance to the World, that he was the Son of God (for *he was declared to be the Son of God with power by the Reſurrection from the dead*) and the Saviour of mankind, and that thoſe doctrines which he had taught were moſt true, and did really contain the terms of that ſolemn tranſaction, which God by him had offered to men in order to their eternal happineſs in another World.

om.1.4.

11. THE laſt inſtance I ſhall note of the excellency of this above the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, is the univerſal extent and latitude of it, and that both in reſpect of place and time. Firſt, it's more univerſally extenſive as to place, not confined as the former was to a ſmall part of mankind, but common unto all. Heretofore *in Judah only was God known, and his name was great in Iſrael, he ſhewed his Word unto Jacob, his Statutes and his Judgments unto Iſrael; but he did not deal ſo with any other Nation, neither had the Heathen knowledge of his Laws.* In thoſe times *Salvation was only of the Jews*, a few Acres of Land like *Gideon*'s Fleece was watered with the dew of Heaven, while all the reſt of the World for many Ages lay dry and barren round about it, God *ſuffering all Nations in times paſt to walk in their own ways*, the ways of their own ſuperſtition and Idolatry, being *aliens from the Commonwealth of Iſrael, ſtrangers from the Covenants of promiſe, having no hope, and without God in the World*, that is, they were without thoſe promiſes, diſcoveries, and declarations which God made to *Abraham* and his Seed, and are therefore peculiarly deſcribed under this character, *the Gentiles which knew not God.* Indeed the Religion of the *Jews* was in it ſelf incapable to be extended over the World, many conſiderable parts of it, as Sacrifices, Firſt-fruits, Oblations, *&c.* (called by the *Jews* themſelves מצורת תלויות בארץ *Statutes belonging to that land*) being to be performed at *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, which could not be done by thoſe Nations that lay a conſiderable diſtance from the Land of promiſe. They had, it's true, now and then ſome few Proſelytes of the *Gentiles*, who came over and imbodied themſelves into their way of worſhip; but then they either reſided among the *Jews*, or by reaſon of their vicinity to *Judæa* were capable to make their perſonal appearance, and to comply with the publick Inſtitutions of the Divine Law. Other Proſelytes they had, called Proſelytes of the Gate, who lived diſperſed in all Countries, whom the *Jews* call חסידי אומות *the pious of the Nations*, Men of devout minds, and Religious lives, but theſe were obliged to no more than the obſervation of the *Seven Precepts of the Sons of Noah*, that is, in effect to the Precepts of the Natural Law. But now the Goſpel has a much wider ſphere to move in, as vaſt and large as the whole World it ſelf, it is communicable to all Countries, and may be exerciſed in any part or corner of the Earth. Our Lord gave Commiſſion to his Apoſtles to *go into all Nations*, and *to Preach the Goſpel to every Creature*; and ſo they did, *their ſound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World*, by which means, *the grace of God that brings ſalvation appeared unto all men*, and *the Goſpel was Preached to every Creature under Heaven.* So that now *there is neither Jew, nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but we are all one in Chriſt Jeſus*, and *in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs is accepted with him.* The Prophet had long ſince foretold it of the times of Chriſt, that *the Houſe of God*, that is, his Church *ſhould be called an Houſe of Prayer for all People*; the Doors ſhould be open, and none excluded that would enter in. And the Divine providence was ſingularly remarkable in this affair, that after our Lord's Aſcenſion, when the Apoſtles were

ſal.76.1,2. ſal.147.19, 20.

cts 14.16.

heſ.2.13.

Theſſ.4.5.

ark 16.15. om.10.18. it.2.11. oloſſ.1.13. alat.3.28.

cts 10.35.

ai.56.7.

going

going upon their Commission, and were first solemnly to proclaim it at *Jerusalem*, there were dwelling there at that time *Parthians*, *Medes*, *Elamites*, &c. persons out of *every Nation under Heaven*, that they might be as the First-fruits of those several Countries, which were to be gathered in by the preaching of the Gospel, which was accordingly done with great success; the Christian Religion in a few years spreading its triumphant Banners over the greatest part of the then known World.

12. AND as the true Religion was in those Days pent up within one particular Country, so the more publick and ordinary worship of God was confined only to one particular place of it, viz. *Jerusalem*, hence called the *Holy City*. Here was the Temple, here the Priests that ministred at the *Altar*, here all the more publick Solemnities of Divine adoration, *Thither the Tribes go up, the Tribes of the Lord unto the Testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord.* Psal.122.4. Now this was not the least part of the bondage of that dispensation to be obliged thrice every Year to take such long and tedious Journies, many of the *Jews* living some Hundreds of Miles distance from *Jerusalem*, and so strictly were they limited to this place, that to build an *Altar*, and offer Sacrifices in any other place (unless in a case or two wherein God did extraordinarily dispense) although it were to the true God, was, though not false, yet unwarrantable worship; for which reason the *Jews* at this day abstain from Sacrifices, because banished from *Jerusalem* and the Temple, the only legal place of offering. But behold the liberty of the Gospel in this case, we are not tied to present our devotions at *Jerusalem*, a pious and sincere mind is the best Sacrifice that we can offer up to God, and this may be done in any part of the World no less acceptably, than they of old sacrificed in the Temple. *The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this Mountain,* (Mount *Gerizim*) *nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father,* when *the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth*, as our Lord told the Woman of *Samaria*; in *spirit* and in *truth*] in *spirit*, in opposition to that carnal and Idolatrous worship that was in use among the *Samaritans*, who worshipped God under the representation of a Dove: in *truth*, in opposition to the typical and figurative worship of the *Jews*, which was but a shadow of the true worship of the Gospel. The great Sacrifice required in the Christian Religion is not the fat of Beasts, or the first-fruits of the Ground, but an honest heart, and a pious life, and a grateful acknowledgment of our dependance upon God in the publick Solemnities of his praise and worship. For the Law and the Gospel did not differ in this, that the one commanded publick worship, the other not, but that under the one publick worship was fixed to one only place, under the other it is free to any where the providence of God has placed us, it being part of the duty bound upon us by natural and unalterable obligations, that we should publickly meet together for the solemn Celebration of the Divine honour and service.

Joh.4.21-2[illegible]

ὐ πολυσαρκ[illegible] καὶ πιότητι ζω[illegible] χαίρει ὁ θε[illegible] ἀλλ' ἀνυπα[illegible] τίῳ τοῦ εὐξα[illegible] νου διαθέσε[illegible] *Philo de Sp[illegible] Legg.p.755*

13. NOR is the Oeconomy of the Gospel less extensive in time than place; the Old Testament was only a temporary dispensation, that of the Gospel is to last to the end of the World; the Law was to continue only for a little time, the Gospel is an Everlasting Covenant; the one to be quickly antiquated and abolished, the other never to be done away by any other to succeed it. The *Jews* indeed stickle hard for the perpetual and immutable obligation of the Law of *Moses*, and frequently urge us with those places, where the Covenant of Circumcision is called an *Everlasting Covenant*, and God said to chuse the Temple at *Jerusalem* to *place his name there for ever*, to give the Land of *Canaan* to *Abraham* and his seed for *an everlasting possession*, thus the Law of the *Passeover* is called an *Ordinance for ever*, the command

Gen.17.7. 1 Kings 9.[illegible] Gen.17.8. Exod.12.1[illegible] Levit.23.1[illegible]

of

of the First-fruits a *Statute for ever*, and the like in other places, which seem to intimate a perpetual and unalterable Dispensation. But the answer is short and plain, that this phrase לעולם *for ever* (though when 'tis applied to God it always denotes Eternity) yet when 'tis attributed to other things, it implies no more than a periodical duration, limited according to the will of the Lawgiver, or the nature of the thing; thus the *Hebrew* Servant was to serve his Master *for ever*, that is, but for seven years, till the next year of *Jubilee*: *He shall walk before mine anointed for ever*, says God concerning *Samuel*, that is, be a Priest all his days. Thus when the Ritual services of the *Mosaick* Law are called Statutes for ever, the meaning is, that they should continue a long time obligatory, until the time of the *Messiah*, in whose days *the Sacrifice and Oblation was to cease*, and those carnal Ceremonies to give way to the more spiritual services of the Gospel. Indeed the very typical nature of that Dispensation evidently argued it to be but for a time, the shadow being to cease, that the substance might take place; and though many of them continued some considerable time after *Christ*'s death, yet they lost their positive and obligatory power, and were used only as things indifferent in compliance with the inveterate prejudices of new Converts, lately brought over from *Judaism*, and who could not quickly lay aside that great veneration which they had for the Rites of the *Mosaick* Institution. Though even in this respect it was not long before all *Jewish* Ceremonies were thrown off, and *Moses* quite turn'd out of doors. Whereas the Evangelical state is to run parallel with the age and duration of the World, 'tis the *Everlasting Covenant*, the *Everlasting Gospel*, the last Dispensation that God will make to the World, *God who at sundry times, and in divers manners spake in time past by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son*; in which respect the Gospel in opposition to the Law is stiled *a Kingdom that cannot be moved*. The Apostle in the foregoing Verses speaking concerning the *Mosaical* state, *Whose voice* (says he) *then shook the Earth, but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the Earth only, but also the Heaven* (a phrase peculiar to the Scripture to note the introducing a new scene and state of things) *and this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain*, that is, that the state of the Gospel may endure for ever. Hence *Christ* is said to have an *unchangeable Priesthood*, to *be a Priest for ever*, to be *consecrated for evermore*. From all which it appears, how incomparably happy we Christians are under the Gospel above what the *Jews* were in the time of the Law; God having placed us under the best of Dispensations, freed us from those many nice and troublesome observances to which they were tied, put us under the clearest discoveries and revelations, and given us the most noble, rational, and masculine Religion, a Religion the most perfective of our natures, and the most conducive to our happiness; while their Covenant at best was *faulty*, and after all could not *make him that did the service perfect in things pertaining to the Conscience*. *Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see, for I tell you that many Prophets and Kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.*

Exod. 21. 6. Sam. 2. 36.

Heb. 13. 20. v. 14. 6. Heb. 1. 1, 2.

Heb. 12. 28.

Luke 10. 23,

The End of the APPARATUS.

Antiquitates Apoſtolicæ

OR,

THE LIVES, ACTS and MARTYRDOMS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES OF OUR SAVIOUR.

To which are added
The Lives of the two EVANGELISTS, SS. *MARK* and *LUKE*.

AS ALSO

A brief Enumeration and Account of the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors for the firſt Three Hundred Years in the Five great Apoſtolical Churches.

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D. D. Chaplain Ordinary to His *MAJESTY*.

Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 10. pag. 28.
Ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, οὐ μετὰ πλεῖστον τῆς καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος, τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται· καὶ μόνους τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν κατά τι γέρας ἐξαίρετον ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥΣ ὠνόμασεν.

Chryſoſt. Præfat. in Epiſt. ad Philem. pag. 1733.
ΟΥ μόνον τὰς οὕτω μικρὰς ἐπιστολάς, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὕτω πραγμάτων ἀναγκαίων ἐπεσταλμένας ἔδει ἐγγεγράφθαι· ἀλλ' εἴθε ἐνῆν εὐπορῆσαι τοῦ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡμῖν παραδιδόντος τῶν Ἀποστόλων, οὐ λέγω ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔγραψαν καὶ διελέχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτῶν ἀναστροφήν, καὶ τί ἔφαγον, καὶ πότε ἔφαγον, πότε ἐκάθισαν, καὶ ποῦ ἐβάδισαν, καὶ τί καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν διεπράξαντο, ποίοις συνὼν ἀνδράσι γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰς ποίαν οἰκίαν εἰσῆλθον, καὶ ποῦ κατήχθησαν, καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα διηγήσασθαι· οὕτω πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γινόμενα πολλῆς ὠφελείας γέμει.

LONDON,
Printed by R. *Norton*, for R. *Royſton*, Bookſeller to his moſt Sacred Majeſty, at the Angel in *Amen-Corner*, MDCLXXVI.

OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

TO THE READER.

IT will not, I ſuppoſe, ſeem improbable to the Reader, when I tell him, with how much reluctancy and unwillingneſs I ſet upon this undertaking. Beſides the diſadvantage of having this piece annexed to the Elaborate Book of that excellent Prelate, ſo great a Maſter both of Learning and Language, I was intimately conſcious to my own unfitneſs for ſuch a Work at any time, much more when clogg'd with many habitual Infirmities and Diſtempers. I conſidered the difficulty of the thing it ſelf, perhaps not capable of being well managed by a much better Pen than mine; few of the Ancient Monuments of the Church being extant, and little of this nature in thoſe few that are. Indeed I could not but think it reaſonable, that all poſſible honour ſhould be done to thoſe, that firſt Preached the Goſpel of peace, and brought glad tidings of good things, *that it was fit men ſhould be taught how much they were obliged to thoſe excellent Perſons, who were willing at ſo dear a rate to plant Chriſtianity in the World, who they were, and what was that Piety and that Patience, that Charity and that Zeal,*

which made them to be reverenc'd while they liv'd, and their Memories ever ſince to be honourably celebrated through the World, infinitely beyond the glories of Alexander, *and the triumphs of a* Pompey *or a* Cæſar. *But then how this ſhould be done out of thoſe few imperfect* Memoires, *that have eſcaped the general ſhipwrack of* Church-Antiquities, *and much more by ſo rude and unskilful a hand as mine, appear'd, I confeſs, a very difficult task, and next door to impoſſible. Theſe, with ſome other conſiderations, made me a long time obſtinately reſolve againſt it, till being overcome by importunity, I yielded to do it, as I was able, and as the nature of the thing would bear.*

THAT which I primarily deſigned to my ſelf, was to draw down the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament eſpecially from our Lord's death, to enquire into the firſt Originals and Plantations of the Chriſtian Church by the Miniſtry of the Apoſtles, *the ſucceſs of their Doctrine, the power and conviction of their Miracles, their infinite Labours and hardſhips, and the dreadful Sufferings which they underwent; to conſider in what inſtances of Piety and Virtue they miniſtred to our imitation, and ſerved the purpoſes of Religion and an Holy Life. Indeed the accounts that are left us of theſe things are very ſhort and inconſiderable, ſufficient poſſibly to excite the appetite, not to allay the hunger of an importunate Enquirer into theſe matters. A conſideration that might give us juſt occaſion to lament the irreparable loſs of thoſe Primitive Records, which the injury of time hath deprived us of, the ſubſtance being gone, and little left us but the ſhell and carcaſs. Had we the Writings of* Papias *Biſhop of* Hierapolis, *and Scholar, ſays* Irenæus, *to S.* John, (*wherein, as himſelf tells us, he ſet down what he had learnt from thoſe who had familiarly converſed with the* Apoſtles, *the ſayings and diſcourſes of* Andrew *and* Peter, *of* Philip *and* Thomas, &c.) *Had we the Anci-*

id Euſeb. Eccl. lib. 3. 9. p. 111.

ent

ent Commentaries *of* Hegeſippus, Clemens Alexandrinus *his* Inſtitutions, Africanus *his* Chronography, *and ſome others, the Reader might expect more intire and particular relations, But alas! theſe are long ſince periſh'd, and little beſides the names of them tranſmitted to us. Nor ſhould we have had moſt of that little that is left us, had not the commendable care and induſtry of* Euſebius *preſerv'd it to us. And if he complain'd in his time (when thoſe Writings were extant) that towards the compoſing of his Hiſtory he had only ſome few particular accounts here and there left by the Ancients of their times; what cauſe have we to complain, when even thoſe little portions have been raviſh'd from us? So that he that would build a work of this nature, muſt look upon himſelf as condemn'd to a kind of* Egyptian *Task, to make* Brick *without* Straw, *at leaſt to pick it up where he can find it, though after all it amounts to a very ſlender parcel. Which as it greatly hinders the beauty and completeneſs of the Structure, ſo does it exceedingly multiply the labour and difficulty. For by this means I have been forc'd to gather up thoſe little fragments of Antiquity, that lie diſpers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, thrown ſome into this corner, and others into that: which I have at length put together, like the pieces of a broken Statue, that it might have at leaſt ſome kind of reſemblance of the perſon, whom it deſigns to repreſent.* H. Eccl lib. 3. c. 2. p. 4.

HAD I thought good to have traded in idle and frivolous Authors, Abdias Babylonius, *the* Paſsions *of* Peter *and* Paul, Joachim Perionius, Peter de Natalibus, *and ſuch like, I might have preſented the Reader with a larger, not a better account. But beſides the averſeneſs of my nature to falſhoods and trifles, eſpecially in matters wherein the honour of the Chriſtian Religion is concern'd, I knew the World to be wiſer at this time of day, than to be impoſed upon by* Pious frauds, *and cheated with Eccleſiaſtical*

ſtical Romances, *and Legendary Reports. For this reaſon I have more fully and particularly inſiſted upon the Lives of the two firſt* Apoſtles, *ſo great a part of them being ſecur'd by an unqueſtionable Authority, and have preſented the larger portions of the Sacred Hiſtory, many times to very minute circumſtances of action. And I preſume the wiſe and judicious Reader will not blame me, for chuſing rather to enlarge upon a ſtory, which I knew to be infallibly true, than to treat him with thoſe, which there was cauſe enough to conclude to be certainly falſe.*

THE Reader will eaſily diſcern, that the Authors I make uſe of are not all of the ſame rank and ſize. Some of them are Divinely inſpir'd, *whoſe Authority is Sacred, and their reports rendred not only credible, but unqueſtionable, by that infallible and unerring Spirit that preſided over them. Others ſuch, of whoſe faith and teſtimony, eſpecially in matters of fact, there is no juſt cauſe to doubt, I mean the genuine Writings of the Ancient Fathers, or thoſe, which though unduly aſſign'd to this or that particular Father, are yet generally allowed to be Ancient, and their credit not to be deſpis'd, becauſe their proper Parent is not certainly known. Next theſe come the Writers of the middle and later Ages of the Church, who though below the former in point of credit, have yet ſome particular advantages that recommend them to us. Such I account* Symeon Metaphraſtes, Nicephorus Calliſtus, *the* Menæa *and* Menologies *of the* Greek *Church*, &c. *wherein though we meet with many vain and improbable ſtories, yet may we alſo rationally expect ſome real and ſubſtantial accounts of things, eſpecially ſeeing they had the advantage of many Ancient and Eccleſiaſtick Writings, extant in their times, which to us are utterly loſt. Though even theſe too I have never called in, but in the want of more Ancient and Authentick Writers. As for others, if any paſſages occur either in themſelves*

of

of doubtful and ſuſpected credit, or borrowed from ſpurious and uncertain Authors, they are always introduced or diſmiſſed with ſome kind of cenſure or remark, that the moſt eaſie and credulous Reader may know what to truſt to, and not fear being ſecretly ſurpriz'd into a belief of doubtful and fabulous reports. And now after all I am ſufficiently ſenſible, how lank and thin this Account is, nor can the Reader be leſs ſatisfied with it, than I am my ſelf; and I have only this piece of juſtice and charity to beg of him, that he would ſuſpend his cenſure, till he has taken a little pains to enquire into the ſtate of the Times and Things I Write of: And then however he may challenge my prudence in undertaking it, he will not, I hope, ſee reaſon to charge me with want of care and faithfulneſs in the purſuance of it.

THE CONTENTS.

THE Introduction.

The Life of S. *Peter.*

SECT. I.

Of S. Peter, *from his Birth, till his firſt coming to Chriſt.* Page 1.

SECT. II.

Of S. Peter, *from his firſt coming to Chriſt, till his being call'd to be a Diſciple.* 7.

SECT. III.

Of S. Peter, *from his Election to the Apoſtolate, till the confeſſion which he made of Chriſt.* 10.

SECT. IV.

Of S. Peter, *from the time of his Confeſſion, till our Lord's laſt Paſſeover.* 14.

SECT. V.

Of S. Peter, *from the laſt Paſſeover, till the Death of Chriſt.* 20.

SECT. VI.

Of S. Peter, *from Chriſt's Reſurrection, till his Aſcenſion.* 25.

SECT. VII.

S. Peter's *Acts; from our Lord's Aſcenſion, till the diſperſion of the Church.* 29.

SECT. VIII.

Of S. Peter's *Acts, from the diſperſion of the Church at* Jeruſalem, *till his conteſt with S.* Paul *at* Antioch. 37.

SECT. IX.

Of S. Peter's *Acts, from the End of the Sacred ſtory, till his Martyrdom.* 43.

SECT. X.

The Character of his Perſon and Temper, and an account of his Writings. 49.

SECT. XI.

An Enquiry into S. Peter's *going to* Rome. 54.

The Life of S. *Paul.*

SECT. I.

Of S. Paul, *from his Birth, till his Converſion.* Page 61.

SECT. II.

Of S. Paul, *from his Converſion, till the Council at* Jeruſalem. 67.

SECT. III.

Of S. Paul, *from the time of the Synod at* Jeruſalem, *till his departure from* Athens. 73.

SECT. IV.

Of S. Paul's *Acts at* Corinth *and* Epheſus. 82.

SECT. V.

S. Paul's *Acts, from his departure from* Epheſus, *till his Arraignment before* Felix. 88.

SECT. VI.

Of S. Paul, *from his firſt Trial before* Felix, *till his coming to* Rome. 95.

SECT. VII.

S. Paul's *Acts, from his coming to* Rome, *till his Martyrdom.* 101.

SECT. VIII.

The deſcription of his Perſon and Temper, together with an account of his Writings. 108.

SECT. IX.

The principal Controverſies that exerciſed the Church in his time. 116.

The Life of S. *Andrew.* Page 131.
The Life of S. *James* the Great. 139.
The Life of S. *John.* 149.
The Life of S. *Philip.* 163.
The Life of S. *Bartholomew.* 169.
The Life of S. *Matthew.* 175.
The Life of S. *Thomas.* 183.
The Life of S. *James* the Leſs. 189.
The Life of S. *Simon* the Zealot. 197.
The Life of S. *Jude.* 201.
The Life of S. *Matthias.* 207.
The Life of S. *Mark* the Evangeliſt. 213.
The Life of S. *Luke* the Evangeliſt. 221.

Diptycha Apoſtolica, *Or, an Enumeration of the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors for the firſt three hundred years in the five great Churches ſaid to have been founded by them.* pag. 227.

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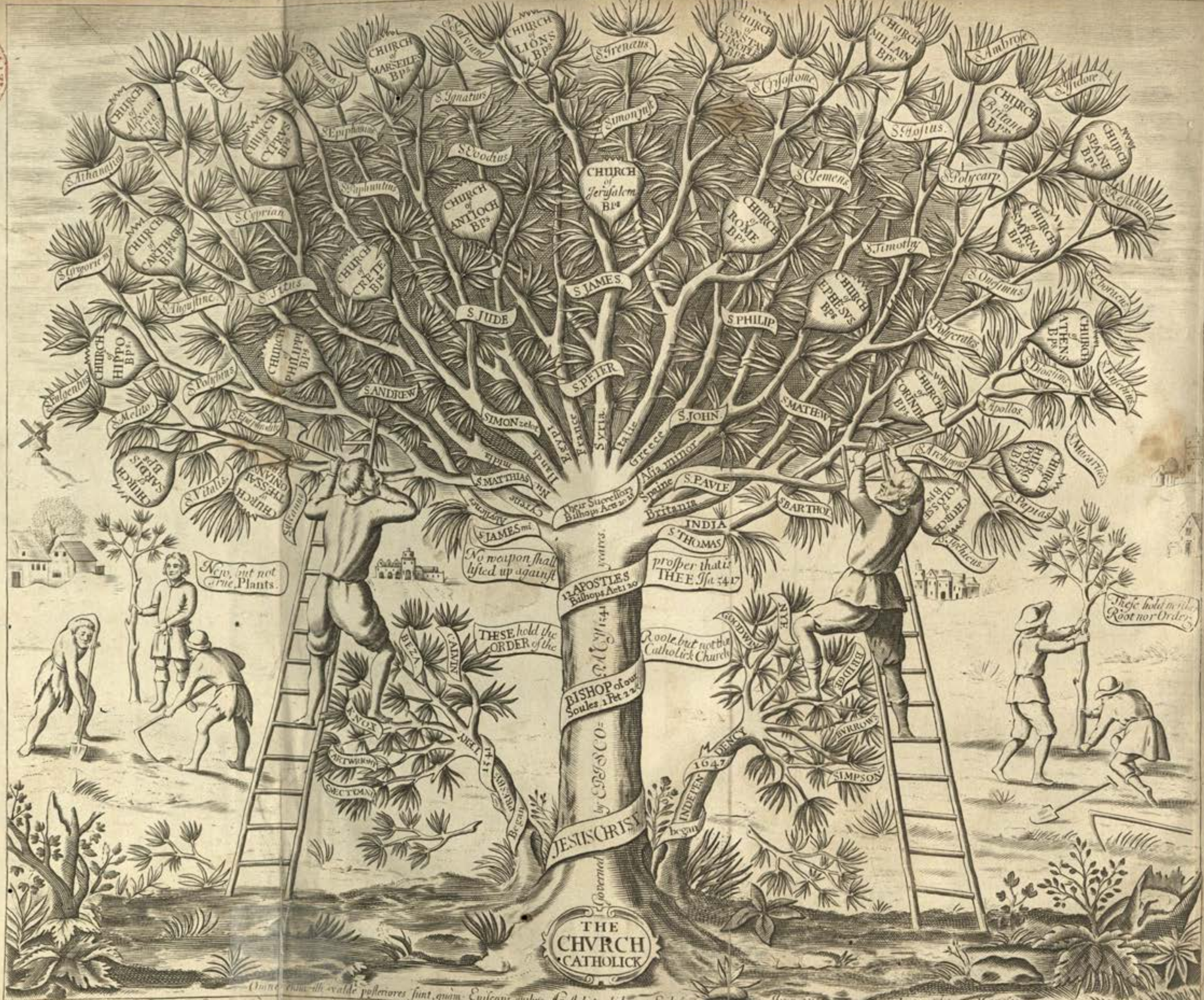

The goodly CEDAR of Apostolick & Catholick EPISCOPACY, compared with the moderne Shoots & Slips of divided NOVELTIES, in the Church

before the Introduction of the Apostles Lives

Place this Figure at Page 3

THE INTRODUCTION.

Chriſts faithfulneſs in appointing Officers in his Church. The dignity of the Apoſtles above the reſt. The importance of the word Ἀπόστολος. The nature of the Apoſtolick Office conſidered. Reſpect had in founding it to the cuſtom among the Jews. *Their* Apoſtoli, *who. The number of the Apoſtles limited. Why twelve, the ſeveral conjectures of the Ancients. Their immediate election. Their work wherein it conſiſted. The Univerſality of their Commiſſion. Apoſtolical Churches, what. How ſoon the Apoſtles propagated Chriſtianity through the World. An argument for the Divinity of the Chriſtian Religion inferr'd thence. The power conveyed to the Apoſtles, equally given to all.* Peter's *ſuperiority over the reſt diſprov'd both from Scripture and Antiquity. The Apoſtles how qualified for their Miſſion. Immediately taught the Doctrine they delivered. Infallibly ſecur'd from Error in delivering it. Their conſtant and familiar converſe with their Maſter. Furniſhed with a power of working Miracles. The great evidence of it to prove a Divine Doctrine. Miraculous powers conferr'd upon the Apoſtles particularly conſidered. Prophecy, what; and when it ceas'd. The gift of diſcerning Spirits. The gift of Tongues. The gift of Interpretation. The unreaſonable practice of the Church of* Rome *in keeping the Scripture and Divine Worſhip in an Unknown Tongue. The gift of Healing: Greatly advantageous to Chriſtianity. How long it laſted. Power of Immediately inflicting corporal puniſhments; and the great benefit of it in thoſe times. The Apoſtles enabled to confer miraculous powers upon others. The Duration of the Apoſtolical Office. What in it extraordinary, what ordinary. Biſhops in what ſence ſtyled Apoſtles.*

I. JESUS CHRIST, the great *Apoſtle and High-Prieſt of our Profeſſion*, being appointed by God to be the Supreme Ruler and Governor of his Church, was, like *Moſes, faithful in all his houſe:* but with this honourable advantage, that *Moſes* was faithful as a *ſervant*, Chriſt as a *Son* over his own houſe, which he erected, eſtabliſhed and governed with all poſſible care and diligence. Nor could he give a greater inſtance either of his fidelity towards God, or his love and kindneſs to the Souls of men, than that after he had purchas'd a Family to himſelf, and could now no longer upon earth manage its intereſts in his own perſon, he would not return

back to Heaven, till he had conſtituted ſeveral Orders of Officers in his Church, who might ſuperintend and conduct its affairs; and according to the various circumſtances of its ſtate, adminiſter to the needs and exigencies of his Family. Accordingly therefore *he gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Pro-*
1. 4. 11, 12. *phets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtery, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt; till we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt.* The firſt and prime Claſs of Officers is that of Apoſtles: *God hath ſet ſome in the Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondarily Prophets,* &c. *Firſt Apoſtles,* as far in office as honour before the reſt, their election more immediate, their commiſſion more large and comprehenſive, the powers and priviledges wherewith they were furniſhed greater and more honourable: Prophecy, the gift of Miracles, and expelling *Dæmons*, the order of Paſtors and Teachers were all ſpiritual
erm. de util. on. S. pt. Tom. 8. t. Savil. 14. powers, and enſigns of great authority, ἀλλὰ τούτων ἁπάντων μείζων ἔξιν ἀρχὴ ἡ ἀποστολική, ſays * *Chryſoſtom, but the Apoſtolick eminency is far greater than all theſe*, which therefore he calls a *ſpiritual Conſulſhip*, an Apoſtle having as great preheminence above all other officers in the Church, as the Conſul had above all other Magiſtrates in *Rome*. Theſe Apoſtles were a few ſelect perſons whom our Lord choſe out of the reſt, to devolve part of the
6. 6. 13. Government upon their ſhoulders, and to depute for the firſt planting and ſetling Chriſtianity in the World: *He choſe twelve, whom he named Apoſtles:* of whoſe Lives and Acts being to give an Hiſtorical account in the following work, it may not poſſibly be unuſeful to premiſe ſome general remarks concerning them, not reſpecting this or that particular perſon, but of a general relation to the whole, wherein we ſhall eſpecially take notice of the importance of the word, the nature of the imployment, the fitneſs and qualification of the perſons, and the duration and continuance of the Office.

II. The word Ἀπόστολος, or *ſent*, is among ancient Writers applied either to things, actions, or perſons. To things; thus thoſe *Dimiſſory* letters
Vnic. ff. 49. Tit. 6. L. 106. Tit. lib. 50. & l. I C. Sen. lib. 9. Tit. that were granted to ſuch who appeal'd from an Inferiour to a Superiour Judicature, were in the language of the * *Roman* Laws uſually called *Apoſtoli:* thus a Packet-boat was ſtyled, ἀπόστολον πλοῖον, becauſe ſent up and down for advice and diſpatch of buſineſs: thus though in ſomewhat a different
id. Chryſ. rg. in Ri. Græc. ſence, the leſſon taken out of the *Epiſtles* is in the Ancient *Greek* ‖ Liturgies called ἀπόστολος, becauſe uſually taken out of the *Apoſtles* Writings. Sometimes it is applied to actions, and ſo imports no more than miſſion, or the
uid. in voc. πολαί. ex noſth. vid. pocr. Lex. ec. Rhet. very act of ſending; thus the ſetting out a Fleet, or a Naval expedition was wont to be called ἀπόστολος, ſo * *Suidas* tells us, that as the perſons deſigned for the care and management of the Fleet were called ἀποστολεῖς, ſo the very ſending forth of the Ships themſelves, αἱ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπομπαὶ, were ſtyled ἀπόστολοι. Laſtly, what principally falls under our preſent conſideration, it is applied to perſons, and ſo imports no more than a meſſenger, a perſon ſent upon ſome ſpecial errand, for the diſcharge of ſome peculiar affair in his
. 2. 25. or. 8. 23. 11 13. 16. name that ſent him. Thus *Epaphroditus* is called the *Apoſtle* or Meſſenger of the *Philippians*, when ſent by them to S. *Paul* at *Rome*: thus *Titus* and his Companions are ſtyled ἀπόστολοι, *the Meſſengers of the Churches.* So our Lord; *he that is ſent*, ἀπόστολος, *an Apoſtle or Meſſenger is not greater than him that ſent him.* This then being the common notion of the word, our Lord fixes it to a particular uſe, applying it to thoſe ſelect perſons, whom he had made choice of to act by that peculiar authority and commiſſion, which he had deriv'd upon them. *Twelve, whom he alſo named Apoſtles*; that is, Commiſſioners, thoſe who were to be Embaſſadors for Chriſt, to be ſent up

and

and down the World in his name, to plant the Faith, to govern and ſuperintend the Church at preſent, and by their wiſe and prudent ſettlement of affairs, to provide for the future exigencies of the Church.

III. The next thing then to be conſidered is the nature of their Office, and under this enquiry we ſhall make theſe following remarks. Firſt, it is not to be doubted but that our Lord in founding this Office had ſome reſpect to the ſtate of things in the *Jewiſh* Church, I mean not only in general, that there ſhould be ſuperiour and ſubordinate Officers, as there were ſuperiour and inferiour Orders under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation; but that herein he had an eye to ſome uſage and cuſtom common among them. Now among the *Jews* as all Meſſengers were called שלוחים, or *Apoſtles*, ſo were they wont to diſpatch ſome with peculiar letters of authority & Commiſſion, whereby they acted as Proxies and Deputies of thoſe that ſent them, thence their Proverb, שלוחו של אדם כמותו *every man's Apoſtle is as himſelf*, that is, whatever he does is look'd upon to be as firm and valid, as if the perſon himſelf had done it. Thus when *Saul* was ſent by the *Sanhedrim* to *Damaſcus* to apprehend the *Jewiſh* converts, he was furniſhed with letters from the High-Prieſt, enabling him to act as his Commiſſary in that matter. Indeed * *Epiphanius* tells us of a ſort of perſons called *Apoſtles*, who were Aſſeſſors and Counſellors to the *Jewiſh Patriarch*, conſtantly attending upon him to adviſe him in matters pertaining to the Law, and ſent by him (as ‖ he intimates) ſometimes to inſpect and reform the manners of the Prieſts and *Jewiſh* Clergy, and the irregularities of Country-Synagogues, with commiſſion to gather the Tenths and Firſt-fruits due in all the Provinces under his juriſdiction. Such Apoſtles we find mention'd both by * *Julian* the Emperor in an Epiſtle to the *Jews*, and in a Law of the Emperor ‖ *Honorius*, imploy'd by the Patriarch to gather once a year the *Aurum Coronarium* or *Crown-Gold*, a Tribute annually paid by them to the *Roman* Emperors. But theſe Apoſtles could not under that notion be extant in our Saviour's time; though ſure we are there was then ſomething like it, * *Philo* the *Jew* more than once mentioning the ἱερο-πομποὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον πολεῖτον κομίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, τὰ ἀθροιζόμενα ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, the ſacred meſſengers annually ſent to collect the holy treaſure paid by way of Firſt-fruits, and to carry it to the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. However our Lord in conformity to the general cuſtom of thoſe times, of appointing Apoſtles or Meſſengers, as their Proxies and Deputies to act in their names, call'd and denominated thoſe Apoſtles, whom he peculiarly choſe to repreſent his perſon, to communicate his mind and will to the World, and to act as Embaſſadors or Commiſſioners in his room and ſtead.

Ἀπόστολος ἢ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ Ἰουδαίοις ὀνομάζειν, τοὺς ἐγκύκλια γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἀναπομπεύοντας. Euſeb. *Caſen. MS. apud Heinſ. exercit. in Luc. 6.*

* *Hæreſ.* 30. p. 60.

‖ *Ibid.* p. 61.

* *Epiſt.* 25. p. 153.

‖ *L. 14. C. Theod. de Judæis lib.* 16. *Tit.* 8.

* *Lib. de leg. ad Caium,* 1023. *vid.* 1035. *E.*

IV. Secondly, We obſerve that the perſons thus deputed by our Saviour were not left uncertain, but reduced to a fixed definite number, confin'd to the juſt number of Twelve: *he ordained twelve that they ſhould be with him.* Mark 3. 15. A number that ſeems to carry ſomething of myſtery and peculiar deſign in it, as appears in that the Apoſtles were ſo careful upon the fall of *Judas* immediately to ſupply it. The Fathers are very wide and different in their conjectures about the reaſon of it. * S. *Auguſtine* thinks our Lord herein had reſpect to the four quarters of the World, which were to be called by the preaching of the Goſpel, which being multiplied by three (to denote the *Trinity*, in whoſe name they were to be called) make Twelve. ‖ *Tertullian* will have them typified by the twelve fountains in *Elim*, the Apoſtles being ſent out to water and refreſh the dry thirſty World with the knowledge of

* *Serm* 3. *Pſalm.* 10. *Col.* 1192. *vid. in Pſ.* 8. *Col.* 59. *Col.* 60.

‖ *Adv. Marc. lib.* 4. *c.* 9. p. 425.

the truth; by the twelve precious ſtones in *Aaron*'s breaſt-plate, to illuminate the Church, the garment which Chriſt our great High-Prieſt has put on; by the twelve ſtones which *Joſhua* choſe out of *Jordan* to lay up within the Ark of the Teſtament, reſpecting the firmneſs and ſolidity of the Apoſtles Faith, their being choſen by the true *Jeſus* or *Joſhua* at their Baptiſm in *Jordan*, and their being admitted in the inner Sanctuary of his Covenant. By others we are told that it was ſhadowed out by the twelve Spies taken out of every Tribe, and ſent to diſcover the Land of Promiſe: or by the twelve gates of the City in *Ezekiel*'s viſion; or by the twelve Bells appendant to *Aaron*'s garment, * *their ſound going out into all the World, and their words unto the ends of the Earth.* But it were endleſs, and to very little purpoſe to reckon up all the conjectures of this nature, there being ſcarce any one number of Twelve mentioned in the Scripture, which is not by ſome of the Ancients adapted and applied to this of the Twelve Apoſtles, wherein an ordinary fancy might eaſily enough pick out a myſtery. That which ſeems to put in the moſt rational plea is, that our Lord pitched upon this number, in conformity either to the twelve *Patriarchs* as founders of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, or to the twelve φυλάρχαι, or *chief heads*, as ſtanding Rulers of thoſe Tribes among the *Jews*, as we ſhall afterwards poſſibly more particularly * remark. Thirdly, theſe Apoſtles were immediately called and ſent by Chriſt himſelf, elected out of the body of his Diſciples and followers, and receiv'd their Commiſſion from his own mouth. Indeed *Matthias* was not one of the firſt election, being taken in upon *Judas* his Apoſtaſie after our Lord's Aſcenſion into Heaven. But beſides that he had been one of the *ſeventy Diſciples*, called and ſent out by our Saviour, that extraordinary declaration of the Divine will and pleaſure that appeared in determining his election, was in a manner equivalent to the firſt election. As for *S. Paul*, he was not one of the Twelve, taken in as a ſupernumerary Apoſtle, but yet an Apoſtle as well as they, and that *not of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt*, as he pleads his own cauſe againſt the inſinuations of thoſe Impoſtors who traduced him as an Apoſtle only at the ſecond hand; whereas he was immediately call'd by Chriſt as well as they, and in a more extraordinary manner; they were called by him, while he was yet in his ſtate of meanneſs and humiliation, he, when Chriſt was now advanced upon the Throne, and appeared to him encircled with thoſe glorious emanations of brightneſs and majeſty, which he was not able to endure.

V. Fourthly, The main work and imployment of theſe Apoſtles was to preach the Goſpel, to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity, and to govern the Church that was to be founded, as Chriſt's immediate Deputies and Vicegerents: they were to inſtruct men in the doctrines of the Goſpel, to diſciple the World, and to baptize and initiate men into the Faith of Chriſt; to conſtitute and ordain Guides and Miniſters of Religion, perſons peculiarly ſet a-part for holy miniſtrations, to cenſure and puniſh obſtinate and contumacious offenders, to compoſe and over-rule diſorders and diviſions, to command or countermand as occaſion was, being veſted with an extraordinary authority and power of diſpoſing things for the edification of the Church. This Office the Apoſtles never exerciſed in its full extent and latitude during Chriſt's reſidence upon Earth; for though upon their election he ſent them forth to Preach and to Baptize, yet this was only a narrow and temporary imployment, and they quickly returned to their private ſtations, the main power being ſtill executed and adminiſtred by Chriſt himſelf, the complete exerciſe whereof was not actually devolved upon them, till he was ready to leave the World: for then it was that he told them, *as my father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend*

F. Mart. dicum Tryph. 60.

e S. Peter's e, Sect. 3. m. 2.

1. 1.

n 20. 21, 23.

ſend I you; receive ye the Holy Ghoſt; whoſe ſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted, and whoſe ſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained. Whereby he conferr'd in ſome proportion the ſame authority upon them, which he himſelf had derived from his Father. Fifthly, This Commiſſion given to the Apoſtles was unlimited and univerſal, not only in reſpect of power, as enabling them to diſcharge all acts of Religion relating either to Miniſtry or Government, but in reſpect of place, not confining them to this or that particular Province, but leaving them the whole World as their Dioceſe to Preach in, they being *deſtinati Nationibus Magiſtri*, in * *Tertullian*'s phraſe, deſigned to be the Maſters and Inſtructors of all Nations: ſo runs their Commiſſion, ‖ *Go ye into all the World, and preach the Goſpel to every creature*, that is, to all men, the πᾶσα κτίσις of the Evangeliſt anſwering to the לכל הבריות amongſt the *Jews*, *to all creatures*, whereby they uſed to denote all men in general, but eſpecially the *Gentiles* in oppoſition to the *Jews*. Indeed while our Saviour lived, the Apoſtolical miniſtry extended no further than *Judæa*; but he being gone to Heaven, the *partition-wall was broken down*, and their way was open into all places and Countries. And herein how admirably did the *Chriſtian* Oeconomy tranſcend the *Jewiſh* diſpenſation! The preaching of the Prophets like the * light that comes in at the window, was confin'd only to *the houſe of Iſrael*, while the doctrine of the Goſpel preached by the Apoſtles was like the light of the Sun in the Firmament, that diffuſed its beams, and propagated its heat and influence into all quarters of the World; *their ſound going out into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World.* It's true, for the more prudent and orderly management of things they are generally ſaid by the Ancients to have divided the World into ſo many quarters and portions, to which they were ſeverally to betake themſelves; *Peter* to *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, &c. S. *John* to *Aſia*, S. *Andrew* to *Scythia*, &c. But they did not ſtrictly tye themſelves to thoſe particular Provinces that were aſſigned to them; but as occaſion was, made excurſions into other parts; though for the main they had a more peculiar inſpection over thoſe parts that were allotted to them; uſually reſiding at ſome principal City of the Province, as S. *John* at *Epheſus*, S. *Philip* at *Hierapolis*, &c. whence they might have a more convenient proſpect of affairs round about them, and hence it was that theſe places more peculiarly got the title of *Apoſtolical Churches*, becauſe firſt planted, or eminently watered and cultivated by ſome Apoſtle, *Matrices & Originales Fidei*, as * *Tertullian* calls them, *Mother-Churches, and the Originals of the Faith*, becauſe here the Chriſtian doctrine was firſt ſown, and hence planted and propagated to the Countries round about, *Eccleſias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, à quibus traducem fidei & ſemina doctrinæ, cæteræ exinde Eccleſiæ mutuatæ ſunt*, as his own words are.

Ἄρχοντες εἶσιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες Ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες, οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διέρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τῶν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chryſoſt. *Serm.* περ. τοῦ χρήσιμος ἡ τῶν γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις. *p.* 115. 8. *Edit. Savil.*

* *De præſcript. Hæret. c.* 20. *p.* 208.

‖ Mark 16. 15.

* Ὥσπερ δέ ἐστι φῶς διὰ θυρίδος εἰσεργόμενον, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐπαφίησιν· οὕτως ἦσαν οἱ προφῆται τοῦ ἰδίου μόνον φωστῆρες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· οἱ δὲ Ἀπόστολοι ἦσαν ἐκλάμποντες τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὅλα τὰ τοῦ κόσμου. Macar. *Homil.* 14. *p.* 171.

* *De præſ. Hæret. c.* [illegible] *p.* 209.

Ibid. c. 20 *p.* 208.

VI. In purſuance of this general Commiſſion we find the Apoſtles not long after our Lord's Aſcenſion traverſing almoſt all parts of the then known World; S. *Andrew* in *Scythia* and thoſe Northern Countries, S. *Thomas* and *Bartholomew* in *India*, S. *Simon* and S. *Mark* in *Afric*, *Egypt*, and the parts of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, S. *Paul*, and probably *Peter* and ſome others in the fartheſt Regions of the *Weſt*: And all this done in the ſpace of leſs than forty years, *viz.* before the deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* State by *Titus* and the *Roman* Army. For ſo our Lord had expreſly foretold, that *the Goſpel of the King-* Matth. 24

dom ſhould be preached in all the World for a witneſs unto all Nations, before the end came, that is, the end of the *Jewiſh* State, which the Apoſtles a little before had called *the end of the World*, συντέλεια τῦ αἰῶνος, the ſhutting up or conſummation of the Age, the putting a final period to that preſent State and diſpenſation that the *Jews* were under. And indeed ſtrange it is to conſider, that in ſo few years theſe Evangelical Meſſengers ſhould over-run all Countries; with what an incredible ſwiftneſs did the Chriſtian Faith like *lightning* pierce from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and diffuſe it ſelf over all quarters of the World, and that not only unaſſiſted by any ſecular advantages, but in defiance of the moſt fierce and potent oppoſition, which every where ſet it ſelf againſt it? 'Tis true the impoſtures of *Muhammed* in a very little time gained a great part of the Eaſt. But beſides that this was not comparable to the univerſal ſpreading of Chriſtianity, his doctrine was calculated on purpoſe to gratifie mens luſts, and eſpecially to comply with the looſe and wanton manners of the Eaſt, and, which is above all, had the ſword to hew out its way before it: and we know how ready even without force in all changes and revolutions of the World, the conquered have been to follow the Religion of the Conquerors. Whereas the Apoſtles had no viſible advantages, nay, had all the enraged powers of the World to contend againſt them. And yet in deſpite of all went on in triumph, and quickly made their way into thoſe places, where for ſo many Ages no other conqueſt ever came; *thoſe parts of Britain* (as * *Tertullian* obſerves) *which were unconquerable and unapproachable by the power of the* Roman *Armies, ſubmitting their necks to the yoke of Chriſt.* A mighty evidence (as he there argues) of Chriſt's Divinity, and that he was the true *Meſſiah*. And indeed no reaſonable account can be given of the ſtrange and ſucceſsful progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe firſt Ages of it, but that it was the birth of Heaven, and had a Divine and Inviſible power going along with it to ſucceed and proſper it. * S. *Chryſoſtom* diſcourſes this argument at large, ſome of whoſe elegant reaſonings I ſhall here tranſcribe. He tells the *Gentile* (with whom he was diſputing) that he would not prove Chriſt's Deity by a demonſtration from Heaven, by his Creation of the World, his great and ſtupendious miracles, his raiſing the dead, curing the blind, expelling Devils; nor from the mighty promiſes of a future ſtate, and the reſurrection of the dead (which an Infidel might eaſily not only queſtion, but deny) but from what was ſufficiently evident and obvious to the meaneſt Idiot, his planting and propagating Chriſtianity in the World. For it is not *(ſays he)* in the power of a meer man, in ſo ſhort a time to encircle the World, to compaſs Sea and Land, and in matters of ſo great importance to reſcue mankind from the ſlavery of abſurd and unreaſonable cuſtoms, and the powerful tyranny of evil habits: and theſe not *Romans* only, but *Perſians*, and the moſt barbarous Nations of the World. A reformation which he wrought not by force and the power of the ſword; nor by pouring into the world numerous Legions and Armies: but by a few inconſiderable men (no more at firſt than Eleven) a company of obſcure and mean, ſimple and illiterate, poor and helpleſs, naked and unarmed perſons, who had ſcarce a ſhooe to tread on, or a coat to cover them. And yet by theſe he perſwaded ſo great a part of mankind to be able freely to reaſon, not only of things of the preſent, but of a future ſtate; to renounce the Laws of their Country, and throw off thoſe ancient and inveterate cuſtoms, which had taken root for ſo many Ages, and planted others in their room; and reduced men from thoſe eaſie ways, whereinto they were hurried, into the more rugged and difficult paths of vertue. All which he did, while he had to contend with oppoſite powers, and when he himſelf had undergone the moſt

Jud. 189.

quod Deus, m. 5.

moſt ignominious death, *even the death of the Croſs*. Afterwards he addreſſes himſelf to the *Jew*, and diſcourſes with him much after the ſame rate. Conſider, (*ſays* * *he.*) and bethink thy ſelf, what it is in ſo ſhort a time to fill the whole World with ſo many famous Churches, to convert ſo many Nations to the Faith, to prevail with Men to forſake the Religion of their Country, to root up their rites and cuſtoms, to ſhake off the Empire of luſt and pleaſure, and the Laws of vice like duſt; to aboliſh and abominate their Temples and their Altars, their Idols and their Sacrifices, their profane and impious Feſtivals as dirt and dung; and inſtead hereof to ſet up Chriſtian Altars in all places, among the *Romans*, *Perſians*, *Scythians*, *Moors* and *Indians*; and not there only, but in the Countries beyond this World of ours. For even the *Britiſh Iſlands* that lie beyond the Ocean, and thoſe that are in it, have felt the power of the Chriſtian Faith; Churches and Altars being erected there to the ſervice of Chriſt. A matter truly great and admirable, and which would clearly have demonſtrated a Divine and Supereminent Power, although there had been no oppoſition in the caſe, but that all things had run on calmly and ſmoothly, to think that in ſo few years the Chriſtian Faith ſhould be able to reclaim the whole World from its vicious cuſtoms, and to win them over to other manners, more laborious and difficult, repugnant both to their native inclinations, and to the Laws and Principles of their education, and ſuch as oblig'd them to a more ſtrict and accurate courſe of life; and theſe perſons not one or two, not twenty or an hundred, but in a manner all Mankind: and this brought about by no better inſtruments than a few rude and unlearned, private and unknown tradeſmen, who had neither eſtate nor reputation, learning nor eloquence, kindred nor Country to recommend them to the World; a few Fiſhermen and Tent-makers, and whom diſtinguiſhed by their Language as well as their Religion, the reſt of the World ſcorn'd as barbarous. And yet theſe were the men, by whom our Lord built up his Church, and extended it from one end of the World unto the other. Other conſiderations there are with which the Father does urge and illuſtrate this argument, which I forbear to inſiſt on in this place.

* *Ibid. c.* 11 *p.* 746.

VII. Sixthly, The power and authority convey'd by this Commiſſion to the Apoſtles, was equally conferr'd upon all of them. They were all choſen at the ſame time, all equally impowred to Preach and Baptize, all equally intruſted with the power of binding and looſing, all inveſted with the ſame miſſion, and all equally furniſhed with the ſame gifts and powers of the Holy Ghoſt. Indeed the Advocates of the Church of *Rome* do with a mighty zeal and fierceneſs contend for S. *Peter*'s being Head and Prince of the Apoſtles, advanced by Chriſt to a ſupremacy and prerogative not only above, but over the reſt of the Apoſtles; and not without reaſon, the fortunes of that Church being concerned in the ſupremacy of S. *Peter*. No wonder therefore they ranſack all corners, preſs and force in whatever may but ſeem to give countenance to it. Witneſs thoſe thin and miſerable ſhifts, which *Bellarmine* calls arguments, to prove and make it good; ſo utterly devoid of all rational conviction, ſo unable to juſtifie themſelves to ſober and conſidering men, that a Man would think they had been contrived for no other purpoſe, than to cheat fools, and make wiſe men laugh. And the truth is, nothing with me more ſhakes the reputation of the wiſdom of that learned man, than his making uſe of ſuch weak and trifling arguments in ſo important and concerning an Article, ſo vital and eſſential to the conſtitution of that Church. As when he argues *Peter*'s * ſuperiority from the meer changing of his name, (for what's this to ſupremacy? beſides that it was not done to him alone, the

* *De Rom. Pontif. l. 1. c.* 17, 18.

the same being done to *James* and *John*) from his being first reckoned up in the Catalogue of Apostles, his walking with Christ upon the water, his paying tribute for his Master and himself, his being commanded to let down the Net, and Christ's teaching in *Peter*'s ship, (and this ship must denote the Church, and *Peter*'s being owner of it, entitle him to be supreme Ruler and Governour of the Church, so *Bellarmine* in terms as plain as he could well express it) from Christ's first washing *Peter*'s feet (though the story recorded by the Evangelist says no such thing) and his foretelling only his death: all which, and many more prerogatives of S. *Peter*, to the number of no less than XXVIII. are summoned in to give in evidence in this cause; and many of these two drawn out of Apocryphal and supposititious Authors, and not only uncertain, but absurd and fabulous: and yet upon such arguments as these do they found his paramount authority. A plain evidence of a desperate and sinking cause, when such twigs must be laid hold on to support and keep it above water. Had they suffered *Peter* to be content with a primacy of Order (which his age and gravity seemed to challenge for him) no wise and peaceable man would have denied it, as being a thing ordinarily practised among equals, and necessary to the well governing a society: but when nothing but a primacy of Power will serve the turn, as if the rest of the Apostles had been inferiour to him, this may by no means be granted, as being expresly contrary to the positive determination of our Saviour, when the Apostles were contending about this very thing, *which of them should be accounted the greatest*, he thus quickly decides the case, *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them. But ye shall not be so: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.* Than which nothing could have been more peremptorily spoken, to rebuke this naughty spirit of preheminence. Nor do we ever find *S. Peter* himself laying claim to any such power, or the Apostles giving him the least shadow of it. In the whole course of his affairs there are no intimations of this matter; in his Epistle he styles himself but their *fellow-Presbyter*, and expresly forbids the Governours of the Church to *Lord it over God's heritage*. When dispatched by the rest of the Apostles upon a message to *Samaria*, he never disputes their authority to do it; when accused by them for going in unto the *Gentiles*, does he stand upon his prerogative? no, but submissively apologizes for himself; nay, when smartly reprov'd by *S. Paul* at *Antioch* (when, if ever, his credit lay at stake) do we find him excepting against it as an affront to his supremacy, and a sawcy controlling his superiour? surely the quite contrary; he quietly submitted to the reproof, as one that was sensible how justly he had deserved it. Nor can it be supposed but that S. *Paul* would have carried it towards him with a greater reverence, had any such peculiar soveraignty been then known to the World. How confidently does *S. Paul* assert himself to be no whit *inferiour to the chiefest Apostles*, not to *Peter* himself? *the Gospel of the uncircumcision being committed to him, as that of the circumcision was to Peter.* Is *Peter* oft named first among the Apostles? elsewhere others, sometimes *James*, sometimes *Paul* and *Apollos*, are placed before him. Did *Christ* honour him with some singular commendations? an honourable *elogium* conveys no super-eminent power and soveraignty. Was he dear to *Christ*? we know another, that was the *beloved Disciple*. So little warrant is there to exalt one above the rest, where *Christ* made all alike. (*u*) If from Scripture we descend to the ancient Writers of the Church; we shall find that though the Fathers bestow very great and honourable Titles upon *Peter*; yet they give the same, or what are equivalent to others of

h. 20. 25, 27.
e 22. 24, 26.

Hoc erant & cæteri oli, quod Petrus, consortio i, & ho- & pote- Cyprian tat. Ec- . 180.

of the Apoſtles. * *Heſychius* ſtiles *S. James* the *Great, the Brother of our Lord, the Commander of the new Jeruſalem, the Prince of Prieſts, the Exarch* or chief *of the Apoſtles,* ὃν κεφαλοῖς κορυφὴν, *the top* or crown *amongſt the heads, the great light amongſt the Lamps, the moſt illuſtrious and reſplendent amongſt the ſtars: 'twas Peter that preach'd, but 'twas James that made the determination,* &c. Of S. *Andrew* he gives this *encomium,* (y) that *he was the ſacerdotal Trumpet, the firſt born of the Apoſtolick Quire,* πρωτοταγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας φύλος, *the prime and firm Pillar of the Church, Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the firſt fruits of the beginning. Peter* and *John* are ſaid to be ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, *equally honourable,* by S. *Cyril* (z) with his whole Synod of *Alexandria.* S. *John* (ſays (a) *Chryſoſtom*) *was Chriſt's beloved, the Pillar of all the Churches in the World, who had the Keys of Heaven, drank of his Lord's cup, was waſh'd with his Baptiſm, and with confidence lay in his boſome.* And of (b) S. *Paul* he tells us, that he was *the moſt excellent of all men, the Teacher of the World, the Bridegroom of Chriſt, the Planter of the Church, the wiſe Maſter-builder, greater than the Apoſtles,* and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Elſewhere he ſays, (c) that the care of the whole World was committed to him, that nothing could be more noble or illuſtrious: yea that (his Miracles conſidered) he was more excellent than Kings themſelves. And a little after (d) he calls him *the tongue of the Earth, the light of the Churches,* τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς πίστεως, τὸν φύλον καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, *the foundation of the faith, the pillar and ground of truth.* And in a diſcourſe on purpoſe, wherein he compares *Peter* and *Paul* together, he makes them of equal eſteem and vertue; τί Πέτρου μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον; *What greater than Peter? What equal to Paul? a Bleſſed pair!* ἡ πεπιστευθεῖσα ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου τὰς ψυχάς, *who had the Souls of the whole World committed to their charge.* But inſtances of this nature were endleſs and infinite. If the Fathers at any time ſtyle *Peter, Prince of the Apoſtles,* they mean no more by it, than the beſt and pureſt Latine writers mean by *princeps,* the firſt or chief perſon of the number, more conſiderable than the reſt, either for his age or zeal. Thus (f) *Euſebius* tells us, *Peter* was τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προήγορος, *the prolocutor of all the reſt,* ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, *for the greatneſs and generoſity of his mind,* that is, in (g) *Chryſoſtome's* language, he was *the mouth and chief of the Apoſtles,* ὁ παντὸς θερμὸς, *becauſe eager and forward at every turn, and ready to anſwer thoſe queſtions which were put to others.* In ſhort, as he had no Prerogative above the reſt, beſides his being the Chair-man and Preſident of the Aſſembly, ſo was it granted to him upon no other conſiderations, than thoſe of his age, zeal, and gravity, for which he was more eminent than the reſt.

* *Orat. in S. Jac. ap. Phot. Cod.* cclxxv. *Col.* 1525.

(y) *Encom. Thom. ibid. Cod.* cclxix. *c.* 1488.

(z) *In Conc. Epheſ. Conc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 20.

(a) *Prolog. Joan. p.* 2.

(b) *De Pet. Zeb. p.* 378. *Tom.* 1.

(c) *In illud, Aquil. & Pr. p.* 218. *Tom.*

(d) *Ibid. p.* 2.

(e) *Serm. de Petr. & Pa. p.* 261. *Tom.*

(f) *H. Ecc. l.* 2. *c.* 14. *p.*

(g) *In Ma. c.* 16. *p.* 48.

VIII. We proceed next to enquire into the fitneſs and qualification of the Perſons commiſſionated for this employment; and we ſhall finde them admirably qualified to diſcharge it, if we conſider this following account. Firſt, They immediately received the Doctrine of the Goſpel from the mouth of Chriſt himſelf; he intended them for *Legati à latere,* his peculiar Embaſſadors to the World, and therefore furniſhed them with inſtructions from his own mouth; and in order hereunto he train'd them up for ſome years under his own Diſcipline and inſtitution: he made them to underſtand the *myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, when to others it was not given*; treated them with the affection of a Father, and the freedom and familiarity of a friend. *Henceforth I call you not ſervants, for the ſervant knoweth not what his Lord doth, but I have called you friends: for all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.* They heard all his Sermons, were privy both to his publick and private diſcourſes; what he preach'd abroad, he expounded to them at home; he gradually inſtructed them in the know-

Joh. 15. 1.

ledge

ledge of Divine things, and imparted to them the notions and myſteries of the Goſpel, not all at once, but *as they were able to bear them.* By which means they were ſufficiently capable of giving a ſatisfactory account of that doctrine to others, which had been ſo immediately, ſo frequently communicated to themſelves. Secondly, They were infallibly ſecured from error in delivering the Doctrines and Principles of Chriſtianity: for though they were not abſolutely priviledg'd from failures and miſcarriages in their lives, (theſe being of more perſonal and private conſideration) yet were they infallible in their Doctrine, this being a matter whereupon the ſalvation and eternal intereſts of men did depend. And for this end they had the *ſpirit of truth* promiſed to them, who ſhould *guide them into all truth.* Under the conduct of this unerring Guide they all ſteer'd the ſame courſe, taught and ſpake the ſame things, though at different times, and in diſtant places: and for what was conſign'd to writing, *all Scripture was given by inſpiration of God, and the holy men ſpake not, but as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.* Hence that exact and admirable harmony that is in all their writings and relations, as being all equally dictated by the ſame ſpirit of truth. Thirdly, They had been eye-witneſſes of all the material paſſages of our Saviour's life, continually converſant with him from the commencing of his publick miniſtery, till his aſcenſion into Heaven; they had ſurvey'd all his actions, ſeen all his miracles, obſerv'd the whole method of his converſation, and ſome of them attended him in his moſt private ſolitudes and retirements. And this could not but be a very rational ſatisfaction to the minds of men, when the publiſhers of the Goſpel ſolemnly declared to the World, that they reported nothing concerning our Saviour, but what they had ſeen with their own eyes, and of the truth whereof they were as competent Judges, as the acuteſt Philoſopher in the World. Nor could there be any juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that they impos'd upon men in what they delivered; for beſides their naked plainneſs and ſimplicity in all other paſſages of their lives, they chearfully ſubmitted to the moſt exquiſite hardſhips, tortures, and ſufferings, meerly to atteſt the truth of what they publiſhed to the World. Next to the evidence of our own ſenſes, no teſtimony is more valid and forcible, than his who relates what himſelf has ſeen. Upon this account our Lord told his Apoſtles, *that they ſhould be witneſſes to him both in Judæa and Samaria, and to the uttermoſt parts of the Earth.* And ſo neceſſary a qualification of an Apoſtle was this thought to be, that it was almoſt the only condition propounded in the choice of a new Apoſtle after the fall of *Judas: Wherefore* (ſays *Peter*) *of theſe men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jeſus went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptiſm of John, unto the ſame day that he was taken up from us, muſt one be ordained to be a witneſs with us of his reſurrection.* Accordingly we find the Apoſtles conſtantly making uſe of this argument as the moſt rational evidence to convince thoſe whom they had to deal with. *We are witneſſes of all things which Jeſus did both in the Land of the Jews, and in Jeruſalem, whom they ſlew and hanged on a tree: Him God raiſed up the third day, and ſhewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witneſſes, choſen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he roſe from the dead: And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to teſtifie that it is he that is ordained of God to be Judge of the quick and dead.* Thus S. *John* after the ſame way of arguing appeals to ſenſible demonſtration, *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have ſeen with our eyes, which we have look'd upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life: (For the life was manifeſted, and we have ſeen it and bear witneſs, and ſhew unto you that Eternal Life which was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto us) That which*

h. 16. 13.

i. 8.

i. 21, 22.

ii. 39, &c.

h. 1. 1, 2, 3.

which we have ſeen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye alſo may have fellowſhip with us. This, to name no more, *S. Peter* thought a ſufficient vindication of the Apoſtolical doctrine from the ſuſpicion of forgery and impoſture, *We have not followed cunningly deviſed fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his majeſty.* 2 Pet. 1. 16, God had frequently given teſtimony to the divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, by viſible manifeſtations and appearances from Heaven, and particularly by an audible voice, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.* Now *this Voice which came from Heaven* (ſays he) *we heard, when we were with him in the holy Mount.*

IX. Fourthly, The Apoſtles were inveſted with a power of working Miracles, as the readieſt means to procure their Religion a firm belief and entertainment in the minds of Men. For Miracles are the great confirmation of the truth of any doctrine, and the moſt rational evidence of a divine commiſſion. For ſeeing God only can create, and controll the Laws of nature, produce ſomething out of nothing, and call things that are not, as if they were, give eyes to them that were born blind, raiſe the dead, *&c.* things plainly beyond all poſſible powers of nature; no man that believes the wiſedom and goodneſs of an infinite being, can ſuppoſe that this God of truth ſhould affix his ſeal to a lye, or communicate this power to any that would abuſe it, to confirm and countenance deluſions and impoſtures. *Nicodemus* his reaſoning was very plain and convictive, when he concludes that Chriſt *muſt needs be a Teacher come from God, for that no man could do thoſe Miracles that he did, except God were with him.* Joh. 3. 2. The force of which argument lies here, that nothing but a Divine power can work Miracles, and that Almighty God cannot be ſuppoſed miraculouſly to aſſiſt any but thoſe, whom he himſelf ſends upon his own errand. The ſtupid and barbarous *Lycaonians*, when they beheld the Man who had been a Cripple from his Mothers womb, cured by *S. Paul* in an inſtant only with the ſpeaking of a word, ſaw that there was ſomething in it more than humane, and therefore concluded that *the Gods were come down to them in the likeneſs of Men.* Act 14. 10, * 2 Cor. 12. Upon this account * *S. Paul* reckons Miracles among the τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, the *ſigns* and evidences *of an Apoſtle*, whom therefore *(h) Chryſoſtom* brings in elegantly pleading for himſelf, that though he could not ſhew as the ſigns of his Prieſthood and Miniſtry, long Robes, and gaudy Veſtments, with *Bells* ſounding at their borders, as the Aaronical Prieſts did of old; though he had no golden Crowns or holy Mitres, yet could he produce what was infinitely more venerable and regardable than all theſe, unqueſtionable Signs and Miracles: He came not with Altars and Oblations, with a number of ſtrange and ſymbolick Rites; but what was greater, raiſed the dead, caſt out Devils, cured the blind, healed the lame, *making the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, thorough many ſigns and wonders wrought by the power of the ſpirit of God.* Theſe were the things that clearly ſhewed that their miſſion and miniſtry was not from men, nor taken up of their own heads, but that they acted herein by a Divine warrant and authority. That therefore it might plainly appear to the World, that they did not falſify in what they ſaid, or deliver any more than God had given them in commiſſion, he enabled them to do ſtrange and miraculous operations, *bearing them witneſs both with ſigns and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy* Heb. 2. 4.

(h) Τῆς ἱερουργίας μὲν πάντης τὰ σύμβολα, τὴν χειροτονίας, ἔχω πολλὰ δεῖξαι τὰ τεκμήρια· ποδήρη καὶ κώδωνας, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ, μίτρας, καὶ κίδαριν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ φερωνδέστερα τούτων σημεῖα καὶ θαύματα.—εἶδες πῶς τῶν ἐκεῖ παλαιῶν θαυμαστότερα καὶ φερωνδέστερα ἡ θυσία, ἣ φερόμεθα, τὰ σύμβολα; ὅταν γὰρ ἐ[ν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τε]των] τοῦτο λέγει, τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τὴν περὶ βε[λείας φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν τῆς ἔργων, καὶ τὸ πολιτ[ἐπίδειξιν, τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐγειρομένους, τοὺς δ[μονας τοὺς ἐλαυνομένους, τὴν θεραπευομένους [πυλὰς, τοὺς πεδῶντας χωλοὺς, τὰ ἄλλα τερά[ἅπερ ἅπαν]α εἰργάζε]το τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιο[ἡμῖν. Chryſoſt. Homil. 29. *in* Rom. *p.* 303.

ly Ghoſt. This was a power put into the firſt draught of their commiſſion,
att. 10. 7, 8. when confined only to the Cities of *Iſrael*; *As ye go, preach, ſaying, The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*; *Heal the ſick, cleanſe the lepers, raiſe the dead, caſt out Devils, freely you have received, freely give:* but more fully confirmed upon them, when our Lord went to Heaven, then he told them, that *theſe*
ark 16. 17, —20. *ſigns ſhould follow them that believe, that in his Name they ſhould caſt out Devils, and ſpeak with new tongues; that they ſhould take up ſerpents, and if they drank any deadly thing it ſhould not hurt them, that they ſhould lay hands on the ſick and they ſhould recover:* And the event was accordingly, *for they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with ſigns following.* When *Paul* and *Barnabas* came up to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, this was one of the firſt things they gave an account of, *all the multi-*
t. 15. 12. *tude keeping ſilence, while they declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.* Thus the very *ſhadow* of *Peter as he*
t. 19. 11, 12. *paſſed by cured the ſick:* thus *God wrought ſpecial miracles by the hands of Paul: ſo that from his body were brought unto the ſick, handkerchiefs, or aprons, and the diſeaſes departed from them, and the evil ſpirits went out of them.* So that beſides the innate characters of Divinity which the Chriſtian religion brought along with it, containing nothing but what was highly reaſonable, and very becoming God to reveal; it had the higheſt external evidence that any Religion was capable of, the atteſtation of great and unqueſtionable Miracles, done not once or twice, not privately and in corners, not before a few ſimple and credulous perſons, but frequently and at every turn, publickly and in places of the moſt ſolemn concourſe, before the wiſeſt and moſt judicious enquirers, and this power of miracles continued not only during the Apoſtles time, but for ſome Ages after.

X. But becauſe beſides Miracles in general, the Scripture takes particular notice of many gifts and powers of the Holy Ghoſt conferred upon the Apoſtles and firſt Preachers of the Goſpel, it may not be amiſs to conſider ſome of the chiefeſt and moſt material of them, as we find them enumerated by
or. 12. 9, 10. the Apoſtle, only premiſing this obſervation, that though theſe gifts were diſtinctly diſtributed to perſons of an inferiour order, ſo that one had this, and another that, yet were they (probably) all conferr'd upon the Apoſtles, and doubtleſs in larger proportions than upon the reſt. Firſt, we take notice of the *gift of Prophecy*, a clear evidence of divine inſpiration, and an extra-
v. 19. 10. ordinary miſſion, *the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of prophecy.* It had been for many Ages the ſignal and honourable priviledge of the *Jewiſh* Church, and that the *Chriſtian* Oeconomy might challenge as ſacred regards from men, and that it might appear that God had not withdrawn his Spirit from his Church in this new ſtate of things, it was revived under the diſpenſation of the Goſpel, according to that famous Prophecy of *Joel* exactly accompliſhed (as *Peter* told the *Jews*) upon the day of *Pentecoſt*, when the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt were ſo plentifully ſhed upon the Apoſtles and Primitive Chriſtians; *This is that which was ſpoken by the Prophet Joel, It ſhall come*
l 2. 18, 19. *to paſs in the laſt days* (ſaith God) *I will pour out of my ſpirit upon all fleſh,*
. 2. 16, 17. *and your Sons and your Daughters ſhall propheſie, and your young Men ſhall ſee Viſions, and your old Men ſhall dream Dreams; and on my ſervants, and on my Hand-maidens I will pour out in thoſe days of my ſpirit, and they ſhall propheſie.* It lay in general in revealing and making known to others the mind of God, but diſcovered it ſelf in particular inſtances; partly in foretelling things to come, and what ſhould certainly happen in after-times: a thing ſet beyond the reach of any finite underſtanding; for though ſuch effects as depend upon natural agents, or moral and political cauſes, may be foreſeen

foreſeen by ſtudious and conſidering perſons, yet the knowledge of futurities, things purely contingent, that meerly depend upon mens choice, and their mutable and uncertain wills, can only fall under his view, who at once beholds things paſt, preſent, and to come. Now this was conferred upon the Apoſtles and ſome of the firſt Chriſtians, as appears from many inſtances in the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtolick Acts*, and we find the Apoſtles writings frequently interſperſed with prophetical predictions concerning the great apoſtaſie from the faith, the univerſal corruption and degeneracy of manners, the riſe of particular hereſies, the coming of *Antichriſt*, and ſeveral other things *which the ſpirit ſaid expreſly ſhould come to paſs in the latter times*; beſides that S. *John*'s whole Book of *Revelation* is almoſt intirely made up of Prophecies concerning the future ſtate and condition of the Church. Sometimes by this ſpirit of prophecy God declared things that were of preſent concernment to the exigences of the Church, as when he ſignified to them that they ſhould ſet apart *Paul* and *Barnabas* for the converſion of the *Gentiles*, and many times immediately deſigned particular perſons to be Paſtors and Governours of the Church. Thus we read of *the gift that was given to Timothy by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Preſbytery*, that is, his Ordination, to which he was particularly pointed out by ſome prophetick deſignation. But the main uſe of this prophetick gift in thoſe times was to explain ſome of the more difficult and particular parts of the Chriſtian doctrine, eſpecially to expound and apply the ancient Prophecies concerning the *Meſſiah* and his Kingdom in their publick Aſſemblies; whence the *gift of prophecy* is explained *by underſtanding all myſteries, and all knowledge*, that is, the moſt dark and difficult places of Scripture, the types and figures, the ceremonies and prophecies of the Old Teſtament. And thus we are commonly to underſtand thoſe words, *Prophets*, and *propheſying*, that ſo familiarly occur in the New Teſtament. *Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us propheſie according to the proportion of faith*, that is, expound Scripture according to the generally-received principles of Faith and Life. So the Apoſtle elſewhere preſcribing Rules for the decent and orderly managing of Divine worſhip in their publick Aſſemblies, *let the Prophets* (ſays he) *ſpeak two or three* (that is, at the ſame Aſſembly) *and let the other judge*; and if while any is thus expounding, another has a Divine *afflatus*, whereby he is more particularly enabled to explain ſome difficult and emergent paſſage, *let the firſt hold his peace: for ye may all*, all that have this gift, *propheſie one by one*, that ſo thus orderly proceeding, *all may learn, and all may be comforted*. Nor can the firſt pretend that this interruption is an unſeaſonable check to his revelation, ſeeing he may command himſelf; for though among the *Gentiles* the prophetick and ecſtatick impulſe did ſo violently preſs upon the inſpired Perſon, that he could not govern himſelf, yet in the Church of God *the ſpirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*, may be ſo ruled and reſtrained by them, as to make way for others. This order of Chriſtian Prophets conſidered as a diſtinct Miniſtery by it ſelf is conſtantly placed next to the Apoſtolical Office, and is frequently by S. *Paul* preferred before any other ſpiritual Gifts then beſtowed upon the Church. When this ſpirit of Prophecy ceaſed in the *Chriſtian* Church, we cannot certainly finde. It continued ſome competent time beyond the *Apoſtolick* Age. (*i*) *Juſtin Martyr* expreſly tells *Trypho the Jew* Παρὰ ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ προφητικὰ χαρίσματά ἐστιν, *the gifts of Prophecy are even yet extant among us*; an argument, as he there tells him, that thoſe things which had of old been the great Priviledges of their Church, were now tranſlated into the Chriſtian Church. And (*k*) *Euſebius* ſpeaking of a Revelation made to one *Alcibiades*, who lived about

1 Cor. 13.

Rom. 12. 8

1 Cor. 14. 30, 31, 32.

(i) *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 30

(k) *H. Eccl.* 5. c. 3. p. 16

about the time of *Irenæus*, adds, that the Divine Grace had not withdrawn its Preſence from the Church, but that they ſtill had the Holy Ghoſt as their Counſellor to direct them.

XI. Secondly, They had *the gift of diſcerning ſpirits*, whereby they were enabled to diſcover the truth or falſhood of mens pretences, whether their gifts were real or counterfeit, and their perſons truly inſpired or not. For many men, acted only by diabolical impulſes, might entitle themſelves to Divine inſpirations, and others might be impoſed upon by their deluſions, and miſtake their dreams and fancies for the Spirits dictates and revelations; or might ſo ſubtilly and artificially counterfeit revelations, that they might with moſt paſs for currant, eſpecially in thoſe times when theſe ſupernatural gifts were ſo common and ordinary; and our Lord himſelf had frequently told them that *falſe Prophets would ariſe*, and that many would confidently plead for themſelves before him, that they had *propheſied in his name*. That therefore the Church might not be impoſed upon, God was pleaſed to endue the Apoſtles, and it may be ſome others, with an immediate faculty of diſcerning the Caffe from the Wheat, true from falſe Prophets; nay, to know when the true Prophets delivered the revelations of the Spirit, and when they expreſſed only their own conceptions. This was a mighty priviledge, but yet ſeems to me to have extended farther, to judge of the ſincerity or hypocriſie of mens hearts in the profeſſion of Religion, that ſo bad men being diſcovered, ſuitable cenſures and puniſhments might be paſſed upon them, and others cautioned to avoid them. Thus *Peter* at firſt ſight diſcovered *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and the rotten hypocriſie of their intentions, before there was any external evidence in the caſe; and told *Simon Magus*, though baptized before upon his embracing Chriſtianity, *that his heart was not right* 8. 21,23. *in the ſight of God, for I perceive* (ſays he) *that thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity*. Thirdly, the Apoſtles had the *gift of Tongues*, furniſhed with variety of utterance, able to ſpeak on a ſudden ſeveral Languages which they had never learnt, as occaſion was adminiſtred, and the exigences of perſons and Nations with whom they converſed, did require. For the Apoſtles being principally deſigned to convert the World, and to plant Chriſtianity in all Countries and Nations; it was abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould be able readily to expreſs their minds in the Languages of thoſe Countries to which they addreſſed themſelves: ſeeing otherwiſe it would have been a work of time and difficulty, and not conſiſtent with the term of the Apoſtles lives, had they been firſt to learn the different Languages of thoſe Nations, before they could have preached the Goſpel to them. Hence this gift was diffuſed upon the Apoſtles in larger meaſures and proportions than upon other men; *I ſpeak with Tongues more than you all*, ſays S. *Paul*; Cor. 14.18. that is, than all the gifted perſons in the Church of *Corinth*. Our Lord had told the Apoſtles before his departure from them, *that they ſhould be endued with power from on high*, which upon the day of *Pentecoſt* was particularly made good in this inſtance, when in a moment they were enabled to ſpeak almoſt all the Languages of the then known World, and this as a ſpecimen and firſt-fruits of the reſt of thoſe miraculous powers that were conferr'd upon them.

XII. A fourth gift was that of *Interpretation*, or unfolding to others what had been delivered in an unknown tongue. For the Chriſtian Aſſemblies in thoſe days were frequently made up of men of different Nations, and who could not underſtand what the Apoſtles or others had ſpoken to the Congregation; this God ſupplied by this gift of interpretation, enabling ſome to interpret what others did not underſtand, and to ſpeak it to them in their own

native

native Language. *S. Paul* largely diſcourſes the neceſſity of this gift in order to the inſtructing and edifying of the Church, ſeeing without it their meetings could be no better than the Aſſembly at *Babel* after the confuſion of Languages, where one man muſt needs be a *Barbarian* to another, and all the praying and preaching of the Miniſter of the Aſſembly be to many altogether fruitleſs and unprofitable, and no better than a *ſpeaking into the Air.* What's the ſpeaking though with the *tongue of Angels* to them that do not underſtand it? How can the *Idiot and unlearned ſay Amen*, who underſtands not the language of him that giveth thanks? The duty may be done with admirable quaintneſs and accuracy, but what's he the better, from whom 'tis lock'd up in an unknown tongue? A conſideration that made the Apoſtle ſolemnly profeſs, that *he had rather ſpeak five words in the Church with his underſtanding, that by his voice he may teach others alſo, than ten thouſand words in an unknown tongue. Therefore if any man ſpeak in an unknown tongue, let it be but by two, or at moſt by three, and let one interpret* what the reſt have ſpoken: *but if there be no interpreter*, none preſent able to do this, *let him keep ſilence in the Church, and ſpeak to himſelf and to God.* A man that impartially reads this diſcourſe of the Apoſtle, may wonder how the Church of *Rome* in defiance of it can ſo openly practiſe, ſo confidently defend their Bible and Divine Services in an unknown tongue, ſo flatly repugnant to the dictates of common reaſon, the uſage of the firſt Chriſtian Church, and theſe plain Apoſtolical commands. But this is not the only inſtance wherein that Church has departed both from Scripture, Reaſon, and the practice of the firſt and pureſt Ages of Chriſtianity. Indeed there is ſome cauſe why they are ſo zealous to keep both Scripture and their Divine Worſhip in a ſtrange Language, leſt by reading the one the People ſhould become wiſe enough to diſcover the groſs errors and corruptions of the other. Fifthly, The Apoſtles had the *gift of Healing*, of curing Diſeaſes without the arts of Phyſick; the moſt inveterate diſtempers being equally removable by an Almighty power, and vaniſhing at their ſpeaking of a word. This begot an extraordinary veneration for them and their Religion among the common ſort of men, who, as they are ſtronglieſt moved with ſenſible effects, ſo are moſt taken with thoſe miracles that are beneficial to the life of man. Hence the infinite Cures done in every place, God mercifully providing that the Body ſhould partake with the Soul in the advantages of the Goſpel, the cure of the one uſhering in many times the converſion of the other. This gift was very common in thoſe early days, beſtowed not upon the Apoſtles only, but the ordinary Governours of the Church, who were wont *to lay their hands upon the ſick*, and ſometimes *to anoint them with Oil* (a ſymbolick rite in uſe among the *Jews*, to denote the grace of God) and *to pray over*, and for *them in the name of the Lord Jeſus*, whereby, upon a hearty confeſſion and forſaking of their ſins, both health and pardon were at once beſtowed upon them. How long this gift, with its appendant ceremony of Unction laſted in the Church, is not eaſie to determine; that it was in uſe in * *Tertullian*'s time, we learn from the inſtance he gives us of *Proculus* a Chriſtian, who cured the Emperor *Severus*, by anointing him with Oil; for which the Emperor had him in great honour, and kept him with him at Court all his life; it afterwards vaniſhing by degrees, as all other miraculous powers, as Chriſtianity gain'd firm footing in the World. As for *Extreme Unction*, ſo generally maintained and practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, nay, and by them made a *Sacrament*, I doubt it will receive very little countenance from this Primitive uſage. Indeed could they as eaſily reſtore ſick men to health, as they can anoint them with Oil, I think no body would contradict them; but till they can pre-

1 Cor. 14.

Verſ. 19.

Verſe 27, 28

Jam. 5. 14, 15, 16.

* *Ad Scap.* c. 4. p. 71.

tend to the one, I think it unreasonable they should use the other. The best is, though founding it upon this Apostolical practice, they have turn'd it to a quite contrary purpose, instead of recovering men to life and health, to dispose and fit them for dying, when all hopes of life are taken from them.

XIII. Sixthly, The Apostles were invested with a power of immediately inflicting *corporal punishments* upon great and notorious sinners; and this pro-
or. 12. 10. bably is that which he means by his ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, *operations of powers*, or *working miracles*, which surely cannot be meant of miracles in general, being reckoned up amongst the particular gifts of the Holy Ghost, nor is there any other to which it can with equal probability refer. A power to inflict diseases upon the body, as when S. *Paul* struck *Elymas* the *Sorcerer* with blindness, and sometimes extending to the loss of life it self, as in the sad instance of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. This was the *Virga Apostolica, the Rod*
or. 4. 21. (mentioned by S. *Paul*) which the Apostles held and shak'd over scandalous and insolent offenders, and sometimes laid upon them: *What will ye? shall I come to you with a rod? or in love, and the spirit of meekness?* Where, observe (says* *Chrysostom*) how the Apostle tempers his discourse; the love and meekness, and his desire to *know*, argued care and kindness; but the *rod* spake dread and terror: a Rod of severity and punishment, and which sometimes mortally chastised the offender. Elsewhere he frequently gives intimations of this power, when he has to deal with stubborn and incorrigible persons; *Having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience,*
or. 10. 6, 8. *when your obedience is fulfilled; for though I should boast something more of our authority (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction) I should not be ashamed; that I may not seem as if I would terrifie you by letters.* And he again puts them in mind of it at the close of his Epistle, *I told*
p. 13. 2. *you before, and foretell you as if I were present the second time, and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all others, that if I come again I will not spare.* But he hop'd these smart warnings would supersede all further severity against them; *Therefore I write these things being absent, lest*
. 10. *being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction.* Of this nature was the *deliver-*
or. 5. 5. vid. *ing over persons unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh*, the chastising the bo-
sost. & on. in loc. dy by some present pain, or sickness, *that the spirit might be saved* by being brought to a seasonable repentance. Thus he dealt with *Hymeneus* and *Alex-*
m. 1. 20. *ander*, who had *made shipwrack of Faith and a good Conscience, he delivered them unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme.* Nothing being more usual in those times than for persons excommunicate, and cut off from the body of the Church, to be presently arrested by Satan, as the common Serjeant and Executioner, and by him either actually possessed, or tormented in their bodies by some diseases which he brought upon them. And indeed this severe discipline was no more than necessary in those times, when Christianity was wholly destitute of any civil or coercive power, to beget and keep up a due reverence and regard to the sentence and determinations of the Church, and to secure the Laws of Religion, and the holy censures from being sleighted by every bold and contumacious offender. And this effect we find it had after the dreadful instance of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, *Great fear came*
5. 11. *upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things.* To what has been said concerning these Apostolical gifts, let me further observe, That they had not only these gifts residing in themselves, but a power to bestow them upon others,

Πολὺ καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν ἔχει ὁ λόγος τοῦτος. ...ὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι γνώσομαι, ἔτι ὑπεσταλμένου ...τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ...ς; ἐπὶ τῆς διδασκαλικὸν λοιπὸν ἀναβαίνοντος ...ον, κἀκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς διαλεγομένου, καὶ τῆς ...σίαν ἀναλαβόντος πᾶσαν. Τί ἐστιν, ἐν ῥάβ... ἐν κολάσει, ἐν τιμωρίᾳ, τουτέστιν, ἀνελῶ, ...σω; ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς Σαφείρας ὁ Πέτρος ἐποίη... ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ἐλύμα τοῦ μάγου. Chry... *Homil.* 14. *in* 1. *ad Corinth. p.* 444. *vid.* ...on. *in loc. Tom.* 9. *p.* 305.

others, so that by imposition of hands, or upon hearing and embracing the Apostle's doctrine, and being baptized into the Christian Faith, they could confer these miraculous powers upon persons thus qualified to receive them, whereby they were in a moment enabled to speak divers Languages, to Prophesie, to Interpret, and do other miracles to the admiration and astonishment of all that heard and saw them. A priviledge peculiar to the Apostles; for we do not find that any inferiour Order of gifted persons were intrusted with it. And therefore as * *Chrysostom* well observes, though *Philip the Deacon* wrought great miracles at *Samaria*, to the conversion of many, yea to the conviction of *Simon Magus* himself, *yet the Holy Ghost fell upon none of them, only they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus*: till *Peter* and *John* came down to them, who having *prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost, they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost.* Which when the Magician beheld, he offered the Apostles money to enable him, that on whom soever he laid his hands, he might derive these miraculous powers upon them.

* Διατί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι λαβόντες πνεῦμα ἁ βαπτισθέντες; ἤτοι τῷ μὴ ἔχειν [Φίλιππ χάρισμα τοιοῦτον· τῶν γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἦν. διὰ καὶ βα ζων πνεῦμα τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις οὐκ ἐδίδου· γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων δώδεκα ἦν. δύναμιν μὲν ἔλαβον [οἱ Διακο πιεῖν σημεῖα· οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα διδόναι ἑτέ ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον. ὅθε τοὺς κορυφαίους, οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς, ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ποιοῦντας. Chrysost. *Homil.* 18. *in Act. App* p. 58

XIV. Having seen how fitly furnished the Apostles were for the execution of their Office, let us in the last place enquire into its duration and continuance. And here it must be considered, that in the Apostolical Office there was something extraordinary, and something ordinary. What was extraordinary was their immediate Commission derived from the mouth of Christ himself, their unlimited charge to preach the Gospel up and down the World, without being tied to any particular places; the supernatural and miraculous powers conferr'd upon them as Apostles; their infallible guidance in delivering the doctrines of the Gospel; and these all expired and determined with their persons. The standing and perpetual part of it was to teach and instruct the People in the duties and principles of Religion, to administer the Sacraments, to constitute Guides and Officers, and to exercise the discipline and government of the Church: and in these they are succeeded by the ordinary Rulers and Ecclesiastick Guides, who were to superintend and discharge the affairs and offices of the Church, to the end of the World. Whence it is that Bishops and Governours came to be styled Apostles, as being their successors in ordinary; for so they frequently are in the writings of the Church. Thus *Timothy*, who was *Bishop* of *Ephesus*, is called an (a) *Apostle*; *Clemens* of *Rome*, *Clemens the* (b) *Apostle*; S. *Mark Bishop* of *Alexandria*, by (c) *Eusebius* styled both an *Apostle* and *Evangelist*; *Ignatius*, a *Bishop* and (d) *Apostle*. A title that continued in after Ages, especially given to those that were the first planters or restorers of Christianity in any Country. In the *Coptick Kalendar*, published by (e) Mr. *Selden*, the VIIth. *day of the month Baschnes*, answering to our Second of *May*, is dedicated to the memory of S. *Athanasius the Apostle*. *Acacius* and *Paulus* in their (f) Letter to *Epiphanius*, style him νέον ἀπόστολον καὶ κήρυκα, *a new Apostle and Preacher*: and (g) *Sidonius Apollinaris* writing to *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* in *France*, speaks of *the honour due to his eminent Apostleship*. An observation which it were easie enough to confirm by abundant instances, were it either doubtful in it self, or necessary to my purpose, but being neither, I forbear.

(a) *Philosto H. Eccl. l.* 3. *c* p. 24.
(b) *Clem. A Strom. lib.* 4 p. 516.
(c) *H. Eccl. l* 2. *c.* 24. *p.* 66
(d) *Chrysost. Encom. S. Ig nat. p.* 499. *T.*
(e) *De Syne lib.* 3. *c.* 15. *p.* 398.
(f) *Præfix. Oper. de Hær p.* 1.
(g) *Lib.* 6. *E* 4. *p.* 147. *vid Ep.* 7. *p.* 150.

Joan. Euchait. Metropolitæ ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰς Ἀποστόλους. p. 70.

Σταυρῷ Πέτρον κύμβαχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρων.
Ῥώμη ξίφει Παῦλον βλέπει.
Εἰρηνικῷ τέθνηκε Λυκᾶς ἐν τέλει.
Ζωῆς ὕπνον πρύτανιν ὑπνοῖ Ματθαῖος.
Μάρκον θανατοῖ δῆμος Ἀλεξανδρέων.
Καὶ μὴ θανῶν ζῇ, οὐ θανὼν Ἰωάννης.
Σταυρῶσί τε τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὁμῶς Ἀνδρέαν.
Νεκρῶσι λόγχαις Θωμᾶν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ.
Βαρθολομαῖος σαγήνῃ θήσκει πάθει.
Καὶ Σίμωνα σαγὴς ἐξάγει βίου.
Μάχαιρα τέμνει τὸν Ἰακώβου δόμους.
Ἴσον Πέτρῳ δίδωσι Φίλιππος μέθον.

THE LIFE OF S. PETER.

St PETER.

He was crucified at Rome with his head downwards, and Buried in the Vatican there. *S. Hierom. after he had planted a Christian Church first at Antioch and afterwards at Rome.*

S. Peter's Martyrdom.

Joh. 21. 18. 19 *Verily verily I say unto thee when thou wast young thou girdedst thy self & walkedst whither thou wouldst but when thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy hands & another shall gird thee & carry thee whither thou wouldst not. This spake he signifying by what death he should glorifie God*

SECT. I.

Of S. *Peter*, from his Birth, till his First coming to *Christ*.

Bethsaida *S. Peter's Birth-place: Its dignity of old, and fate at this day. The time of his Birth enquired into. Some Errors noted concerning it. His names;* Cephas, *the imposing of it notes no Superiority over the rest of the Apostles. The custom of* Popes *assuming a new Name at their Election to the Papacy, whence. His kindred and relations; whether He or* Andrew *the elder Brother. His Trade and way of life what, before his coming to Christ. The Sea*

of

of Galilee, *and the conveniency of it. The meanness and obscurity of his Trade. The remarkable appearances of the Divine Providence in propagating Christianity in the World by mean and unlikely Instruments.*

THE Land of *Palestine* was, at and before the coming of our Blessed Saviour, distinguished into three several Provinces, *Judæa, Samaria,* and *Galilee*. This last was divided into the *Upper,* and the *Lower*. In the Upper, called also *Galilee of the Gentiles,* within the division anciently belonging to the Tribe of *Nephthali,* stood *Bethsaida,* formerly an obscure and inconsiderable Village, till lately reedified and enlarged by * *Philip* the Tetrarch, by him advanced to the place and title of a City, replenished with inhabitants, and fortified with power and strength; and in honour of *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus Cæsar,* by him stiled *Julias*. Situate it was upon the banks of the Sea of *Galilee,* and had a Wilderness on the other side, thence called the *Desart of Bethsaida,* whither our Saviour used often to retire, the privacies and solitudes of the place advantageously ministring to Divine contemplations. But *Bethsaida* was not so remarkable for this adjoyning Wilderness, as it self was memorable for a worse sort of Barrenness, Ingratitude and Unprofitableness under the influences of *Christ*'s Sermons and Miracles, thence severely upbraided by him, and threatned with one of his deepest woes, *Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida,* &c. A woe that it seems stuck close to it, for whatever it was at this time, * one who surveyed it in the last Age tells us, that it was shrunk again into a very mean and small Village, consisting only of a few cottages of *Moores* and wild *Arabs*; and later travellers have since assured us, that even these are dwindled away into one poor cottage at this day. So fatally does sin undermine the greatest, the goodliest places; so certainly does God's Word take place, and not one *Iota* either of his promises or threatnings fall to the ground. Next to the honour that was done it by our Saviour's presence, who living most in these parts frequently resorted hither, it had nothing greater to recommend it to the notice of posterity, than that (besides some other of the Apostles) it was the Birth-place of S. *Peter*; a person how inconsiderable soever in his private fortunes, yet of great note and eminency, as one of the prime Embassadors of the Son of God, to whom both Sacred and Ecclesiastical stories give, though not a superiority, a precedency in the Colledge of Apostles.

Joseph. Ant. Judaic. ... cap. 3. ... 8.

...h. 11. 21. Cotovic. ...r. Hierosol. ... c. 8. p. 358

2. THE particular time of his Birth cannot be recovered, no probable footsteps or intimations being left of it: in the general we may conclude him at least Ten years elder than his Master; his married condition, and setled course of life at his first coming to *Christ,* and that authority and respect which the gravity of his person procured him amongst the rest of the Apostles, can speak him no less: but for any thing more particular and positive in this matter, I see no reason to affirm. Indeed might we trust the account, which one (who pretends to calculate his Nativity with ostentation enough) has given of it, we are told that he was born three years before the *Blessed Virgin,* and just XVII. before the Incarnation of our Saviour. But let us view his account.

...gel. de S. ...o cap. 1.

Nat. est An.	*ab Orbe cond.*	4034	*Ann.*	*Oct. August.*	8	*Ann.*	*Herodis Reg.*	20
	à Diluvio	2378		*à 1° ejus consul.*	24		*ante B. Virg.*	3
	V. C.	734		*à pugna Actiac.*	12		*ante Chr. nat.*	17

When

When I met with such a pompous train of *Epocha*'s, the least I expected was truth and certainty. This computation he grounds upon the date of S. *Peter*'s death, placed (as * elsewhere he tells us) by *Bellarmine* in the LXXXVI. year of his Age; so that recounting from the year of *Christ* LXIX. when *Peter* is commonly said to have suffered, he runs up his Age to his Birth, and spreads it out into so many several dates. But alas, all is built upon a sandy bottom. For besides his mistake about the year of the World, few of his dates hold due correspondence. But the worst of it is, that after all this, * *Bellarmine* (upon whose single testimony all this fine fabrick is erected) says no such thing, but only supposes, merely for arguments-sake, that S. *Peter* might very well be LXXXVI. ('tis erroneously printed LXXVI.) years old at the time of his Martyrdom. So far will confidence, or ignorance, or both carry men aside, if it could be a mistake, and not rather a bold imposing upon the World. But of this enough, and perhaps more than it deserves.

* *Ib. c. 49.*

* *Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. c. 9. col. 624.*

3. BEING circumcised according to the Rites of the *Mosaick* Law, the name given him at his circumcision was *Symon* or *Symeon*, a name common amongst the *Jews*, especially in their latter times. This was afterwards by our Saviour not abolished, but additioned with the title of *Cephas*, which in *Syriack* (the vulgar Language of the *Jews* at that time) signifying a *stone* or *rock*, was thence derived into the *Greek*, Πέτρος, and by us, *Peter*: so far was * *Hesychius* out, when rendring Πέτρος by ὁ Ἐπιλύων, an *Expounder* or *Interpreter*, probably deriving it from פָּתַר, which signifies to *explain* and *interpret*. By this new imposition our Lord seemed to denote the firmness and constancy of his Faith, and his vigorous activity in building up the Church, as a *spiritual house* upon the *the true rock, the living and corner-stone, chosen of God and precious*, as S. *Peter* himself expresses it. Nor can our Saviour be understood to have hereby conferred upon him any peculiar Supremacy or Sovereignty above, much less over the rest of the Apostles; for in respect of the great trusts committed to them, and their being sent to plant *Christianity* in the World, they are all equally stiled *Foundations*: nor is it accountable either to Scripture, or reason to suppose, that by this Name our Lord should design the person of *Peter* to be that very *rock*, upon which his Church was to be built. In a fond imitation * of this new name given to S. *Peter*, those who pretend to be his Successors in the See of *Rome*, usually lay by their own, and assume a new name upon their advancement to the *Apostolick* Chair, it being one of the first questions ‖ which the *Cardinals* put to the new-elected Pope, *by what name he will please to be called*. This custom first began about the Year 844, when *Peter di Bocca-Porco* (or *swines-mouth*) being chosen Pope, changed his name into *Sergius* the Second: probably not so much to avoid the uncomeliness of his own name, as if unbefitting the dignity of his place (for this being but his Paternal name would after have been no part of his *Pontifical* stile and title) as out of a mighty reverence to S. *Peter*, accounting himself not worthy to bear his name, though it was his own baptismal name. Certain it is that none of the Bishops of that See ever assumed S. *Peter*'s name, and some who have had it as their *Christian* name before, have laid it aside upon their election to the Papacy. But to return to our Apostle.

* Πέτρος, ὁ Ἐπιλύων, ἐπιστρόσκων· οὗτος Σίμων, καὶ Κεφᾶς, καὶ Σύμων ἐλέγετο. Hesych. *in voc.* Πέτρος. 1 Pet. 2. 4, 5.

Rev. 21. 14.

* *Pap. Massa de Episc. Urb. in Serg. 4. fol. 172. p. 2. ex Annal. Vict.*

‖ *Sac. Cerem. Eccles. Rom. Sect. 1. fol. 18.*

4. HIS Father was *Jonah*, probably a Fisherman of *Bethsaida*, for the Sacred story takes no further notice of him, than by the bare mention of his Name; and I believe there had been no great danger of mistake, though * *Metaphrastes* had not told us, that it was not *Jonas* the Prophet, who came out of the Belly of the Whale. Brother he was to S. *Andrew* the Apostle, and

* *Com. de Pet. & Paul. apud Sur. ad diem 29. Jun.*

Hares. 51. 92. *Serm. de S. Andr. quem citat Metaphast. ap. Sur. in potius, Lipman. Tom. 6. ad. Baron. not. Martyrol. Novemb.* xxx. 37. *Hierom. lib. adv. Jovin.* 35. *Tom.* 2. *Cassian. de carn. Dom.* 3. *c.* 12. 996. *Bed. Comment. in cap.* 1. *Joan. Tom.* 5.

and some question there is amongst the Ancients which was the elder Brother. ‖ *Epiphanius* (probably from some Tradition current in his time) clearly adjudges it to S. *Andrew*, herein universally followed by those of the Chuch of *Rome*, that the precedency given to S. *Peter* may not seem to be put upon the account of his Seniority. But to him we may oppose the authority of * S. *Chrysostom*, a Person equal both in time and credit, who expresly says, that though *Andrew* came later into life than *Peter*, yet he first brought him to the knowledge of the Gospel: which *Baronius* against all pretence of reason would understand of his entring into eternal life. Besides (*a*) S. *Hierom*, (*b*) *Cassian*, (*c*) *Bede*, and others, are for S. *Peter* being elder Brother, expresly ascribing it to his Age, that he rather than any other, was President of the Colledge of Apostles. However it was, it sounds not a little to the honour of their Father, (as of *Zebedee* also in the like case) that of but twelve Apostles two of his Sons were taken into the number. In his Youth he was brought up to Fishing, which we may guess to have been the staple-trade of *Bethsaida*, (which hence probably borrowed its name, signifying an *house* or *habitation of Fishing*, though others render it by *Hunting*, the word צָרָה equally bearing either) much advantaged herein by the Neighbourhood of the *Lake of Gennesareth* (on whose banks it stood) called also the *Sea of Galilee*, and the *Sea of Tiberias*, according to the mode of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein all greater confluences of Waters are called *Seas*.

Midr. Tillin. 41. *ap. Lightf. Cent. Chorograph. Matth. c.* 70. 31. *Joseph de Bell. Jud. l.* 3. *p.* λέ. *p.* 860.

Of this Lake the *Jews* have a * saying, that *of all the seven Seas which God created, he made choice of none but the Sea of Gennesareth*: which however intended by them, is true only in this respect, that our blessed Saviour made choice of it, to honour it with the frequency of his presence, and the power of his miraculous operations. In length it was an hundred furlongs, ‖ and about XL. over; the Water of it pure and clear, sweet and most fit to drink; stored it was with several sorts of Fish, and those different both in kind and taste from those in other places. Here it was that *Peter* closely followed the exercise of his calling; from whence it seems he afterwards removed to *Capernaum*, (probably upon his marriage, at least frequently resided there) for there we meet with his *House*, and there we find him paying *Tribute*: an House, over which * *Nicephorus* tells us, that *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine* erected a beautiful Church to the honour of S. *Peter*. This place was equally advantageous for the managery of his Trade, standing upon the *Influx* of *Jordan* into the Sea of *Galilee*, and where he might as well reap the fruits of an honest and industrious diligence. A mean, I confess, it was, and a more servile course of life, as which, besides the great pains and labour it required, exposed him to all the injuries of wind and weather, to the storms of the Sea, the darkness and tempestuousness of the Night, and all to make a very small return. An employment, whose restless troubles, constant hardships, frequent dangers, and amazing horrors are (for the satisfaction of the learned Reader) thus elegantly described by one, whose *Poems* may be justly stiled *Golden Verses*, receiving from the Emperor *Antoninus* a piece of Gold for every Verse.

Matth. 8. 14. — 17. 24. *H. Eccl. lib. c.* 30. *p.* 596.

Lippian. Ἁλιευτ. Βιβλ. α. *on longe ab init.*

Τλησιπόνοις δ' ἁλιεῦσιν ἀτέμερτοι μὲν ἄεθλοι,
Ἐπὶς δ' οὐ ϛαθερὴ σαίνει φρένας ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος.
Οὐ γὰρ ἀκινήτου γαίης ὕπερ αθλεύουσιν:
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κρυερῷ τε καὶ ἄσχετα μαργαίνοντι
Ὕδατι συμφορέονται, ὃ καὶ γαίηθεν ἰδέσθαι
Δεῖμα φέρει, καὶ μοῦνον ὑπ' ὄμμασι πειρήσασθαι.
Δούρασι δ' ἐν βαιοῖσιν ἀελλάων θεράποντες

Γλαζόμενοι,

Πλαζόμενοι καὶ θυμὸν ἐν οἴδμασιν αἰὲν ἔχοντες,
Αἱ μὲν νεφέλην ἰοειδέα παπταίνουσιν·
Αἱ δὲ τρομέουσι μελαινόμενον πόρον ἅλμης·
Οὐδ' ἔτι φοιταλέων ἀνέμων σκέπας, οὐδ' ἔτιν' ὄμβρων
Ἀλκὴν, οὐ πυρὸς ἄλκαρ ὀπωρινοῖο φέρονται.

But meanness is no bar in God's way, the poor, if virtuous, are as dear to Heaven, as the wealthy and the honourable, equally alike to him, with whom *there is no respect of persons*. Nay our Lord seemed to cast a peculiar honour upon this profession, when afterwards calling him and some others of the same Trade from *catching* of *Fish*, to be (as he told them) *Fishers of men*.

5. AND here we may justly reflect upon the wise and admirable methods of the Divine Providence, which in planting and propagating the *Christian* Religion in the World, made choice of such mean and unlikely instruments, that he should hide these things from the wise and prudent, and reveal them unto babes, men that had not been educated in the *Academy*, and the Schools of Learning, but brought up to a Trade, to *catch Fish*, and *mend Nets*; most of the Apostles being taken from the meanest Trades, and all of them (S. *Paul* excepted) unfurnished of all arts of learning, and the advantages of liberal and ingenuous education: and yet these were the men that were designed to run down the World, and to overturn the learning of the prudent. Certainly had humane wisdom been to manage the business, it would have taken quite other measures, and chosen out the profoundest *Rabbins*, the acutest *Philosophers*, the smoothest Orators, such as would have been most likely by strength of Reason and arts of Rhetorick to have triumph'd over the minds of men, to grapple with the stubbornness of the *Jews*, and baffle the finer notions and speculations of the *Greeks*. We find that those *Sects* of Philosophy that gain'd most credit in the Heathen-world, did it this way, by their eminency in some Arts and Sciences, whereby they recommended themselves to the acceptance of the wiser and more ingenious part of mankind. * *Julian* the *Apostate* thinks it a reasonable exception against the *Jewish* Prophets, that they were incompetent messengers and interpreters of the Divine will, because they had not their minds cleared and purged, by passing through the *Circle* of polite arts and learning. Why, now this is the wonder of it, that the first Preachers of the Gospel should be such rude unlearned men, and yet so suddenly, so powerfully prevail over the learned World, and conquer so many, who had the greatest parts and abilities, and the strongest prejudices against it, to the simplicity of the Gospel. When *Celsus* objected that the Apostles were but a company of mean and illiterate persons, sorry Mariners and Fishermen, * *Origen* quickly returns upon him with this answer, " That hence 'twas plainly evident, that they taught Christianity " by a Divine power, when such persons were able with such an uncon- " trouled success to subdue men to the obedience of the Word; for that they " had no eloquent tongues, no subtil and discursive heads, none of the re- " fin'd and rhetorical Arts of *Greece* to conquer the minds of men. For my " part (*says he* ‖ in another place) I verily believe that the Holy *Jesus* pur- " posely made use of such Preachers of his Doctrine, that there might be no " suspicion, that they came instructed with Arts of Sophistry, but that it " might be clearly manifest to all the World, that there was no crafty de- " sign in it, and that they had a Divine power going along with them, " which

* Οὐδὲν δὲ, οἶμαι, κωλύει τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἐπι[...] ζαν, οὐ μὴ σπουδαίων προφητῶν οὐδὲ ἐξηγητ[...] τυχεῖν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς, οὐ πα[...] χον ἀποκαθᾶραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασ[...] *Fragm. Epist. pag. 541. Tom. 1.*

* *Contr. Cels. lib. 1. p. 47. 4*

‖ *Lib. 3. p. 13*

" which was more efficacious, than the greateſt volubility of expreſſion, or " ornaments of ſpeech, or the artifices which were uſed in the *Græcian* com- " poſitions. Had it not been for this Divine power that upheld it (as he
lib. 1. p. 6. * elſewhere argues) the *Chriſtian* Religion muſt needs have ſunk under thoſe weighty preſſures that lay upon it, having not only to contend with the potent oppoſition of the *Senate*, *Emperors*, *People*, and the whole power of the *Roman* Empire, but to conflict with thoſe home-bred wants and neceſſities, wherewith its own profeſſors were oppreſſed and burdened.

6. IT could not but greatly vindicate the Apoſtles from all ſuſpicion of forgery and impoſture in the thoughts of ſober and unbyaſſed perſons, to ſee their Doctrine readily entertained by men of the moſt diſcerning and inquiſitive minds. Had they dealt only with the rude and the ſimple, the idiot and the unlearned, there might have been ſome pretence to ſuſpect, that they lay in wait to deceive, and deſigned to impoſe upon the World by crafty and inſinuative arts and methods. But alas they had other perſons to deal with, men of the acuteſt wits, and moſt profound abilities, the wiſeſt Philoſophers, and moſt ſubtil diſputants, able to weigh an argument with the greateſt accuracy, and to decline the force of the ſtrongeſt reaſonings, and who had their parts edg'd with the keeneſt prejudices of education, and a mighty veneration for the Religion of their Country, a Religion that for ſo many Ages had governed the World, and taken firm poſſeſſion of the minds of men. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages theſe plain men conquered the wiſe and the learned, and brought them over to that Doctrine that was deſpiſed and ſcorned, oppoſed and perſecuted, and that had nothing but its own native excellency to recommend it. A clear evidence that there was ſomething in it beyond the craft and power of men. *Is not this* (ſays an
Arnob. adv. nt. lib. 2. n. elegant * *Apologiſt*, making his addreſs to the *Heathens*) *enough to make you believe and entertain it, to conſider that in ſo ſhort a time it has diffuſed it ſelf over the whole World, civilized the moſt barbarous Nations, ſoftned the rougheſt and moſt intractable tempers, that the greateſt Wits and Scholars, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Philoſophers have quitted their formerly dear and beloved ſentiments, and heartily embraced the Precepts and Doctrines of the Goſpel?* Upon this account ‖ *Theodoret* does with no leſs
De Curand. ec. Affect. rm. 9. de Leg. 23. truth than elegancy inſult and triumph over the Heathens: He tells them that whoever would be at the pains to compare the beſt Law-makers either amongſt the *Greeks* or *Romans*, with our *Fiſhermen* and *Publicans*, would ſoon perceive what a Divine vertue and efficacy there was in them above all others, whereby they did not only conquer their neighbours, not only the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but brought over the moſt *barbarous* Nations to a com-
id. p. 125. pliance with the Laws of the Goſpel, and that not by force of Arms, not by numerous bands of Souldiers, not by methods of torture and cruelty, but by meek perſwaſives, and a convincing the World of the excellency and uſefulneſs of thoſe Laws which they propounded to them. A thing which the wiſeſt and beſt men of the Heathen-world could never do, to make their
id. p. 128. *dogmata* and inſtitutions univerſally obtain; nay, that *Plato* himſelf could never by all his plauſible and inſinuative arts make his Laws to be entertain-
id. p. 126. ed by his own dear *Athenians*. He farther ſhews them, that the Laws publiſhed by our *Fiſhermen* and *Tent-makers* could never be aboliſhed (like thoſe made by the beſt amongſt them) by the policies of *Caius*, the power of *Claudius*, the cruelties of *Nero*, or any of the ſucceeding Emperors, but ſtill
id. p. 135. they went on *conquering and to conquer*, and made Millions both of Men and Women willing to embrace flames, and to encounter Death in its moſt horrid ſhapes, rather than diſown and forſake them: whereof he calls to witneſs

thoſe

thoſe many Churches and Monuments every where erected to the memory of *Chriſtian* Martyrs, no leſs to the honour than advantage of thoſe Cities and Countries, and in ſome ſence to all Mankind.

7. THE ſumm of the Diſcourſe is, in the Apoſtles words, that *God choſe the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe, the weak to confound thoſe that are mighty, the baſe things of the world, things moſt vilified and deſpiſed, yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.* 1 Cor. 1. 27. Theſe were the things, theſe the Perſons whom God ſent upon this errand, to ſilence the *Wiſe, the Scribe, and the Diſputer of this World, and to make fooliſh the wiſdom of this World.* Verſ. 22, 23, 24, 25. For though *the Jews required a ſign, and the Greeks ſought after wiſdom, though the preaching a crucified Saviour was a ſcandal to the Jews, and fooliſhneſs to the* learned *Græcians,* yet *by this fooliſhneſs of preaching God was pleaſed to ſave them that believed:* and in the event made it appear that *the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men, and the weakneſs of God ſtronger than men.* That ſo the honour of all might intirely redound to himſelf; ſo the Apoſtle concludes, *that no Fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence, but that he that glorieth, ſhould glory in the Lord.*

Iſti primi v cati ſunt, u Dominum ſ querentur: piſcatores &

illiterati mittuntur ad prædicandum, ne fides credentium non virtute Dei, ſed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur. Hier. *comm. in Matth. c. 4. Tom. 9. p. 17.*

SECT. II.

Of S. *Peter,* from his firſt coming to *Chriſt,* till his being call'd to be a Diſciple.

Peter, *before his coming to* Chriſt, *a Diſciple (probably) of* John *the* Baptiſt. *His firſt approaches to Chriſt. Our Lord's communication with him. His return to his Trade.* Chriſt's *entring into* Peter's *Ship, and preaching to the people at the Sea of* Galilee. *The miraculous draught of Fiſhes.* Peter's *great aſtoniſhment at this evidence of our Lord's Divinity. His call to be a Diſciple.* Chriſt's *return to* Capernaum, *and healing* Peter's *Mother-in-Law.*

THOUGH we find not whether *Peter* before his coming to *Chriſt* was engag'd in any of the particular *Sects* at this time in the *Jewiſh* Church, yet is it greatly probable, that he was one of the Diſciples of *John* the *Baptiſt.* For firſt, 'tis certain that his brother *Andrew* was ſo, and we can hardly think, theſe two brothers ſhould draw contrary ways, or that he who was ſo ready to bring his brother the early tidings of the *Meſſiah,* that the *Sun of righteouſneſs* was already riſen in thoſe parts, ſhould not be as ſolicitous to bring him under the diſcipline and influences of *John* the *Baptiſt,* the *Day-ſtar* that went before him. Secondly, *Peter*'s forwardneſs and curioſity at the firſt news of *Chriſt*'s appearing, to come to him, and converſe with him, ſhew that his expectations had been awakened, and ſome light in this matter conveyed to him by the preaching and miniſtry of *John,* who was *the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths ſtraight,* ſhewing them who it was that was coming after him.

2. HIS first acquaintance with *Christ* commenced in this manner. The Blessed *Jesus* having for thirty years passed through the solitudes of a private life, had lately been baptized in *Jordan*, and there publickly owned to be the *Son of God* by the most solemn attestations that Heaven could give him; whereupon he was immediately hurried into the wilderness to a personal contest with the Devil for forty days together. So natural is it to the enemy of mankind to malign our happiness, and to seek to blast our joys, when we are under the highest instances of the Divine grace and favour. His enemy being conquered in three set battels, and fled, he returned hence, and came down to *Bethabara beyond Jordan*, where *John* was baptizing his *Proselytes*, and endeavouring to satisfie the *Jews*, who had sent to him curiously to enquire concerning this new *Messiah* that appeared among them. Upon the great testimony which the *Baptist* gave him, and his pointing to our Lord
n 1.37. then passing by him; two of *John*'s disciples who were then with him presently followed after *Christ*, one of which was *Andrew*, *Simon*'s brother. It was towards Evening when they came, and therefore probably they stayed with him all night, during which *Andrew* had opportunity to inform himself, and to satisfie his most scrupulous enquiries. Early the next morning (if not that very evening) he hastned to acquaint his brother *Simon* with these glad tidings. 'Tis not enough to be good and happy alone; Religion is a communicative principle, that like the circles in the water, delights to multiply it self, and to diffuse its influences round about it, and especially upon those, whom nature has placed nearest to us. He tells him, they had found the long-look'd for *Messiah*, him whom *Moses* and the Prophets had so signally foretold, and whom all the devout and pious of that Nation had so long expected.

δρέξας τοῖ τοῦ ζητουμέ... ἐπιτυχὼν, ...πρὸς αὐτῷ ...ας, καὶ μα... ἅπερ ἐμα... τὸ θησαυ... ... κατέχε... ἑαυτῷ, ...περιέμενεν ...ὴ καὶ τοῦ ...λφῷ κοινώσηται. ἀλλ' ἐπείγεται. καὶ τρέχει ταχέως, μεταδώσων αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν πεπλούτηκε. * Comment. de S. Andr. in ...nxis Græcor. ἡμέρ. λ'. Νοεμβρ. sub lit. π'.

3. *SIMON* (one of those who *look'd for the Kingdom of God*, and *waited for redemption in Israel*) ravished with this joyful news, and impatient of delay, presently follows his brother to the place: whither he was no sooner
hn 1.42. come, but our Lord to give him an evidence of his Divinity, salutes him at first sight by name, tells him what, and who he was, both as to his name and kindred, what title should be given him, that he should be call'd *Cephas*, or *Peter*; a name which he afterwards actually conferr'd upon him. What passed further between them, and whether these two brothers henceforward personally attended our Saviour's motions in the number of his Disciples, the Sacred Story leaves us in the dark. It seems probable, that they stay'd with him for some time, till they were instructed in the first rudiments of his doctrine, and by his leave departed home. For it's reasonable to suppose, that our Lord being unwilling, at this time especially, to awaken the jealousies of the State by a numerous retinue, might dismiss his Disciples for some time, and *Peter* and *Andrew* amongst the rest, who hereupon returned home to the exercise of their calling, where he found them afterwards.

4. IT was now somewhat more than a year, since our Lord having entred upon the publick stage of action, constantly *went about doing good, heal-*
atth. 4.23. *ing the sick*, and *preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom*, residing usually at *Capernaum*, and the parts about it, where by the constancy of his preaching, and the reputation of his miracles, his fame spread about all those Countries; by means whereof multitudes of people from all parts flock'd to him, greedily desirous to become his Auditors. And what wonder if the parch'd

and

and barren Earth thirſted for the ſhowers of Heaven?. It hapned that our Lord retiring out of the City, to enjoy the privacies of contemplation upon the banks of the Sea of *Galilee*, it was not long before the multitude found him out; to avoid the crowd and preſs whereof he ſtep'd into a *Ship* or *Fiſher-Boat*, that lay near to the ſhore, which belonged to *Peter*, who together with his companions after a tedious and unſucceſsful night, were gone a-ſhore to waſh and dry their Nets. He who might have commanded, was yet pleaſed to intreat *Peter* (who by this time was returned into his Ship) to put a little from the ſhore. Here being ſate, he taught the people, who ſtood along upon the ſhore to hear him. Sermon ended, he reſolv'd to ſeal up his doctrine with a miracle, that the people might be the more effectually convinced, that *he was a Teacher come from God.* To this purpoſe, he bad *Simon* launch out further, and caſt his Net into the Sea: *Simon* tells him, they had done already, that they had been fiſhing all the laſt night, but in vain; and if they could not ſucceed then (the moſt proper ſeaſon for that employment) there was leſs hope to ſpeed now, it being probably about Noon. But becauſe where God commands, it is not for any to argue, but obey; at our Lord's inſtance he let down the Net, which immediately incloſed ſo great a multitude of Fiſhes, that the Net began to break, and they were forced to call to their partners, who were in a Ship hard by them, to come in to their aſſiſtance. A draught ſo great, that it loaded both their Boats, and that ſo full, that it endangered their ſinking before they could get ſafe to ſhore: An inſtance, wherein our Saviour gave an ocular demonſtration, that, as *Meſſiah*, God had *put all things under his feet, not only Fowls of the Air, but the Fiſh of the Sea, and whatſoever paſſeth through the paths of the Seas.* Luke 5. 1. Pſal. 8. 6, 7, 8

5. AMAZ'D they were all at this miraculous draught of Fiſhes, whereupon *Simon* in an ecſtaſie of admiration, and a mixture of humility and fear, threw himſelf at the feet of *Chriſt*, and pray'd him to depart from him, as a vile and a ſinful perſon. So evident were the appearances of Divinity in this miracle, that he was over-powred and dazled with its brightneſs and luſtre, and reflecting upon himſelf, could not but think himſelf unworthy the preſence of ſo great a perſon, ſo immediately ſent from God; and conſidering his own ſtate (Conſcience being hereby more ſenſibly awakened) was afraid, that the Divine vengeance might purſue and overtake him. But our Lord to abate the edge of his fears, aſſures him that this miracle was not done to amaze and terrifie him, but to ſtrengthen and confirm his Faith; that now he had nobler work and employment for him; inſtead of *catching Fiſh*, he ſhould, by perſwading men to the obedience of the Goſpel, *catch the Souls of men*: And accordingly commanded him and his brother to follow him: (the ſame command which preſently after he gave to the two Sons of *Zebedee*.) The word was no ſooner ſpoken, and they landed, but diſpoſing their concerns in the hands of friends (as we may preſume prudent and reaſonable men would) they immediately left all, and followed him; and from this time *Peter* and the reſt became his conſtant and inſeparable Diſciples, living under the rules of his Diſcipline and Inſtitutions.

6. FROM hence they returned to *Capernaum*, where our Lord entring into *Simon's* houſe (the place in all likelihood where he was wont to lodge during his reſidence in that City) found his *Mother-in-law* viſited with a violent Fever. No priviledges afford an exemption from the ordinary Laws of humane Nature; *Chriſt* under her roof did not protect this Woman from the aſſaults and invaſions of a Fever. *Lord, behold, he whom thou loveſt is ſick*, as they ſaid concerning *Lazarus*. Here a freſh opportunity offered Matth. 8. 14. Mark 1. 29. Luke 4. 38. John 11. 3.

it ſelf to *Chriſt* of exerting his Divine Power. No ſooner was he told of it, but he came to her bed-ſide, rebuked the *Paroxyſms*, commanded the Fever to be gone, and taking her by the hand to lift her up, in a moment reſtored her to perfect health, and ability to return to the buſineſs of her Family, all cures being equally eaſie to Omnipotence.

SECT. III.

Of S. *Peter*, from his Election to the Apoſtolate, till the Confeſsion which he made of *Chriſt*.

The Election of the Apoſtles; and our Lord's ſolemn preparation for it. The powers and Commiſſion given to them. Why Twelve choſen. Peter *the firſt in order, not power. The Apoſtles when and by whom Baptized. The Tradition of* Euodius *of* Peter's *being immediately Baptized by Chriſt, rejected, and its authorities proved inſufficient. Three of the Apoſtles more intimately converſant with our Saviour.* Peter's *being with Chriſt at the raiſing* Jairus *his Daughter. His walking with Chriſt upon the Sea. The creatures at God's command act contrary to their natural Inclinations. The weakneſs of* Peter's *Faith.* Chriſt's *power in commanding down the ſtorm, an evidence of his Divinity. Many Diſciples deſert our Saviour's preaching.* Peter's *profeſſion of conſtancy in the name of the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

1. OUR Lord being now to elect ſome peculiar perſons, as his immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, to whoſe care and truſt he might commit the building up of his Church, and the planting that Religion in the World, for which he himſelf came down from Heaven; In order to it he privately over-night withdrew himſelf into a ſolitary Mountain (commonly
i 6.12. called *the Mount of Chriſt*, from his frequent repairing thither, though ſome of the Ancients will have it to be Mount *Tabor*) there to make his ſolemn addreſs to Heaven for a proſperous ſucceſs on ſo great a work. Herein leaving an excellent copy and precedent to the Governours of his Church, how to proceed in ſetting apart perſons to ſo weighty and difficult an employment. Upon this Mountain we may conceive there was an *Oratory* or place of prayer (probably intimated by S. *Luke*'s ἡ προσευχὴ, for ſuch *Proſeuchæ*'s or houſes of Prayer, uſually uncovered, and ſtanding in the fields, the *Jews* had in ſeveral places) wherein our Lord continued all night, not in one continued and intire act of devotion, but probably by intervals, and repeated returns of duty.

2. EARLY the next morning his Diſciples came to him, out of whom
h 10.1. k 3.14. l 6.13. he made choice of Twelve to be his *Apoſtles*, that they might be the conſtant attendants upon his perſon, to hear his Diſcourſes, and be Eye-witneſſes of his Miracles; to be always converſant with him while he was upon Earth, and afterwards to be ſent abroad up and down the World to carry on that work which he himſelf had begun: whom therefore he inveſted with the power of working Miracles, which was more completely conferr'd upon them after his Aſcenſion into Heaven. Paſſing by the ſeveral fancies and conjectures of the Ancients, why our Saviour pitch'd upon the

the juſt number of Twelve (whereof before) it may deſerve to be conſidered, whether our Lord being now to appoint the Supreme Officers and Governours of his Church, which the *Apoſtle* ſtyles the *Commonwealth of Iſrael*, Epheſ. 2. 12. might not herein have a more peculiar alluſion to the twelve Patriarchs, as founders of their ſeveral Tribes, or to the conſtant Heads and Rulers of thoſe twelve Tribes of which the body of the *Jewiſh* Nation did conſiſt: Eſpecially ſince he himſelf ſeems elſewhere to give countenance to it, when he tells the Apoſtles that *when the Son of man ſhall ſit on the Throne of his Glory*, that Matth. 19. 28. is, be gone back to Heaven, and have taken full poſſeſſion of his Evangelical Kingdom, which principally commenc'd from his Reſurrection, that then *they alſo ſhould ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Iſrael*, that is, they ſhould have great powers and authorities in the Church, ſuch as the power of the Keys, and other Rights of Spiritual Judicature and Sovereignty, anſwerable in ſome proportion to the power and dignity which the Heads and Rulers of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael* did enjoy.

3. IN the enumeration of theſe twelve Apoſtles, all the Evangeliſts conſtantly place S. *Peter* in the front; and S. *Matthew* expreſly tells us, that Matth. 10. 2. he was the *firſt*, that is, he was the firſt that was called to be an Apoſtle: his Age alſo and the gravity of his perſon more particularly qualifying him for a Primacy of Order amongſt the reſt of the *Apoſtles*, as that without which no ſociety of men can be managed or maintained. Leſs than this, as none will deny him, ſo more than this, neither Scripture nor Primitive antiquity do allow him. And now it was, that our Lord actually conferr'd that name upon him, which before he had promiſed him, *Simon he ſurnamed Peter*. Mark 3. 16. It may here be enquired, when, and by whom the Apoſtles were *baptized*. That they were is unqueſtionable, being themſelves appointed to confer it upon others; but when, or how, the Scripture is altogether ſilent. * *Nicephorus* from no worſe an Author, as he pretends, than *Euodius*, S. *Peter*'s immediate ſucceſſor in the See of *Antioch*, tells us, That of all the Apoſtles *Chriſt* baptized none but *Peter* with his own hands; that *Peter* baptized *Andrew*, and the two ſons of *Zebedee*, and they the reſt of the Apoſtles. This, if ſo, would greatly make for the honour of S. *Peter*. But alas! his authority is not only ſuſpicious, but ſuppoſititious, in a manner deſerted by S. *Peter*'s beſt friends, and the ſtrongeſt champions of his cauſe: *Baronius* himſelf, however ſometimes * willing to make uſe of him, elſewhere ‖ confeſſing that this Epiſtle of *Euodius* is altogether unknown to any of the Ancients. As for the teſtimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which to the ſame purpoſe he quotes out of * *Sophronius*, (though not *Sophronius*, but *Johannes Moſchus*, as is notoriouſly known, be the Author of that Book) beſides, that it is delivered upon an uncertain report, pretended to have been alledged in a diſcourſe between one *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Aſcalon* and his Clergy, out of a Book of *Clemens*, not now extant; his Authors are much alike, that is, of no great value and authority.

* *Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 3. p.*

* *Ad An. num. 40.*
‖ *Ad An. 71. num. 13.*
* *Vid. Fo. Ch. Prat. cap. 176. Bi. P. Grac. L. Tom. 2. p. 1.*

4. AMONGST theſe Apoſtles, our Lord choſe a Triumvirate, *Peter* and the two ſons of *Zebedee* to be his more intimate companions, whom he admitted more familiarly than the reſt, unto all the more ſecret paſſages and tranſactions of his Life. The firſt inſtance of which was on this occaſion. *Jairus*, a Ruler of the Synagogue, had a daughter deſperately ſick, Mark 5. 22. whoſe diſeaſe having baffled all the arts of Phyſick, was only curable by the immediate agency of the God of Nature. He therefore in all humility addreſſes himſelf to our Saviour; which he had no ſooner done, but ſervants came poſt to tell him, that it was in vain to trouble our Lord,

for that his daughter was dead. *Chriſt* bids him not deſpond, his Faith held out, there was no danger. And ſuffering none to follow but *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, goes along with him to the houſe; where he was derided by the ſorrowful friends, and neighbours, for telling them that ſhe was not perfectly dead. But our Lord entering in, with the commanding efficacy of two words, reſtor'd her at once both to life and perfect health.

5. OUR Lord after this preached many Sermons, and wrought many Miracles: amongſt which, none more remarkable, than his feeding a multitude of five thouſand men, beſides women and children, but with five Loaves, and two Fiſhes; of which, nevertheleſs, twelve Baskets of fragments were taken up. Which being done, and the multitude diſmiſſed, he commanded the Apoſtles to take Ship, it being now near night, and to croſs over to *Capernaum*, whileſt he himſelf, as his manner was, retired to a neighbouring mountain, to diſpoſe himſelf to Prayer and Contemplation. The Apoſtles were ſcarce got into the middle of the Sea, when on a ſudden a violent Storm and Tempeſt began to ariſe, whereby they were brought into preſent danger of their lives. Our Saviour, who knew how the caſe ſtood with them, and how much they laboured under infinite pains and fears, having himſelf cauſed this Tempeſt, for the greater trial of their Faith, a little before morning (for ſo long they remained in this imminent danger) immediately conveyed himſelf upon the Sea, where the Waves received him, being proud to carry their Maſter. He who refuſed to gratifie the Devil, when tempting him to throw himſelf down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, did here commit himſelf to a boiſterous and inſtable Element, and that in a violent Storm, walking upon the water, as if it had been dry ground. But that infinite power that made and ſupports the World, as it gave rules to all particular beings, ſo can when it pleaſeth countermand the Laws of their Creation, and make them act contrary to their natural inclinations. If God ſay the word, the Sun will ſtand ſtill in the middle of the Heavens; if Go back, 'twill retrocede, as upon the Dial of *Ahaz*: if he command it, the Heavens will become as *Braſs*, and the Earth as *Iron*, and that for three years and an half together, as in the caſe of *Elijah*'s prayer; if he ſay to the Sea, Divide, 'twill run upon heaps, and become on both ſides as firm as a wall of Marble. Nothing can be more natural, than for the fire to burn, and yet at God's command it will forget its nature, and become a ſcreen and a fence to the three Children in the *Babylonian* Furnace. What heavier than Iron, or more natural than for gravity to tend downwards? and yet when God will have it, Iron ſhall float like Cork on the top of the water. The proud and raging Sea that naturally refuſes to bear the bodies of men while alive, became here as firm as Braſs, when commanded to wait upon, and do homage to the God of Nature. Our Lord walking towards the Ship, as if he had an intention to paſs by it, he was eſpied by them, who preſently thought it to be the Apparition of a Spirit. Hereupon they were ſeiz'd with great terror and conſternation, and their fears in all likelihood heightned by the vulgar opinion, that they are evil Spirits that chuſe rather to appear in the night than by day. While they were in this agony, our Lord taking compaſſion on them, calls to them, and bids them not be afraid, for that it was no other than he himſelf. *Peter* (the eagerneſs of whoſe temper carried him forward to all bold and reſolute undertakings) entreated our Lord, that if it was he, he might have leave to come upon the water to him. Having received his orders, he went out of the Ship, and walked upon the Sea to meet his Maſter. But when he found the wind to bear hard againſt him, and the waves to riſe round about him, whereby probably the ſight of Chriſt was

Matth. 14. 17.

intercep-

intercepted, he began to be afraid; and the higher his fears aroſe, the lower his Faith began to ſink, and together with that, his body to ſink under water: whereupon in a paſſionate fright he cried out to our Lord to help him, who, reaching out his arm, took him by the hand, and ſet him again upon the top of the water, with this gentle reproof, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didſt thou doubt?* It being the weakneſs of our Faith that makes the influences of the Divine power and goodneſs to have no better effect upon us. Being come to the Ship, they took them in, where our Lord no ſooner arrived, but the winds and waves obſerving their duty to their Sovereign Lord, and having done the errand which they came upon, mannerly departed, and vaniſhed away, and the Ship in an inſtant was at the ſhore. All that were in the Ship being ſtrangely aſtoniſhed at this Miracle, and fully convinced of the Divinity of his perſon, came and did homage to him, with this confeſſion, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God.* After which they went aſhore, and landed in the Country of *Genezareth*, and there more fully acknowledged him before all the people.

6. THE next day great multitudes flocking after him, he entred into a Synagogue at *Capernaum*, and taking occaſion from the late Miracle of the *loaves*, which he had wrought amongſt them, he began to diſcourſe concerning himſelf, as the *true Manna*, and the *Bread that came down from Heaven*; largely opening to them many of the more ſublime and Spiritual myſteries, and the neceſſary and important duties of the Goſpel. Hereupon a great part of his Auditory, who had hitherto followed him, finding their underſtandings gravelled with theſe difficult and uncommon Notions, and that the duties he required were likely to grate hard upon them, and perceiving now that he was not the *Meſſiah* they took him for, whoſe Kingdom ſhould conſiſt in an external Grandeur and plenty, but was to be managed and tranſacted in a more inward and Spiritual way; hereupon fairly left him in open field, and henceforth quite turned their backs upon him. Whereupon our Lord turning about to his Apoſtles, asked them whether *they alſo would go away from him? Peter* (ſpokes-man generally for all the reſt) anſwered, whither ſhould they go to mend and better their condition? ſhould they return back to *Moſes*? Alas! he *laid a yoke upon them, which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear.* Should they go to the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*? they would feed them with *Stones* inſtead of *Bread*, obtrude humane Traditions upon them for Divine dictates and Commands. Should they betake themſelves to the *Philoſophers* amongſt the *Gentiles*? they were miſerably blind and ſhort-ſighted in their Notions of things, and their ſentiments and opinions not only different from, but contrary to one another. No, 'twas *he only had the words of Eternal life*, whoſe doctrine could inſtruct them in the plain way to Heaven; that they had fully aſſented to what both *John* and he had ſaid concerning himſelf, that they were fully perſwaded both from the efficacy of his Sermons, which they heard, and the powerful conviction of his Miracles, which they had ſeen, that he was *the Son of the living God*, the true *Meſſiah* and Saviour of the World. But notwithſtanding this fair and plauſible teſtimony, he tells them, that they were not all of this mind, that there was a *Satan* amongſt them, one that was moved by the ſpirit and impulſe, and that acted according to the rules and intereſt of the Devil: intimating *Judas* who ſhould betray him. So hard is it to meet with a body of ſo juſt and pure a conſtitution, wherein ſome rotten member or diſtempered part is not to be found. John 6. 28.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of S. *Peter* from the time of his Confeſſion, till our Lord's laſt Paſſover.

Our Saviour's Journy with his Apoſtles to Cæſarea. *The Opinions of the People concerning Him.* Peter's *eminent* Confeſſion *of Chriſt, and our Lord's great commendation of it.* Thou art Peter, *and* upon this Rock, *&c.* The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven *how given. The advantage the Church of* Rome *makes of theſe paſſages. This confeſſion made by* Peter *in the name of the reſt, and by others before him. No perſonal priviledge intended to S.* Peter: *the ſame things elſewhere promiſed to the other Apoſtles. Our Lord's diſcourſe concerning his Paſſion.* Peter's *unſeaſonable Zeal in diſſwading him from it, and our Lord's ſevere rebuking him. Chriſt's* Transfiguration, *and the glory of it:* Peter *how affected with it.* Peter's *paying Tribute for Chriſt and himſelf. This Tribute, what. Our Saviour's diſcourſe upon it. Offending brethren how oft to be forgiven. The young man commanded to ſell all. What compenſation made to the followers of Chriſt. Our Lord's triumphant entrance into* Jeruſalem. *Preparation made to keep the* Paſſover.

Mark 8. 27. Matth. 16. 21. Luk. 9. 18.

1. IT was ſome time ſince our Saviour had kept his third *Paſſover* at *Jeruſalem,* when he directed his Journy towards *Cæſarea Philippi;* where by the way having like a careful Maſter of his Family firſt prayed with his *Apoſtles,* he began to ask them (having been more than two Years publickly converſant amongſt them) what the world thought concerning him. They anſwered, that the Opinions of Men about him were various and different; that ſome took him for *John* the *Baptiſt,* lately riſen from the dead, between whoſe Doctrine, Diſcipline, and way of life, in the main there was ſo great a Correſpondence. That others thought he was *Elias;* probably judging ſo, from the gravity of his Perſon, freedom of his Preaching, the fame and reputation of his Miracles, eſpecially ſince the Scriptures aſſured them he was not dead, but taken up into Heaven; and had ſo expreſly foretold, that he ſhould return back again. That others look'd upon him as the Prophet *Jeremiah* alive again, of whoſe return the *Jews* had great expectations, in ſo much that ſome of them thought the Soul of *Jeremias* was re-inſpired into *Zacharias.* Or if not thus, at leaſt, that he was one of the more eminent of the ancient *Prophets,* or that the Souls of ſome of theſe Perſons had been breathed into him; The Doctrine of the μετεμψύχωσις, or *Tranſmigration of Souls* firſt broached and propagated by *Pythagoras,* being at this time current amongſt the *Jews,* and owned by the *Phariſees* as one of their prime Notions and Principles.

2. THIS Account not ſufficing, our Lord comes cloſer and nearer to them; tells them, It was no wonder if the common People were divided into theſe wild thoughts concerning him; but ſince they had been always with him, had been hearers of his Sermons, and Spectators of his Miracles, he enquired, what *they themſelves* thought of him. *Peter,* ever forward to return an Anſwer, and therefore by the Fathers frequently ſtiled *The Mouth of the Apoſtles,*

Apostles, *, told him in the name of the rest, That he was the *Messiah*, The *Son of the living God*, promised of old in the Law and the Prophets, heartily desired and looked for by all good men, anointed and set apart by God to be the *King, Priest* and *Prophet* of his People. To this excellent and comprehensive confession of *Peter*'s, Our Lord returns this great *Eulogie* and Commendation; *Blessed art thou Simon Bar Jonah, Flesh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven*: That is, this Faith which thou hast now confessed, is not *humane*, contrived by Man's wit; or built upon his testimony, but upon those Notions and Principles which I was sent by God to reveal to the World, and those mighty and solemn attestations, which he has given from Heaven to the truth both of my Person and my Doctrine. And because thou hast so freely made this Confession, therefore *I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*: That is, that as thy Name signifies a *Stone* or *Rock*, such shalt thou thy self be, firm, solid, and immoveable, in building of the Church, which shall be so orderly erected by thy care and diligence, and so firmly founded upon that faith which thou hast now confessed, that all the assaults and attempts which the powers of Hell can make against it, shall not be able to overturn it. Moreover *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*: That is, thou shalt have that spiritual authority and power within the Church, whereby as with *Keys* thou shalt be able to shut and lock out obstinate and impenitent sinners, and upon their repentance to unlock the door, and take them in again: And what thou shalt thus regularly do, shall be own'd in the Court above, and ratified by God in Heaven.

* Τὸ σόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ Πέτρος, ὁ πανταχοῦ θερμὸς, ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος, πάντων ἐρωτηθέντων αὐτὸς ἀποκρίνεται. Chrysost. in Matth. 16 p. 483.

3. UPON these several passages, the Champions of the Church of *Rome*, mainly build the unlimited Supremacy and Infallibility of the Bishops of that See; with how much truth, and how little reason, it is not my present purpose to discuss. It may suffice here to remark, that though this place does very much tend to exalt the honour of S. *Peter*, yet is there nothing herein personal and peculiar to him alone, as distinct from, and preferred above the rest of the Apostles. Does he here make confession of *Christ*'s being *the Son of God*? Yet, besides that herein he spake but the sence of all the rest, this was no more than what others had said as well as he, yea before he was so much as call'd to be a Disciple. Thus *Nathanael* at his first coming to *Christ* expresly told him, *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel.* Joh. 1.49. Does our Lord here stile him a *Rock*? All the *Apostles* are elsewhere equally called *Foundations*, yea said to be the *Twelve Foundations, upon which the Wall of the new Jerusalem*, that is, the Evangelical Church is erected; and sometimes others of them besides *Peter* are called *Pillars*, as they have relation to the Church already built. Rev. 21. 14. Eph. 2. 20. Gal. 2. 9. Does *Christ* here promise the *Keys* to *Peter*? that is, Power of Governing, and of exercising *Church-censures*, and of absolving penitent sinners? The very same is elsewhere promised to all the Apostles, and almost in the very same terms and words. *If thine offending Brother, prove obstinate, tell it unto the Church; but, if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Matth. 18. 17, 18. And elsewhere, when ready to leave the World, he tells them, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Joh. 20. 21, 23. By all which it is evident, that our Lord did not here give any personal prerogative to S. *Peter*, as Universal Pastor and

Head

Head of the Chriſtian Church, much leſs to thoſe who were to be his Succeſſors in the See of *Rome*; But that as he made this Confeſſion in the name of the reſt of the Apoſtles, ſo what was here promiſed unto him, was equally intended unto all. Nor did the more conſidering and judicious part of the Fathers (however giving a mighty reverence to S. *Peter*) ever underſtand it in any other ſence. Sure I am that * *Origen* tells us, that every true Chriſtian that makes this confeſſion with the ſame Spirit and Integrity which S. *Peter* did, ſhall have the ſame bleſſing and commendation from *Chriſt* conferr'd upon him.

Comment. in Joh. Tom. 3. fol. 2. fac. 2.

4. THE Holy *Jeſus* knowing the time of his Paſſion to draw on, began to prepare the minds of his Apoſtles againſt that fatal Hour; telling them what hard and bitter things he ſhould ſuffer at *Jeruſalem*, what affronts and indignities he muſt undergo, and be at laſt put to death with all the arts of torture and diſgrace, by the Decree of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*. *Peter*, whom our Lord had infinitely encouraged and endeared to him, by the great things which he had lately ſaid concerning him, ſo that his ſpirits were now afloat, and his paſſions ready to over-run the banks, not able to endure a thought that ſo much evil ſhould befall his Maſter, broke out into an over-confident and unſeaſonable interruption of him: *He took him and began to rebuke him, ſaying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this ſhall not be unto thee.* Beſides his great kindneſs and affection to his Maſter, the minds of the Apoſtles were not yet throughly purged from the hopes and expectations of a glorious reign of the *Meſſiah*, ſo that *Peter* could not but look upon theſe ſufferings as unbecoming and inconſiſtent with the ſtate and dignity of the Son of God. And therefore thought good to adviſe his Lord, to take care of himſelf, and while there was time to prevent and avoid them. This, our Lord, who valued the redemption of Mankind infinitely before his own eaſe and ſafety, reſented at ſo high a rate, that he returned upon him with this tart and ſtinging reproof, *Get thee behind me Satan*; The very ſame treatment which he once gave to the Devil himſelf, when he made that inſolent propoſal to him, *To fall down and worſhip him*: though in *Satan* it was the reſult of pure malice and hatred; in *Peter* only an error of love, and great regard. However our Lord could not but look upon it as miſchievous and diabolical counſel, prompted and promoted by the great Adverſary of Mankind. A way therefore, ſays *Chriſt*, with thy helliſh and pernicious counſel, *Thou art an offence unto me*, in ſeeking to oppoſe and undermine that great deſign, for which I purpoſely came down from Heaven: In this *thou ſavoureſt not the things of God, but thoſe that be of men*, in ſuggeſting to me thoſe little ſhifts and arts of ſafety and ſelf-preſervation, which humane prudence, and the love of mens own ſelves are wont to dictate to them. By which, though we may learn *Peter*'s mighty kindneſs to our Saviour, yet that herein he did not take his meaſures right. A plain evidence that his *infallibility* had not yet taken place.

Matth. 16. 21. Mark 8. 31. Luk. 9. 22.

Luk. 4. 8.

5. ABOUT a week after this, our Saviour being to receive a Type and *Specimen* of his future glorification, took with him his three more intimate Apoſtles, *Peter*, and the two ſons of *Zebedee*, and went up into a very high Mountain, which the Ancients generally conceive to have been Mount *Thabor*, a round and very high Mountain, ſituate in the Plains of *Galilee*. And now was even literally fulfilled what the *Pſalmiſt* had ſpoken, *Tabor and Hermon ſhall rejoyce in thy Name*: for what greater joy and triumph, than to be peculiarly choſen to be the holy Mount, whereon our Lord in ſo eminent a manner *received from God the Father, honour and glory*, and made ſuch magnificent diſplays of his Divine power and Majeſty? For while they were here earneſtly

Matth. 17. 1. Mark 9. 2. Luke 9. 28.

Pſalm 89. 12.

earneſtly imployed in Prayer, (as ſeldom did our Lord enter upon any eminent action, but the firſt made his addreſs to Heaven) he was ſuddenly transformed into another manner of appearance; ſuch a luſtre and radiancy darted from his face, that the Sun it ſelf ſhines not brighter at Noon-day; ſuch beams of light reflected from his garments, as out-did the light it ſelf that was round about them, ſo exceeding pure and white, that the Snow might bluſh to compare with it; nor could the *Fullers* art purifie any thing into half that whiteneſs: an evident and ſenſible repreſentation of the glory of that ſtate, wherein the *juſt* ſhall *walk in white*, and *ſhine as the Sun in the Kingdom of the Father*. During this Heavenly ſcene, there appeared *Moſes* and *Elias*, (who, as the *Jews* ſay, ſhall come together) clothed with all the brightneſs and majeſty of a glorified ſtate, familiarly converſing with him, and diſcourſing of the death and ſufferings which he was ſhortly to undergo, and his departure into Heaven. Behold here together the three greateſt perſons that ever were the Miniſters of Heaven: *Moſes*, under God, the Inſtituter and promulgator of the Law; *Elias* the great reformer of it, when under its deepeſt degeneracy and corruption; and the bleſſed *Jeſus* the Son of God, who came to take away what was weak and imperfect, and to introduce a more manly and rational inſtitution, and to communicate the laſt Revelation which God would make of his mind to the World. *Peter* and the two Apoſtles that were with him, were in the mean time fallen aſleep, heavy through want of natural reſt, (it being probably night when this was done) or elſe over-powred with theſe extraordinary appearances, which the frailty and weakneſs of their preſent ſtate could not bear, were fallen into a Trance. But now awaking, were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to behold our Lord ſurrounded with ſo much glory; and thoſe two great perſons converſing with him, knowing who they were, probably by ſome particular marks and ſignatures that were upon them, or elſe by immediate revelation, or from the diſcourſe which paſſed betwixt *Chriſt* and them, or poſſibly from ſome communication which they themſelves might have with them. While theſe Heavenly gueſts were about to depart, *Peter* in a great rapture and ecſtaſie of mind addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, telling him how infinitely they were pleaſed and delighted with their being there; and to that purpoſe deſiring his leave, that they might erect three *Tabernacles*, one for him, one for *Moſes*, and one for *Elias*. While he was thus ſaying, a bright cloud ſuddenly over-ſhadowed the two great Miniſters, and wrapt them up: out of which came a voice, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him*: which when the *Apoſtles* heard, and ſaw the cloud coming over themſelves, they were ſeized with a great conſternation, and fell upon their faces to the ground, whom our Lord gently touched, bad them ariſe and diſband their fears: whereupon looking up, they ſaw none but their Maſter, the reſt having vaniſhed and diſappeared. In memory of theſe great tranſactions, * *Bede* tells us, that in purſuance of S. *Peter*'s petition about the three Tabernacles, there were afterwards three Churches built upon the top of this Mountain, which in after times were had in great veneration, which might poſſibly give ſome foundation to that report which ‖ one makes, that in his time there were ſhew'd the ruines of thoſe *three Tabernacles*, which were built according to S. *Peter*'s deſire.

* *De Loc. Sanct. c. 17.*

‖ *Bern. à Breidenb. Itiner. Terræ Sanct. vid. J. Cotovii Itiner. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 355.*

6. After this, our Lord and his Apoſtles having travelled through *Galilee*, the gatherers of the *Tribute-money* came to *Peter*, and asked him, whether his Maſter was not obliged to pay the *Tribute*, which God, under the *Moſaick* Law, commanded to be yearly paid by every *Jew* above Twenty Years old, to the uſe of the Temple, which ſo continued to the times of *Veſpatian*, under

Matth. 17. 24

under whom the Temple being deſtroyed, it was by him transferred to the uſe of the *Capitol* at *Rome*, being to the value of half a *Shekel*, or Fifteen pence of our money. To this queſtion of theirs, *Peter* poſitively anſwers, yes; knowing his Maſter would never be backward, either to *give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, or to God the things that are God's.* *Peter* going into the houſe to give an account to his Maſter, and to know his mind concerning it, *Chriſt* prevented him with this queſtion, *What thinkeſt thou, Simon, of whom do Earthly Kings exact Tribute,* of their own *Children* and Family, or from other People? *Peter* anſwered, Not from their own *Servants*, and Family, but from *Strangers*. To which our Lord preſently replied, That then according to his own argument and opinion, both *he* himſelf, as being the *Son* of God, and *they* whom he had taken to be his Menial and Domeſtick *Servants*, were free from this Tax of Head-money, yearly to be paid to God. But rather than give offence, by ſeeming to deſpiſe the Temple, and to undervalue that Authority that had ſettled this Tribute, he reſolves to put himſelf to the expence and charges of a Miracle, and therefore commanded *Peter* to go to the Sea, and take up the firſt *Fiſh* which came to his Hook, in whoſe mouth he ſhould find a piece of money (a *Stater*, in value a *Shekel* or *half a Crown*) which he took and gave to the *Collectors*, both for his Maſter and himſelf.

Matth. 18. 21.

7. OUR Lord after this, diſcourſing to them, how to carry themſelves towards their offending Brethren, *Peter* being deſirous to be more particularly informed in this matter, asked our Saviour, How *oft* a man was obliged to forgive his Brother, in caſe of offence and treſpaſs, whether ſeven times were not enough? He told him, That upon *his* Neighbours repentance, he was not only bound to do it *ſeven times*, but *until ſeventy times ſeven*, that is, he muſt be indulgent to him, as oft as the offender returns and begs it, and heartily profeſſes his ſorrow and repentance. Which he further illuſtrates by a plain and excellent Parable, and thence draws this Concluſion, That the ſame meaſures, either of *compaſſion* or *cruelty*, which men ſhow to their fellow Brethren, they themſelves ſhall meet with at the hands of God, the Supreme Ruler and Juſticiary of the World. It was not long after when a brisk young man addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, to know of him, by what methods he might beſt attain *Eternal life*. Our Lord, to humble his confidence, bad him *ſell his Eſtate, and give it to the poor*; and putting himſelf under his diſcipline, he ſhould have a much better *treaſure in Heaven*. The man was rich, and liked not the counſel, nor was he willing to purchaſe happineſs at ſuch a rate; and accordingly went away under great ſorrow and diſcontent. Upon which *Chriſt* takes occaſion to let them know, how hardly thoſe men would get to Heaven, who build their comfort and happineſs upon the plenty and abundance of theſe outward things. *Peter* taking hold of this opportunity, ask'd, What return they themſelves ſhould make, who had quitted and renounced whatever they had for his ſake and ſervice? Our Saviour anſwers, that no man ſhould be a loſer by his ſervice; that, for their parts, they ſhould be recompenced with far greater priviledges; and that whoever ſhould *forſake* houſes or lands, kindred and relations, out of love to him, and his Religion, ſhould enjoy them again with infinite advantages in this World, if conſiſtent with the circumſtances of their ſtate, and thoſe troubles and perſecutions which would neceſſarily ariſe from the profeſſion of the Goſpel: however, they ſhould have what would make infinite amends for all; *Eternal life in the other World.*

Matth. 19. 16.
Mark 10. 17.
Luke 18. 18.

8. OUR

8. OUR Saviour in order to his laſt fatal journey to *Jeruſalem*, that he might the better comply with the prophecy that went before of him, ſent two of his Apoſtles, who in all probability were *Peter* and *John*, with an Authoritative Commiſſion to fetch him an *Aſſe* to ride on, (he had none of his own; he who *was rich, for our ſakes made himſelf poor*; he lived upon charity all his life, had neither an Aſſe to ride on, nor an Houſe where to lay his head, no nor after his death a Tomb to lie in, but what the charity of others provided for him) whereon being mounted, and attended with the feſtivities of the people, he ſet forward in his journey; wherein there appears an admirable mixture of humility and Majeſty: The *Aſſe* he rode on became the *meanneſs* and *meekneſs* of a Prophet; but his arbitrary Commiſſion for the fetching it, and the ready obedience of its owners, ſpake the *prerogative* of a *King*: The *Palms* born before him, the *Garments* ſtrew'd in his way, and the joyful *Hoſannahs* and Acclamations of the people, proclaim at once both the *Majeſty* of a *Prince*, and the *Triumph* of a *Saviour*. For ſuch expreſſions of joy we find were uſual in publick and feſtival ſolemnities; thus the * Hiſtorian deſcribing the Emperor *Commodus* his triumphant return to *Rome*, tells us, that the Senate and whole people of *Rome*, to teſtifie their mighty kindneſs and veneration for him, came out of the City to meet him, δαφνηφόροί τε καὶ πάντα ὁπωρεσόμβροι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, carrying *Palms* and *Laurels* along with them, and throwing about all ſorts of *Flowers* that were then in ſeaſon. In this manner our Lord being entred the City, he ſoon after retired to *Bethany*, whence he diſpatched *Peter* and *John*, to make preparation for the *Paſſeover*; giving them inſtructions where he would have it kept. Accordingly they found the perſon he had deſcribed to them, whom they followed home to his houſe. Whether this was the houſe of *John* the *Evangeliſt* (as *Nicephorus* tells us) ſituate near Mount *Sion*, or of *Simon* the *Leper*, or of *Nicodemus*, or of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as others ſeverally conjecture, ſeeing none of the *Evangeliſts* have thought fit to tell us, it may not become us curiouſly to enquire.

Matth. 21. 1.

* *Herod. lib. 1. in vit. Comm. p. 17.*

Matth. 26. 17. Mark 14. 12. Luke 22. 7.

H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 104.

SECT. V.

Of S. *Peter*, from the last Passeover, till the death of *Christ*.

The Passeover *celebrated by our Lord and his Apostles. His washing their feet.* Peter's *imprudent modesty. The mystery and meaning of the action. The Traitor, who. The Lord's Supper instituted.* Peter's *confident promise of suffering with and for* Christ. *Our Lord's dislike of his confidence, and foretelling his denial. Their going to the Mount of* Olives. Peter *renews his resolution. His indiscreet zeal and affection. Our Saviour's Passion, why begun in a Garden. The bitterness of his Ante-passion. The drowziness of* Peter, *and the two sons of* Zebedee. *Our Lord's great candor towards them, and what it ought to teach us.* Christ's *apprehension, and* Peter's *bold attempt upon* Malchus. Christ *deserted by the Apostles.* Peter's *following his Master to the High-Priests Hall, and thrice denying him, with Oaths and Imprecations. The* Galilean *dialect, what. The Cock-crowing, and* Peter's *repentance upon it.*

ALL things being now prepared, our *Saviour* with his Apostles comes down for the celebration of the *Passeover*. And being entred into the house, they all orderly took their places. Our Lord, who had always taught them by his practice, no less than by his doctrine, did now particularly design to teach them humility and charity by his own example. And that the instance might be the greater, he underwent the meanest offices of the Ministery: towards the end therefore of the *Paschal* Supper, he arose from the Table, and laying aside his upper garment (which, according to the fashion of those Eastern Countries, being long, was unfit for action) and himself taking a Towel, and pouring water into a Bason, he began to *wash* all the Apostles feet; not disdaining those of *Judas* himself. Coming to *Peter*, he would by no means admit an instance of so much condescension. What? the Master do this to the *servant*? the *Son of God* to so vile a *sinner*? This made him a second time refuse it, *Thou shalt never wash my feet.* But our Lord soon corrects his imprudent modesty, by telling him, That *if he wash'd him not, he could have no part with him*: Insinuating the mystery of this action, which was to denote Remission of sin, and the purifying vertue of the Spirit of *Christ* to be poured upon all true Christians. *Peter* satisfied with this answer, soon altered his resolution, *Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands, and my head.* If the case be so, let me be wash'd all over, rather than come short of my portion in thee. This being done, he returned again to the Table, and acquainted them with the meaning and tendency of this mystical action, and what force it ought to have upon them towards one another. The washing it self denoted their inward and Spiritual cleansing by the Bloud and Spirit of *Christ*, symbolically typified and represented by all the washings and Baptisms of the *Mosaick* Institution: The washing of the feet respected our intire sanctification in our whole Spirit, Soul and Body,

John 13.4.

——— φιλοστόργῳ δὲ μενοινῇ
εἰ πόδας ὑμείων καθαρῷ φαίδρυνα λοεβῷ
Ἡγητὴρ καὶ ἄναξ περιδέξιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς
Ἀντίτυπον θέμις ἐστὶν ἐμὸν μίμημα μαθόντας
Ὑμέας, ἀλλήλων φιλίους πόδας ὕδατι νίπτειν.
Δεῖγμα γὰρ ἔπλετο τοῦτο διδάσκαλον ὄφρα καὶ ὑμεῖς
Ἔργον ὅπερ ποίησα σοφὸν, τελέσητε καὶ αὐτοὶ
Πάντες ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμοιβαίῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ,
Ἰσοφυὲς μίμημα δαήμονος ἡγεμονῆος.
Nonn. *Paraphr. in loc.*

Body, no part being to be left impure. And then, that all this should be done by so great a person, their Lord and Master, preached to their very senses a Sermon of the greatest humility and condescension, and taught them how little reason they had to boggle at the meanest offices of kindness and charity towards others, when he himself had stoop'd to so low an abasure towards them. And now he began more immediately to reflect upon his sufferings, and upon him, who was to be the occasion of them; telling them that one of them would be the *Traitor* to betray him. Whereat they were strangely troubled, and every one began to suspect himself, till *Peter* (whose love and care for his Master commonly made him start sooner than the rest) made signs to S. *John*, who lay in our Saviour's bosom, to ask him particularly who it was? which our Saviour presently did, by making them understand, that it was *Judas Iscariot*, who not long after left the company.

2. AND now our Lord began the Institution of his *Supper*, that great solemn Institution which he was resolved to leave behind him, to be constantly celebrated in all Ages of the Church, as the standing monument of his love in dying for mankind. For now he told them, that he himself must leave them, and that *whither he went, they could not come*. *Peter*, not well understanding what he meant, asked him whither it was that he was going? Our Lord replied, It was to that place, whither he could not now follow him: but that he should do it afterwards: intimating the Martyrdom he was to undergo for the sake of *Christ*. To which *Peter* answered, that he knew no reason why he might not follow him, seeing that if it was even to the laying down of his life for his sake, he was most ready and resolved to do it. Our Lord liked not this over-confident presumption, and therefore told him, they were great things which he promised, but that he took not the true measures of his own strength, nor espied the snares and designs of *Satan*, who desired no better an occasion than this, to *sift* and *winnow* them. But that he had prayed to Heaven for him, *That his faith might not fail*: by which means being strengthened himself, he should be obliged to strengthen and confirm his brethren. And whereas he so confidently assured him, that he was ready to go along with him, not only into *prison*, but even to *death* it self; our Lord plainly told him, That notwithstanding all his confident and generous resolutions, before *the Cock crowed twice*, that is, before three of the Clock in the morning, he would that very night three several times deny his Master. With which answer our Lord wisely rebuked his confidence, and taught him (had he understood the lesson) not to trust to his own strength, but intirely to depend upon him, who is able to keep us from falling. Withall insinuating, that though by his sin he would justly forfeit the Divine grace and favour, yet upon his repentance he should be restored to the honour of the Apostolate, as a certain evidence of the Divine goodness and indulgence to him.

John 13.36. Luke 22.31.

Διὰ τί δὲ πάν- τας ἀφεὶς μό- τῷ Πέτρῳ λέ- γει, Σίμων, Σίμων, ἰδοὺ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἠτή- σατο ὑμᾶς σι- νιάσαι; ἵνα παιδεύσῃ αὐ- τὸν μὴ ἑαυτῷ θαῤῥεῖν μόν- ἀλλὰ τοῖς πα- αὐτοῦ χαρίσμα- σι σεμνύνεσθαι. —— τὸ ἐπιστρέψας στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου, τοῦτ' ἔστι, γενοῦ στήριγμα καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν διὰ πίστεως προσιόντων ἐμοί. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀποστερηθήσῃ, φησὶν, ἀρνησάμενός με, τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ χαρίσματος, ὅπερ τῆς θείας γαληνότητος καὶ ἀφάτου φιλανθρωπίας ὑπάρχει τεκμήριον. Tit.Bostr.Com.in Luc.22.in Bibl. Pp.Gr.Lat.Tom.2.p.829.

3. HAVING sung an *Hymn*, and concluded the whole affair, he left the house where all these things had been transacted, and went with his *Apostles* unto the *Mount of Olives*: where he again put them in mind how Matth.26.30. Mark 14 26.
much they would be *offended* at those things which he was now to suffer; and *Peter* again renewed his resolute and undaunted promise of suffering, and dying with him; yea, out of an excessive confidence told him, That *though all*

the reſt ſhould forſake and *deny him, yet would not he deny him.* How far will zeal and an indiſcreet affection tranſport even a good man into vanity and preſumption! *Peter* queſtions others, but never doubts himſelf. So natural is ſelf-love, ſo apt are we to take the faireſt meaſures of our ſelves. Nay, though our Lord had but a little before, once and again reproved this vain humour, yet does he ſtill, not only perſiſt, but grow up in it. So hardly are we brought to eſpy our own faults, or to be ſo throughly convinced of them, as to correct and reform them. This confidence of his inſpired all the reſt with a mighty courage, all the Apoſtles likewiſe aſſuring him of their conſtant and unſhaken adhering to him. Our Lord returning the ſame anſwer to *Peter* which he had done before. From hence they went down into the Village of *Gethſemane*, where, leaving the reſt of the Apoſtles, he, accompanied with none but *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, retired into a neighbouring Garden, (whither, * *Euſebius* tells us, Chriſtians even in his time were wont to come ſolemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven, and where, as the ‖ *Arabian Geographer* informs us, a fair and ſtately Church was built to the honour of the *Virgin Mary*) to enter upon the Ante-ſcene of the fatal Tragedy that was now approaching; it bearing a very fit proportion (as ſome of the * Fathers have obſerved) that as the *firſt Adam* fell and ruin'd mankind in a *Garden*, ſo a *Garden* ſhould be the place where the *ſecond Adam* ſhould begin his Paſſion, in order to the Redemption of the World. Gardens, which to us are places of repoſe and pleaſure, and ſcenes of diverſiſement and delight, were to our Lord a ſchool of Temptation, a Theatre of great horrors and ſufferings, and the firſt approaches of the hour of darkneſs.

De loc. Hebr. voc. Γεθσημῆ. *p.* 134. *Geogr. Nub. im.* 3. *part.* 5. 14.

Cyril. comment. in Joan. Tom. 4. *Theophylact. in Joan.* 18.

4. HERE it was that the Bleſſed *Jeſus* laboured under the bittereſt *Agony* that could fall upon humane Nature, which the holy Story deſcribes by words ſufficiently expreſſive of the higheſt grief and ſorrow, he was *afraid, ſorrowful*, and *very heavy*, yea, *his Soul was* περίλυπος, *exceeding ſorrowful*, and that *even unto death*, he was *ſore amazed, and very heavy*, he was *troubled*, ἐταράχθη, his Soul was ſhaken with a vehement commotion; yea, he was *in an Agony*, a word by which the *Greeks* are wont to repreſent the greateſt conflicts and anxieties. The effect of all which was, that *he prayed more earneſtly*, offering up *prayers and ſupplications with ſtrong cries and tears*, as the Apoſtle expounds it, and ſweat, *as it were, great drops of bloud falling to the ground.* What this bloudy ſweat was, and how far natural or extraordinary, I am not now concerned to enquire. Certain it is, it was a plain evidence of the moſt intenſe grief and ſadneſs: for if an extreme fear or trouble will many times caſt us into a cold ſweat, how great muſt be the commotion and conflict of our Saviour's mind, which could force open the pores of his body, lock'd up by the coldneſs of the night, and make not drops of ſweat, but *great drops*, or (as the word θρόμβοι ſignifies) *clods* of bloud to iſſue from them. While our Lord was thus contending with theſe Ante-Paſſions, the three Apoſtles, whom he had left at ſome diſtance from him, being tired out with watching, and diſpoſed by the ſilence of the Night, were fallen faſt aſleep. Our Lord, who had made three ſeveral addreſſes unto Heaven, that if it might conſiſt with his *Father's will*, this bitter *Cup might paſs from him*, (expreſſing herein the harmleſs and innocent deſires of humane Nature, which always ſtudies its own preſervation) between each of them came to viſit the Apoſtles, and calling to *Peter*, asked him, *Whether they could not watch with him one hour?* adviſing them *to watch and pray, that they enter'd not into temptation*, adding this Argument, That *the ſpirit indeed was willing, but that the fleſh was weak*, and

and that therefore there was the more need that they ſhould ſtand upon their guard. Obſerve here the incomparable ſweetneſs, the generous candor of our bleſſed Saviour, to paſs ſo charitable a cenſure upon an action, from whence malice and ill-nature might have drawn monſters and prodigies, and have repreſented it black as the ſhades of darkneſs. The requeſt which our Lord made to theſe Apoſtles, was infinitely reaſonable, to *watch* with him in this *bitter Agony*, their company at leaſt being ſome refreſhment to one, under ſuch ſad fatal circumſtances; and this but for a little time, *one hour*, it would ſoon be over, and then they might freely conſult their own eaſe and ſafety: 'Twas their dear Lord and Maſter, whom they now were to attend upon, ready to lay down his life for them, ſweating already under the firſt skirmiſhes of his ſufferings, and expecting every moment when all the powers of darkneſs would fall upon him. But all theſe conſiderations were drown'd in a profound ſecurity, the men were faſt aſleep, and though often awakened and told of it, regarded it not, as if nothing but eaſe and ſoftneſs had been then to be dream'd of. An action that look'd like the moſt prodigious ingratitude, and the higheſt unconcernedneſs for their Lord and Maſter, and which one would have thought had argued a very great coldneſs and indifferency of affection towards him. But he would not ſet it upon the Tenters, nor ſtretch it to what it might eaſily have been drawn to: he imputes it not to their unthankfulneſs, or want of affection, nor to their careleſneſs of what became of him, but merely to their infirmity and the weakneſs of their bodily temper, himſelf making the excuſe, when they could make none for themſelves, *the ſpirit indeed is willing, but the fleſh is weak.* Hereby teaching us, to put the moſt candid and favourable conſtruction upon thoſe actions of others, which are capable of various interpretations, and rather with the Bee to ſuck honey, than with the Spider to draw poiſon from them. His laſt Prayer being ended, he came to them, and told them with a gentle rebuke, That now they might *ſleep on* if they pleaſed, that *the hour was at hand, that he ſhould be betrayed, and delivered into the hands of men.*

5. WHILE he was thus diſcourſing to them, a *Band of Souldiers* ſent from the *High-Prieſts*, with the Traitor *Judas* to conduct and direct them, ruſh'd into the Garden, and ſeized upon him: which when the Apoſtles ſaw, they asked him whether they ſhould attempt his reſcue. *Peter* (whoſe ungovernable zeal put him upon all dangerous undertakings) without ſtaying for an anſwer, drew his Sword, and eſpying one more buſie than the reſt in laying hold upon our Saviour, which was *Malchus* (who, though carrying *Kingſhip* in his name, was but *Servant* to the *High-Prieſt*) ſtruck at him, with an intention to diſpatch him: but God over-ruling the ſtroak, it only cut off his right Ear. Our Lord liked not this wild and unwarrantable zeal, and therefore intreated their patience, whileſt he miraculouſly healed the Wound. And turning to *Peter*, bad him put up his Sword again; told him, that they who unwarrantably uſe the Sword, ſhould themſelves periſh by it; that there was no need of theſe violent and extravagant courſes; that if he had a mind to be rid of his Keepers, he could ask his Father, who would preſently ſend more than twelve Legions of *Angels* to his reſcue and deliverance: But he muſt *drink the Cup* which his Father had put into his hand: for how elſe ſhould the *Scriptures* be fulfilled, which had expreſly foretold, *That theſe things muſt be?* Whereupon, all the Apoſtles forſook him, and fled from him; and they who before in their promiſes were as *bold as Lions*, now it came to it, like fearful and timorous *Hares*, ran away from him: *Peter* and *John*, though ſtaying laſt with him, yet followed

lowed the ſame way with the reſt, preferring their own ſafety, before the concernments of their Maſter.

tth. 26. 57. rk 14. 53. ke 22. 54. hn 18. 12.

6. NO ſooner was he apprehended by the Souldiers, and brought out of the Garden, but he was immediately poſted from one Tribunal to another, brought firſt to *Annas*, then carried to *Caiaphas*, where the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* met together in order to his Trial and Condemnation. *Peter* having a little recovered himſelf, and gotten looſe from his fears, probably encouraged by his Companion S. *John*, returns back to ſeek his Maſter: And finding them leading him to the High-Prieſt's *Hall*, followed afar off, to ſee what would be the event and iſſue. But coming to the Door, could get no admittance, till one of the Diſciples who was acquainted there, went out and perſwaded the Servant, who kept the Door, to let him in. Being let into the *Hall*, where the Servants and Officers ſtood round the Fire, *Peter* alſo came thither to warm himſelf, where being eſpied by the *Servant-maid* that let him in, ſhe earneſtly looking upon him, charged him with being one of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples; which *Peter* publickly denied before all the Company, poſitively affirming, that *he knew him not*; And preſently withdrew himſelf into the Porch, where he heard the *Cock crow*: An intimation, which one would have thought ſhould have awakened his Conſcience into a quick ſenſe of his duty, and the promiſe he had made unto his Maſter. In the Porch, another of the Maids ſet upon him, charging him that *he alſo was one of them that had been with Jeſus of Nazareth*: which *Peter* ſtoutly denied, ſaying, that *he knew not Chriſt*; and the better to gain their belief to what he ſaid, ratified it with an *Oath*. So natural is it for one ſin to draw on another.

7. ABOUT an Hour after, he was a third time ſet upon, by a Servant of the *High-Prieſt*, *Malchus* his Kinſman, whoſe Ear *Peter* had lately cut off: By him he was charged to be one of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples; Yea, *that his very ſpeech betrayed him to be a Galilean*. For the *Galileans*, though they did not ſpeak a different *language*, had yet a different *Dialect*, uſing a more confuſed and barbarous, a broader and more unpoliſhed way of pronunciation than the reſt of the *Jews*; whereby they were eaſily diſtinguiſhable in their ſpeaking from other men: abundant inſtances whereof there are extant in the *Talmud* at this day. Nay, not only gave this evidence, but added, that he himſelf had ſeen him with *Jeſus* in the Garden. *Peter* ſtill reſolutely denied the matter, and to add the higheſt accompliſhment to his ſin, ratified it not only with an *Oath*, but a ſolemn *Curſe* and execration, that *he was not the perſon*, that *he knew not the man*. 'Tis but a very weak excuſe, which * S. *Ambroſe*, and ſome others make for this Act of *Peter*'s, in ſaying, *I knew not the Man. He did well* (ſays he) *to deny him to be Man, whom he knew to be God.* ‖ S. *Hierom* takes notice of this pious and well-meant excuſe made for *Peter*, though out of modeſty he conceals the name of its Authors, but yet juſtly cenſures it as trifling and frivolous, and which to excuſe a *Man* from folly, would charge *God* with falſhood: for if he did not deny him, then our Lord was out, when he ſaid, that, *that Night he ſhould thrice deny him*, that is, his Perſon, and not only his humanity. Certainly the beſt Apology that can be made for *Peter* is, that he quickly repented of this great ſin; for no ſooner had he done it, but the *Cock crew again*; at which intimation our *Saviour* turn'd about and earneſtly looked upon him: a glance that quickly pierced him to the Heart, and brought to his remembrance, what our Lord had once and again foretold him of, how foully and ſhamefully he ſhould deny him: whereupon not being able to contain his ſorrow, he ran out of Doors to give it vent, and *wept bitterly*, paſſionately bewailing

Bene negavit minem, quem ebat deum. mbr. *in Luc.* .*Tom.* 5. *p.* 7. *vid. Hilar.* mment. *in* Matth. *p.* 328. *Hieron. in* Matth. 26. *p.* .*Tom.* 9. *vid.* nguſt. *in Jo-* .*Tract.* lxvi. *l.* 417. *Tom.* 9

bewailing his folly, and the aggravations of his ſin; thereby endeavouring to make ſome reparation for his fault, and recover himſelf into the favour of Heaven, and to prevent the execution of Divine Juſtice, by taking a ſevere revenge upon himſelf: by theſe penitential tears he endeavoured to waſh off his guilt; as indeed Repentance is the next ſtep to Innocence.

SECT. VI.

Of S. *Peter*, from *Chriſt's* Reſurrection, till his Aſcenſion.

Our Lord's care to acquaint Peter *with his Reſurrection. His going to the Sepulchre.* Chriſt's *appearance to* Peter, *when, and the Reaſons of it: The Apoſtles Journey into* Galilee: Chriſt's *appearing to them at the* Sea *of* Tiberias; *His being diſcovered by the great draught of Fiſhes.* Chriſt's *queſtioning* Peter's *love, and why.* Feed my Sheep, *commended to* Peter, *imports no peculiar ſupereminent power and ſoveraignty.* Peter's *death and ſufferings foretold. Our Lord takes his laſt leave of the Apoſtles at* Bethany. *His Aſcenſion into Heaven. The* Chappel *of the* Aſcenſion. *The Apoſtles joy at their Lord's Exaltation.*

1. WHAT *became of Peter after his late* Prevarication, whether he followed our *Saviour* through the ſeveral ſtages of his Trial, and perſonally attended, as a *Mourner* at the Funerals of his Maſter, we have no account left upon Record. No doubt he ſtayed at *Jeruſalem*, and probably with S. *John*, together with whom we firſt find him mentioned, when both ſetting forwards to the Sepulchre: which was in this manner. Early on that Morning, whereon our Lord was to return from the Grave, *Mary Magdalen*, and ſome other devout and pious Women brought Spices and Ointments, with a deſign to Imbalm the Body of our crucified Lord. Coming to the Sepulchre at Sun-riſing, and finding the Door open, they entred in, where they were ſuddenly ſaluted by an Angel, who told them, that *Jeſus* was riſen, and bad them go and acquaint his Apoſtles, and particularly *Peter*, that he was returned from the dead; and that he would go before them into *Galilee*, where they ſhould meet with him. Hereupon they returned back, and acquainted the Apoſtles with what had paſſed, who beheld the ſtory as the product of a weak frighted fancy. But *Peter* and *John* preſently haſtned towards the Garden; *John* being the younger and nimbler, out-ran his Companion, and came firſt thither, where he only looked, but entred not in, either out of fear in himſelf, or a great Reverence to our Saviour. *Peter*, though behind in ſpace, was before in zeal, and being elder and more conſiderate, came and reſolutely entred in, where they found nothing but the *Linnen Clothes* lying together in one place, and the *Napkin* that was about his Head wrapped together in another; which being diſpoſed with ſo much care and order, ſhewed (what was falſly ſuggeſted by the *Jews*) that our Saviour's Body was not taken away by Thieves, who are wont more to conſult their eſcape, than how to leave things orderly diſpoſed behind them.

Mark 16.1.

Luke 24.12. John 20.2.

2. THE

2. THE same Day about Noon we may suppose it was, that our Lord himself appeared alone to *Peter*; being assured of the thing, though not so precisely of the time. That he did so, S. *Paul* expresly tells us; and so did the Apostles the two Disciples that came from *Emmaus*, *The Lord is risen, and hath appeared unto Simon*: which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to those two Disciples. And indeed we cannot but think that our Lord would hasten the manifestation of himself to him, as compassionating his case, being overwhelmed with sorrow for the late shameful denial of his Master: and was therefore willing in the first place to honour him with his presence, at once to confirm him in the Article of his Resurrection, and to let him see, that he was restored to the place which before he had in his grace and favour. S. *Paul* mentioning his several appearances after his Resurrection, seems to make this the first of them, *That he was seen of Cephas*. Not that it was simply the first, for he first appeared to the *Women*. But as * *Chrysostom* observes, it was the first, that was made to *men*. He was first *seen* by him who most desired to *see* him. He also adds several probable conjectures, why our Lord first discovered himself to *Peter*: As, that it required a more than ordinary firmness and resolution of mind, to be able to bear such a sight: For they who beheld him after others had seen him, and had heard their frequent Testimonies and Reports, had had their Faith greatly prepared and encouraged to entertain it; But he who was to be honoured with the first appearance had need of a bigger; and more undaunted Faith, lest he should be over-born, τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας, with such a strange and unwonted sight: That *Peter* was the first that had made a signal confession of his Master, and therefore it was fit and reasonable, that he should first see him alive after his Resurrection: That *Peter* had lately *denied* his Lord, the grief whereof lay hard upon him, that therefore our Saviour was willing to administer some consolation to him, and as soon as might be to let him see, that he had not cast him off; like the kind *Samaritan*, he made haste to help him, and to pour Oil into his wounded Conscience.

Cor. 15. 5.
Luke 24. 34.
ἐν ἀνδράσι τῷ πρώτῳ, μάλιστα τὸν ποθοῦντι εἶν. Chrys. in 1 Cor. c. 15. Hom. 38. p. 666 Ibid. p. 667.

3. SOME time after this, the Apostles began to resolve upon their journey into *Galilee*, as he himself had commanded them. If it be enquired why they went no sooner, seeing this was the first message and intimation, they had received from him; ‖ S. *Ambrose* his resolution seems very rational, that our Lord indeed had commanded them to go thither, but that their fears for some time kept them at home; not being as yet fully satisfied in the truth of his Resurrection, till our Lord by often appearing to them, had confirmed their minds, and put the case beyond all dispute. They went, as we may suppose, in several Companies, lest going all in one Body, they should awaken the power and malice of their enemies, and alarm the care and vigilancy of the state, which by reason of the Noise that our Saviour's Trial and Execution had made up and down the City and Country, was yet full of jealousies and fears. We find *Peter*, *Thomas*, *Nathanael*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two more of the Disciples arrived at some Town about the *Sea of Tiberias*: Where, the Providence of God guiding the Instance of their employment, *Peter* accompanied with the rest, returns to his old Trade of Fishing. They laboured all Night, but caught nothing. Early in the Morning a grave Person, probably in the habit of a Traveller, presents himself upon the shore: And calling to them, asked them whether they had any meat: When they told him, No; He advised them to cast the Net on the *right* side of the Ship, that so the Miracle might not seem to be the effect of chance, and they should not fail to speed. They did so, and the Net presently inclosed so great a draught, that they were scarce able to drag it

Comment. in Luc. 24. in fin. 70. Tom. 5.
John 21. 1.

it a shore. S. *John* amazed with the strangeness of the matter, told *Peter* that surely this must be *the Lord*, whom the Winds and the Sea, and all the Inhabitants of that watry Region were so ready to obey. *Peter*'s zeal presently took fire, notwithstanding the coldness of the Season, and impatient of the least moments being kept from the company of his dear Lord and Master, without any consideration of the danger to which he exposed himself, he girt his Fishers Coat about him, and throwing himself into the Sea, swam to shore, not being able to stay till the Ship could arrive, which came presently after. Landing, they found a Fire ready made, and Fish laid upon it, either immediately created by his Divine power, or which came to the shore of its own accord, and offered it self to his hand. Which notwithstanding, he commands them to bring of the Fish which they had lately caught, and prepare it for their Dinner, He himself dining with them; both that he might give them an instance of mutual love and fellowship, and also assure them of the truth of his humane nature, since his return from the dead.

——————ὁ δὲ χεδὸν ἐγγὺς ὀρύσσας,
Εἵματι δαιδαλέῳ λαγόνας μιβώσατο Σίμων.
Καὶ ταχὺς εἰς ῥόον ἆλτο καὶ ἠθάδα πόντον ἀμείβω[ν]
Χεῖρας ἐρετμώσας κεφαλὴν εἰς ὕψος ἀείρων.
Ποσσὶν ἀμοιβαίοισιν ὀπίστερον ὤθεεν ὕδωρ,
Ἀκτῆς δ' ἐγγὺς ἵκανε θεουδόχον ἤονα βαίνων.
Nonn. Paraphr. in loc.

4. DINNER being ended, our Lord more particularly addressed himself to *Peter*; urging him to the utmost diligence in his care of Souls: and because he knew, that nothing but a mighty love to himself could carry him through the troubles and hazards of so dangerous and difficult an employment; an employment attended with all the impediments, which either the perverseness of men, or the malice and subtilty of the Devil could cast in the way to hinder it; therefore he first enquired of him, whether he loved him more than the *rest of the Apostles, herein* mildly reproving his former over-confident resolution, that *though all the rest should deny him, yet would not he deny him. Peter* modestly replyed, not censuring others, much less preferring himself before them, that our Lord knew the integrity of his affection towards him. This Question he puts three several times to *Peter*, who as often returned the same Answer: It being but just and reasonable, that he who by a threefold denial had given so much cause to question, should now by a threefold confession * give more than ordinary assurance of his sincere affection to his Master. *Peter* was a little troubled at this frequent questioning of his love, and therefore more expresly appeals to our Lord's omnisciency, that He who knew all things, must needs know that he loved him. To each of these confessions our Lord added this signal trial of his affection; then, *Feed my sheep*, that is, faithfully instruct and teach them, carefully rule and guide them, perswade, not compel them, feed, not fleece, nor kill them. And so 'tis plain *S. Peter* himself understood it, by the charge which he gives to the Guides and Rulers of the Church, that *they should feed the Flock of God, taking the over-sight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: Neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock.* But that *by feeding Christ's Sheep and Lambs*, here commended to *S. Peter*, should be meant an universal and uncontrollable Monarchy and Dominion over the whole Christian Church, and that over the Apostles themselves and their Successors in ordinary, and this power and supremacy solely invested in *S. Peter*, and those who were to succeed him in the See of *Rome*, is so wild an inference, and such a melting down words to run into any shape, as could never with any face have been offered, or been possible to have been imposed upon the belief of mankind, if men had not first subdued their reason to their interest, and captivated both to an implicite faith and a blind obedience. For granting that our Lord here addressed his speech only unto *Peter*,

* Τὸ τριπλ[οῦν] τῆς ἀρνήσεως, τ[ῇ] τριπλῇ τῆς συγκατα θέσ[ε]ως ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρὸς ἐξωστράκισε. *Isid. Pelus. lib. 1. E[p.] 103. p. 27. Redditur neg[a]tioni trinæ tr[i]na Confessio, [ne] minus amori lingua serviat quàm timori: & plus vocis elicuisse vide[a]tur mors im[minens, quàm] vita præsens. Aug. in Joa[n.] Tract. 123. co[l.] 566.*

1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.

ter, yet the very ſame power in equivalent terms is elſewhere indifferently granted to all the Apoſtles, and in ſome meaſure to the ordinary Paſtors and Governours of the Church: As when our Lord told them, That *all power was given him in Heaven and in Earth*, by vertue whereof *they ſhould go teach and baptize all Nations*, and *preach the Goſpel to every Creature*: That *they ſhould feed God's flock, Rule well*, inſpect and *watch over* thoſe over whom they had the Authority and the Rule. Words of as large and more expreſs ſignification, than thoſe which were here ſpoken to S. *Peter*.

5. OUR Lord having thus engaged *Peter* to a chearful compliance with the dangers that might attend the diſcharge and execution of his Office, now particularly intimates to him what that fate was that ſhould attend him: telling him, that though when he was young he girt himſelf, lived at his own pleaſure, and went whither he pleaſed; yet when he was old, he ſhould ſtretch forth his hands, and another ſhould gird and bind him, and lead him whither he had no mind to go: intimating, as the *Evangeliſt* tells us, *by what death he ſhould glorifie God*, that is, by Crucifixion, the Martyrdom which he afterward underwent. And then riſing up, commanded him to follow him; by this bodily attendance myſtically implying his conformity to the death of *Chriſt*, that he ſhould follow him in dying for the truth and teſtimony of the Goſpel.

Acts 1.8. Luke 24.49. It was not long after, that our Lord appeared to them to take his laſt farewell of them, when leading them out unto *Bethany*, a little Village upon the Mount of *Olives*, he briefly told them, That they were the perſons, whom he had choſen to be the *witneſſes* both of his Death and Reſurrection; a teſtimony which they ſhould bear to him in all parts of the World: In order to which he would after his Aſcenſion pour out his *Spirit* upon them in larger meaſures, than they had hitherto received, that they might be the better fortified to grapple with that violent rage and fury, wherewith both Men and Devils would endeavour to oppoſe them; and that in the mean time they ſhould return to *Jeruſalem*, and ſtay till theſe miraculous powers were from on high conferred upon them. His diſcourſe being ended, laying his hands upon them, he gave them his ſolemn bleſſing; which done, he was immediately taken from them, and being attended with a glorious guard and train of *Angels*, was received up into Heaven. * Antiquity tells us, that in the place where he laſt trod upon the rock, the impreſſion of his feet did remain, which could never afterwards be fill'd up or impaired, over which *Helena*, Mother of the *Great Conſtantine*, afterwards built a little *Chappel*, called the *Chappel of the Aſcenſion*; in the floor whereof upon a whitiſh kind of ſtone, modern ‖ Travellers tell us, that the impreſſion of his Foot is ſhewed at this day; but 'tis that of his right foot only, the other being taken away by the *Turks*, and as 'tis ſaid, kept in the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*. Our Lord being thus taken from them, the Apoſtles were filled with a greater ſenſe of his glory and majeſty, than while he was wont familiarly to converſe with them; and having performed their ſolemn adorations to him, returned back to *Jeruſalem*, waiting for the promiſe of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which was ſhortly after conferred upon them. *They worſhipped him, and returned to Jeruſalem with great joy.* They who lately were overwhelmed with ſorrow at the very mention of their Lord's departure from them, entertained it now with joy and triumph, being fully ſatisfied of his glorious advancement at God's right hand, and of that particular care and providence which they were ſure he would exerciſe towards them, in purſuance of thoſe great truſts he had committed to them.

* *Paulin Epiſt. 3. ad Sever. lib. 2. p. 130. Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. lib. 2. p. 145. Hieron. de loc. Hebr. in Act. Opp. p. 297. Tom. 3. F. Cotovic. Itin. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 271. vid. Sands Relat. lib. 3. p. 156.*

Luke 24.52.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

S. *Peter's* Acts, from our Lord's Aſcenſion, till the Diſperſion of the Church.

The Apoſtles return to Jeruſalem. *The* ὑπερῶον, *or* upper-room *where they aſſembled, what.* Peter *declares the neceſſity of a new Apoſtles being choſen in the room of* Judas. *The promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt made good upon the day of* Pentecoſt. *The Spirit deſcended in the likeneſs of* fiery cloven tongues, *and why. The greatneſs of the Miracle.* Peter's *vindication of the Apoſtles from the ſlanders of the* Jews, *and proving* Chriſt *to be the promiſed* Meſſiah. *Great numbers converted by his Sermon. His going up to the Temple. What their ſtated* hours *of Prayer. His curing the impotent Cripple there, and diſcourſe to the* Jews *upon it. What numbers converted by him.* Peter *and* John *ſeiſed, and caſt into Priſon. Brought before the* Sanhedrim, *and their reſolute carriage there. Their refuſing to obey, when commanded not to preach* Chriſt. *The great ſecurity the Chriſtian Religion provides for ſubjection to Magiſtrates in all lawful inſtances of Obedience. The ſeverity uſed by* Peter *towards* Ananias *and* Saphira. *The great Miracles wrought by him. Again caſt into Priſon, and delivered by an Angel. Their appearing before the* Sanhedrim; *and deliverance, by the prudent counſels of* Gamaliel.

1. THE Holy *Jeſus* being gone to Heaven, the Apoſtles began to act according to the Power and Commiſſion he had left with them. In order whereunto, the firſt thing they did after his Aſcenſion, was to fill up the vacancy in their Colledge, lately made by the unhappy fall and Apoſtaſie of *Judas*. To which end no ſooner were they returned to *Jeruſalem*, but they went εἰς ὑπερῶον, *into an upper-room*. Where this ὑπερῶον was, whether in the houſe of S. *John*, or of *Mary John-Mark's* Mother, or in ſome of the out-rooms belonging to the *Temple*, (for the Temple had over the Cloiſters ſeveral Chambers for the ſervice of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and as Repoſitories, where the conſecrated Veſſels and Utenſils of the Temple were laid up, though it be not probable, that the *Jews*, and eſpecially the Prieſts would ſuffer the Apoſtles and their company to be ſo near the Temple) I ſtand not to enquire. 'Tis certain that the *Jews* uſually had their ὑπερῶα, private *Oratories* in the upper parts of their houſes, called עליות, for the more private exerciſes of their devotions. Thus *Daniel* had his עליות, his *upper-Chamber* (τὰ ὑπερῶα the LXX. render it) whither he was wont to retire to pray to his God: and * *Benjamin* the *Jew* tells us, that in his time (*Ann. Chr.* 1172.) the *Jews* at *Babylon* were wont to pray both in their Synagogues, ועליות דניאל, *and in that ancient upper-room of Daniel, which the Prophet himſelf built.* Such an ὑπερῶον, or *upper-Chamber*, was that wherein S. *Paul* preached at *Troas*: and ſuch probably this, where the Apoſtles were now met together, and in all likelihood the ſame, where our Lord had lately kept the Paſſeover, where the Apoſtles and the Church were aſſembled on the day of *Pentecoſt*, and which was then the uſual place of their Religious Aſſemblies, as we have elſewhere obſerved more at * large. Here

Dan. 6. 10.

* *Benj. Itiner.* p. 76.

Acts 20. 8.

* *Prim. Chriſt. Part* 1. *Ch.* 6 p. 126.

Here the Church being met, to the number of about CXX, *Peter*, as Preſi-
Acts 1. 15. dent of the Aſſembly, put them in mind, that *Judas*, one of our Lord's A-poſtles, being betrayed by his own covetous and inſatiable mind, had lately fallen from the honour of his place and miniſtery: that this was no more than what the *Prophet* had long ſince foretold ſhould come to paſs, and that the rule and over-ſight in the Church, which had been committed unto him, ſhould be devolved upon another: that therefore it was highly neceſſary, that one ſhould be ſubſtituted in his room, and eſpecially ſuch a one as had been familiarly converſant with our Saviour, from firſt to laſt, that ſo he might be a competent *witneſs* both of his doctrine and miracles, his life and death, but eſpecially of his Reſurrection from the dead. For ſeeing no evidence is ſo valid and ſatisfactory, as the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs, the Apoſtles all along mainly inſiſted upon this, that they delivered no other things concerning our Saviour to the World, than what they themſelves had ſeen and heard. And ſeeing his riſing from the Dead was a principle likely to meet with a great deal of oppoſition, and which would hardlieſt gain belief and entertainment with the minds of men, therefore they principally urg'd this at every turn, that *they were eye-witneſſes of his Reſurrection*, that they had ſeen, felt, eaten, and familiarly converſed with him after his return from the Grave. That therefore ſuch an Apoſtle might be choſen, two *Candidates* were propoſed, *Joſeph* called *Barſabas*, and *Matthias*. And having prayed, that the Divine Providence would immediately guide and direct the choice, they caſt lots, and the lot fell upon *Matthias*, who was accordingly admitted into the number of the twelve Apoſtles.

Acts 2. 1. 2. FIFTY days ſince the laſt *Paſſeover* being now run out, made way for the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. At what time the great promiſe of the *Holy Ghoſt* was fully made good unto them. The Chriſtian Aſſembly being met together, for the publick ſervices of their Worſhip, on a ſudden a ſound, like that of a mighty wind, ruſh'd in upon them; repreſenting the powerful efficacy of that Divine Spirit, that was now to be communicated to them: After which there appeared little flames of *fire*, which in the faſhion of Cloven Tongues, not only deſcended, but ſate upon each of them, probably to note their perpetual enjoyment of this gift upon all occaſions, that when neceſſary, they ſhould never be without it; not like the Prophetick gifts of old, which were conferred but ſparingly, and only at ſome particular times
Numb. 11. 25. and ſeaſons. As the *ſeventy Elders propheſied and ceaſed not*, but it was only at ſuch times *as the Spirit came down and reſted upon them.* Hereupon they were all immediately filled with the *Holy Ghoſt*, which enabled them in an inſtant to ſpeak ſeveral Languages, which they had never learn'd, and probably never heard of, together with other miraculous gifts and powers. Thus as the confounding of Languages became a curſe to the old World, ſeparating men from all mutual offices of kindneſs and commerce, rendring one part of Mankind Barbarians to another: ſo here the multiplying ſeveral Languages became a bleſſing, being intended as the means to bring men of all Nations *into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God*, into the fellowſhip of that Religion, that would baniſh diſcords, cement differences, and unite mens hearts in the bond of peace. The report of ſo ſudden and ſtrange an action preſently ſpread it ſelf into all corners of the City, and there being at that time at *Jeruſalem* multitudes of *Jewiſh* Proſelytes, *Devout men out of every Nation under Heaven, Parthians, Medes, Elamites* (or *Perſians*) *the dwellers in Meſopotamia and Judæa, Cappadocia, Pontus*, and *Aſia* minor, from *Phrygia* and *Pamphylia*, from *Egypt* and *the parts of Libya and Cyrene*, from *Rome*, from *Crete*, from *Arabia*, *Jews* and P[illegible]

(probably drawn thither by the general report and expectation which had spread it self over all the * *Eastern* parts, and in a manner over all places of the *Roman* Empire, of the *Jewish Messiah*, that about this time should be born at *Jerusalem*) they no sooner heard of it, but universally flocked to this *Christian* Assembly: where they were amazed to hear these *Galileans* speaking to them in their own *native* Languages, so various, so vastly different from one another. And it could not but exceedingly encrease the wonder to reflect upon the meanness and inconsiderableness of the persons, neither assisted by natural parts, nor polished by education, nor improved by use and custom: which three things Philosophers require to render a man accurate and extraordinary in any art or discipline, φύσις γὰρ ἄνευ μαθήσεως τυφλόν. μάθησις δίχα φύσεως ἐλλιπές. ἄσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀτελές, says *Plutarch*; Natural disposition without institution is blind, instruction without a *genius* and disposition is defective, and exercise without both is lame and imperfect. Whereas these Disciples had not one of these to set them off; their parts were mean, below the rate of the common people, the *Galileans* being generally accounted the rudest and most stupid of the whole *Jewish* Nation; their education had been no higher than to catch Fish, and to mend Nets; nor had they been used to plead causes, or to deliver themselves before great Assemblies; but spoke on a sudden, not premeditated discourses, not idle stories, or wild roving fancies, but the great and admirable works of God, and the mysteries of the Gospel beyond humane apprehensions to find out, and this delivered in almost all the Languages of the then known World. *Men were severally affected with it, according to their* different tempers and apprehensions. Some admiring, and not knowing what to think on't, others deriding it, said, that it was nothing else but the wild raving effect of drunkenness and intemperance. At so wild a rate are men of prophane minds wont to talk, when they take upon them to pass their censure in the things of God.

* *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & const[ans] opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa prof[ecti] rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore,* &c. Suet. *in vit.* Vespas. *c.* 4. *p.* 728. *eadem habet* Taci[t]. *Histor. l.* 5. *c.* 13. *p.* 540.

Περ. παιδ. ἀγωγ. p. 2.

3. HEREUPON the Apostles rose up, and *Peter* in the name of the rest, took this occasion of discoursing to them: He told them, that this scandalous slander proceeded from the spirit of malice and falshood; that their censure was as uncharitable, as it was unreasonable; that *they that are drunken,* are *drunk in the night*; that it was against nature and custom for men to be in drink so soon, too early for such a suspicion to take place, it being now but about nine of the clock, the hour for Morning Prayer, till when men even of ordinary sobriety and devotion on Festival days were wont to fast. That these extraordinary and miraculous passages were but the accomplishment of an ancient prophecy, the fulfilling of what God had expresly foretold should come to pass in the times of the *Messiah*; that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* had evidently approv'd himself to be the *Messiah* sent from God by many unquestionable miracles, of which they themselves had been eye-witnesses: And though by God's permission, who had determined by this means to bring about the Salvation of mankind, they had wickedly crucified and slain him, yet that God had raised him from the dead: That it was not possible he should be holden always under the dominion of the Grave; nor was it consistent with the justice and goodness of God, and especially with those Divine predictions which had expresly foretold he should rise again from the dead: *David* having more particularly foretold, *That his flesh should rest in hope,* that *God would not leave his Soul in Hell, neither suffer his holy one to see corruption*; but *would make known to him the ways of life*:

Πάντως ἂν στάσιν ἐχώρησ[ε] εἰ μὴ τὸ συνέ[δριον] διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕ[κτη] ὥρα, καθ' ἣν τοῖς σάββασι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. Joseph. *de vit. sua,* p. 1020.

That this prophecy could not be meant concerning *David* himſelf, by whom it was ſpoken, he having many Ages ſince been turn'd to aſhes, his body reſolv'd into rottenneſs and putrefaction, his Tomb yet viſible among them, from whence he never did return; that therefore it muſt needs have been prophetically ſpoken concerning *Chriſt*, having never been truly fulfill'd in any but him, who both died, and was riſen again, whereof they were witneſſes. Yea, that he was not only riſen from the dead, but aſcended into Heaven, and according to *David*'s prediction, *Sate down on God's right hand, until he made his Enemies his foot-ſtool:* which could not be primarily meant of *David*, he never having yet *bodily* aſcended into Heaven; that therefore the whole *houſe* of *Iſrael* ought to believe, and take notice, that this very *Jeſus*, whom they had crucified, was the perſon whom God had appointed to be the *Meſſiah* and the *Saviour* of his Church.

4. THIS diſcourſe in every part of it, like ſo many daggers, *pierc'd* them to the heart; who thereupon cried out to *Peter* and his Brethren to know what they ſhould do. *Peter* told them, that there was no other way, than by an hearty and ſincere repentance, and a being baptized into the Religion of this crucified Saviour, to expiate their guilt, to obtain pardon of ſin, and the gifts and benefits of the Holy Ghoſt. That upon theſe terms the promiſes of the new Covenant, which was ratified by the death of *Chriſt*, did belong to them, and their children, and to all that ſhould effectually believe and embrace the Goſpel: Further preſſing and perſwading them by doing thus, to ſave themſelves from that unavoidable ruine and deſtruction, which this wicked and untoward generation of obſtinate unbelieving *Jews* were ſhortly to be expoſed to. The effects of his preaching were ſtrange and wonderful: as many as believed were baptized: there being that day *added to the Church* no leſs than *three thouſand ſouls*. A quick and plentiful harveſt; the late ſufferings of our Saviour, as yet freſh bleeding in their memories, the preſent miraculous powers of the Holy Ghoſt, that appeared upon them, the zeal of his Auditors, though heretofore miſplaced and miſguided, and above all, the efficacy of Divine grace, contributing to this numerous converſion.

5. THOUGH the converting ſo vaſt a multitude might juſtly challenge a place amongſt the greateſt miracles, yet the Apoſtles began now more particularly to exerciſe their miraculous power. *Peter* and *John* going up to the *Temple*, about three of the clock in the afternoon, towards the concluſion of one of the ſolemn hours of prayer, (for the *Jews* divided their day into four greater hours, each quarter containing three leſſer under it,* three of which were publick and ſtated times of prayer, inſtituted (*ſay they*) by the three great Patriarchs of their Nation; the firſt from ſix of the clock in the morning till nine, called hence *the third hour of the day*, inſtituted by *Abraham*, this was called תפלת שחרית or *morning prayer:* the ſecond from nine till twelve, called *the ſixth hour*, and this hour of prayer ordain'd by *Iſaac*, this was called תפלת צהרים or *mid-day prayer*: the third from twelve till three in the afternoon, called *the ninth hour*, appointed by *Jacob*, called תפלת ערבית or *evening prayer*; and at this hour it was that theſe two Apoſtles went up to the Temple, where) they found a poor impotent Cripple, who, though above forty years old, had been lame from his Birth, lying at the *beautiful Gate* of the *Temple*, and asking an Alms of them. *Peter* earneſtly looking on him, told him, he had no money to give him, but that he would give him that which was a great deal better, reſtore him to his health; and lifting him up by the hand, commanded him in the Name of *Jeſus of Nazareth to riſe up and walk.*

ts 3.1.

d. Druſ. in ts 3.1.

The

The word was no ſooner ſaid, than the thing was done: Immediately the Nerves and Sinews were enlarged, and the Joynts returned to their proper uſe. The man ſtanding up went into the *Temple* walking, leaping, and praiſing God. The beholding ſo ſudden and extraordinary a Cure begot great admiration in the minds of the People, whoſe curioſity drew them to the Apoſtles to ſee thoſe who had been the Authors of it. Which *Peter* taking notice of, began to diſcourſe to them to this effect; That there was no reaſon they ſhould wonder at them, as if by their own skill and art they had wrought this Cure, it being intirely done in the Name of their crucified Maſter, by the Power of that very *Chriſt*, that Holy and Juſt Perſon, whom they themſelves had denied and delivered up to *Pilate*, and preferred a Rebel and a Murtherer before him, when his Judge was reſolved to acquit him: and that though they had put him to death, yet that they were witneſſes that God had raiſed him up again, and that He was gone to Heaven, where he muſt remain till the times of the General Reſtitution: That he preſumed that this in them, as alſo in their Rulers, was in a great meaſure the effect of ignorance, and the not being throughly convinced of the Greatneſs and Divinity of his Perſon; which yet God made uſe of for the bringing about his Wiſe and Righteous Deſigns, the accompliſhing of what he had foretold concerning *Chriſt*'s Perſon and Sufferings, by *Moſes* and *Samuel*, and all the holy *Prophets which had been ſince the World began*: That therefore it was now high time for them to repent, and turn to God, that their great wickedneſs might be expiated, and that when *Chriſt* ſhould ſhortly come in Judgment upon the *Jewiſh* Nation, it might be a time of comfort and refreſhing to them, what would be of vengeance and deſtruction to other men: that they were the peculiar perſons, to whom the bleſſings of the promiſes did primarily appertain, and unto whom God in the firſt place ſent his Son, that he might derive his bleſſing upon them by *turning them away from their iniquities*. While *Peter* was thus diſcourſing to the People in one place, we may ſuppoſe that *John* was preaching to them in another; and the ſucceſs was anſwerable. The Apoſtles caſt out the ſeed, and *God* immediately *gave the increaſe*. There being by this means no fewer than *Five Thouſand* brought over to the Faith: though 'tis poſſible the whole Body of Believers might be comprehended in that Number. Acts 4.4.

6. WHILE the Apoſtles were thus Preaching, the *Prieſts* and *Sadducees* (who particularly appeared in this buſineſs, as being enemies to all tumults, or what ever might diſturb their preſent eaſe and quiet, the only portion of happineſs they expected; beſides that they hated *Chriſtianity*, becauſe ſo expreſly aſſerting the *Reſurrection*) being vexed to hear this Doctrine vented amongſt the People, intimated to the Magiſtrate, that this Concourſe might probably tend to an Uproar and Inſurrection: Whereupon they came with the *Captain* of the *Temple* (Commander of the Tower of *Antonia*, which ſtood cloſe by, on the North ſide of the *Temple*, wherein was a *Roman* Garriſon to prevent or ſuppreſs, eſpecially at Feſtival times, Popular Tumults and Uproars) who ſeized on the Apoſtles, and put them into Priſon. The next Day they were convented before the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*; and being asked by what Power and Authority they had done this; *Peter* reſolutely anſwered, That as to the Cure done to this impotent Perſon, Be it known to them and all the *Jews*, that it was perfectly wrought in the Name of that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom they themſelves had crucified, and God had raiſed from the dead, and whom, though they had thrown him by as waſte and rubbiſh, yet, God had made *head of the corner*; and that there was no other way, wherein they, or others, could expect ſalvation, but by this crucified Saviour. Acts 4.1.

Great was the boldneſs of the Apoſtles, admired by the *Sanhedrim* it ſelf, in this matter; eſpecially if we conſider, that this probably was the very Court that had ſo lately ſentenced and condemned their Maſter, and being fleſhed in ſuch ſanguinary proceedings, had no other way but to go on and juſtifie one cruelty with another: that the Apoſtles did not ſay theſe things in corners, and behind the curtain, but to their very faces, and that in the open Court of Judicature, and before all the people: That the Apoſtles had not been uſed to plead in ſuch publick places, nor had been poliſhed with the Arts of education, but were ignorant unlearned men, known not to be verſed in the ſtudy of the *Jewiſh* Law.

7. THE *Council* (which all this while had beheld them with a kind of wonder, and now remembred that they had been the companions and attendants of the late crucified *Jeſus*) commanded them to withdraw, and debated amongſt themſelves what they ſhould do with them. The Miracle they could not deny, the fact being ſo plain and evident, and therefore reſolved ſtrictly to charge them, that they ſhould Preach no more in the Name of *Jeſus*. Being called in again, they acquainted them with the Reſolution of the Council, to which *Peter* and *John* replied, That they could by no means yield obedience to it, appealing to themſelves, whether it was not more fit, that *they ſhould obey God, rather than them*: And that they could not but *teſtifie what they had ſeen and heard*. Nor did they in this anſwer make any undue reflection upon the power of the Magiſtrates, and the obedience due to them, it being a ruled caſe by the firſt dictates of reaſon, and the common vote and ſuffrage of Mankind, that Parents and Governours are not to be obeyed, when their commands interfere with the obligations under which we ſtand to a ſuperiour power. All authority is originally derived from God, and our duty to him may not be ſuperſeded by the Laws of any Authority deriving from him: and even *Socrates* himſelf in a parallel inſtance, when perſwaded to leave off his excellent way of inſtitution and inſtructing youth, and to comply with the humour of his *Athenian* Judges to ſave his life, returned this anſwer, that *indeed he loved and honoured the Athenians; but yet reſolved to obey God, rather than them*. An anſwer almoſt the ſame both in ſubſtance and words, with that which was here given by our Apoſtles. In all other caſes where the Laws of the Magiſtrate did not interfere with the commands of *Chriſt*, none more loyal, more compliant than they. As indeed no Religion in the World ever ſecured the intereſts of Civil authority like the Religion of the Goſpel. It poſitively charges *every ſoul* of what rank or condition ſoever *to be ſubject to the higher powers*, as a Divine *ordinance* and inſtitution, and that *not for wrath only, but for conſcience-ſake*; it *puts men in mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magiſtrates, to ſubmit to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, both to the King as ſupreme, and unto Governours as unto them that are ſent by him: for ſo is the will of God.* So far is it from allowing us to violate their perſons, that it ſuffers us not boldly to cenſure their actions, *to revile the Gods, deſpiſe Dominions, and ſpeak evil of Dignities*, or to vilifie and injure them ſo much, as by a diſhonourable thought; commanding us when we cannot obey, to ſuffer the moſt rigorous penalties impoſed upon us with calmneſs, and *to poſſeſs our ſouls in patience.* Thus when theſe two Apoſtles were ſhortly after again ſummoned before the

Τὸ μὲν ἀπειθεῖν, καὶ ὁ ἀπειθὴς, λοιδορία ἐστὶ καὶ ...ειδος· τὸ δὲ μὴ πράττειν ἃ μὴ χρὴ, οὐκ ὄνειδος, ...λ' ἔπαινος. ὥστε εἴτε παῖς, εἴτε ἄρχοντος, ...ε καὶ νὴ Δία δεσπότου προστάγματι μὴ ὑπουργεῖ ...κακὰ προστάττοντος, ἢ ἄδικα ἢ αἰσχρὰ, οὐκ ἀπει... οὐδαμῶς, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἀδικεῖ, οὐδ' ἁμαρτάνει· ...λ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπειθὴς μόνος, ὁ τῶν εὖ καὶ καλῶς καὶ ...μφερόντως προστεταγμένων, ἀφροντιστῶν καὶ ...ρακούων· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπειθὴς, τοιοῦτός τις ἐστίν. *Muſon. apud Stob. Serm. 77. de honor. & obed. ...ent. debit. p. 458. ubi pluribus ſtrenue & ele...nter hac de re diſſerit.*

Εἰ οὖν με (ὅπερ εἶπον) ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίοιτε, εἴ...μ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη...οι ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ, πείσομαι δὲ τῷ ...ῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν. *Socr. in Apol. apud Plat. ...11. p. 25.*

Council,

Council, commanded no more to Preach the Chriſtian Doctrine, and to be ſcourged for what they had done already, though they could not *obey* the one, they chearfully *ſubmitted* to the other without any peeviſh or tart reflections, but went away rejoycing. But what the carriage of Chriſtians was in this matter in the firſt and beſt ages of the Goſpel, we have in another place ſufficiently diſcovered to the World. We may not withhold our obedience, till the Magiſtrate invades God's Throne, and countermands his authority, and may then appeal to the ſence of Mankind. whether it be not moſt reaſonable that God's authority ſhould firſt take place, as the Apoſtles here appealed to their very Judges themſelves. Nor do we find that the *Sanhedrim* did except againſt the Plea. At leaſt whatever they thought, yet not daring to puniſh them for fear of the People, they only threatned them, and let them go: who thereupon preſently return'd to the reſt of the Apoſtles and Believers. *Prim. Chri. Part 3. Ch.*

8. The Church exceedingly multiplied by theſe means: And that ſo great a Company (moſt whereof were poor) might be maintained, they generally ſold their Eſtates, and brought the Money to the Apoſtles, to be by them depoſited in one common Treaſury, and thence diſtributed according to the ſeveral exigences of the Church: which gave occaſion to this dreadful Inſtance. *Ananias* and his Wife *Saphira* having taken upon them the profeſſion of the Goſpel, according to the free and generous ſpirit of thoſe times, had conſecrated and devoted their Eſtate to the honour of God, and the neceſſities of the Church. And accordingly ſold their Poſſeſſions, and turned them into Money. But as they were willing to gain the reputation of charitable Perſons, ſo were they loth wholly to caſt themſelves upon the Divine Providence, by letting go all at once, and therefore privately withheld part of what they had devoted, and bringing the reſt, laid it at the Apoſtles feet: hoping herein they might deceive the Apoſtles, though immediately guided by the Spirit of God. But *Peter* at his firſt coming in, treated *Ananias* with theſe ſharp enquiries; Why he would ſuffer *Satan* to fill his heart with ſo big a wickedneſs, as by keeping back part of his eſtate, to think to *deceive the Holy Ghoſt?* That before it was ſold, it was wholly at his own diſpoſure; and after, it was perfectly in his own power fully to have performed his vow: So that it was capable of no other interpretation, than that herein he had not only abuſed and injured men, but mocked God, and, what in him lay, *lyed* to, and cheated the Holy Ghoſt; who, he knew, was privy to the moſt ſecret thoughts and purpoſes of his heart. This was no ſooner ſaid, but ſuddenly to the great terror and amazement of all that were preſent, *Ananias* was arreſted with a ſtroke from Heaven, and fell down dead to the ground. Not long after his Wife came in, whom *Peter* entertained with the ſame ſevere reproofs, wherewith he had done her Husband, adding, that the like ſad fate and doom ſhould immediately ſeize upon her, who thereupon dropt down dead: As ſhe had been Copartner with him in the Sin, becoming ſharer with him in the puniſhment. An inſtance of great ſeverity, filling all that heard of it with fear and terror, and became a ſeaſonable prevention of that hypocriſie and diſſimulation, wherewith many might poſſibly think to have impoſed upon the Church. Acts 5. 1.

9. THIS ſevere Caſe being extraordinary, the Apoſtles uſually exerted their power in ſuch Miracles as were more uſeful and beneficial to the World: Curing all manner of Diſeaſes; and diſpoſſeſſing Devils: In ſo much that they brought the Sick into the Streets, and laid them upon Beds and Couches, that at leaſt *Peter*'s ſhadow, as he paſſed by, might come upon them. Theſe aſtoniſhing Miracles could not but mightily contribute Acts 5. 12.

to the propagation of the Goſpel, and convince the World that the Apoſtles were more conſiderable Perſons, than they took them for, poverty and meanneſs being no bar to true worth and greatneſs. And methinks * *Eraſmus* his reflection here is not unſeaſonable; that no honour or ſoveraignty, no power or dignity was comparable to this glory of the Apoſtle; that the things of *Chriſt*, though in another way, were more noble and excellent, than any thing that this World could afford. And therefore he tells us, that when he beheld the ſtate and magnificence wherewith *Pope Julius the Second* appeared firſt at *Bononia*, and then at *Rome*, equalling the triumphs of a *Pompey*, or a *Cæſar*; he could not but think how much all this was below the greatneſs and majeſty of S. *Peter*, who converted the World, not by Power or Armies, not by Engines, or artifices of pomp and grandeur, but by Faith in the power of *Chriſt*, and drew it to the admiration of himſelf: and the ſame ſtate (*ſays he*) would no doubt attend the Apoſtles Succeſſors, were they Men of the ſame temper and holineſs of life. The *Jewiſh* Rulers alarm'd with this News, and awakened with the growing numbers of the Church, ſent to apprehend the Apoſtles, and caſt them into Priſon. But God who is never wanting to his own cauſe, ſent that Night an *Angel* from Heaven to open the Priſon doors, commanding them to repair to the *Temple*, and to the exerciſe of their Miniſtery. Which they did early in the Morning, and there taught the People. How unſucceſsful are the projects of the wiſeſt Stateſmen, when God frowns upon them! how little do any counſels againſt Heaven proſper! In vain is it to ſhut the doors, where God is reſolved to open them; the firmeſt Bars, the ſtrongeſt Chains cannot hold, where once God has deſigned and decreed our liberty. The Officers returning the next Morning, found the Priſon ſhut and guarded, but the Priſoners gone: Wherewith they acquainted the *Council*, who much wondred at it: but being told where the Apoſtles were, they ſent to bring them without any noiſe or violence before the *Sanhedrim*: where the High-Prieſt asked them, how they durſt go on to propagate that Doctrine which they had ſo ſtrictly commanded them not to preach? *Peter* in the name of the reſt told them, That they muſt in this caſe *obey God rather than men*: That though they had ſo barbarouſly and contumelioufly treated the Lord *Jeſus*, yet that God had raiſed him up, and exalted him to be a *Prince* and a *Saviour* to *give* both *repentance and remiſſion of ſins*: That they were witneſſes of theſe things, and ſo were thoſe Miraculous Powers which the Holy Ghoſt conferred upon all true Chriſtians. Vexed was the *Council* with this Anſwer, and began to conſider how to cut them off. But *Gamaliel*, a grave and learned Senator, having commanded the Apoſtles to withdraw, bad the *Council* take heed what they did to them; putting them in mind, that ſeveral perſons had heretofore raiſed parties and factions, and drawn vaſt Numbers after them; but that they had miſcarried, and they and their deſigns come to nought: that therefore they ſhould do well to let theſe men alone: that if their doctrines and deſigns were merely humane, they would in time of themſelves fall to the ground; but if they were of God, it was not all their power and policies would be able to defeat and overturn them: and that they themſelves would herein appear to oppoſe the counſels and deſigns of Heaven. With this prudent and rational advice they were ſatisfied; and having commanded the Apoſtles to be ſcourged, and charged them no more to preach this doctrine, reſtored them to their liberty. Who notwithſtanding this charge and threatning returned home in a kind of triumph, that they were accounted worthy to ſuffer in ſo good a cauſe, and to undergo ſhame and reproach

* not. in loc.

reproach for the sake of so good a Master. Nor could all the hard usage they met with from men discourage them in their duty to God, or make them less zealous and diligent both publickly and privately to preach *Christ* in every place.

Πῶς ἂν ἀν βαίνεις νῦν ὡς μάρτυς τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκ μεῦ Θ. ἔρ σὺ, καὶ μαρτ ρησόν μοι.

ὃ ἄξιος εἰ προαχθῆναι μάρτυς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. ἐν δεινοῖς εἰμι, κύριε, καὶ δυστυχῶ, οὐδείς μου ἐπιστρέφεται, οὐδείς μοι δίδωσιν οὐ πάντες ψέγουσι, πάντες κακολογοῦσι. ταῦτα μέλεις μαρτυρεῖν, καὶ καταισχύνειν τὴν χλῆσιν ἣν κέκληκεν, ὅτι σε ἐτίμησε τοιαυ τιμὴν, καὶ ἄξιον ἡγήσατο προσαγαγεῖν εἰς μαρτυρίαν τηλικαύτην. Arrian. *dissert. lib.* 1. *c.* 29. *p.* 163.

SECT. VIII.

Of S. *Peter's* Acts, from the Dispersion of the Church at *Jerusalem*, till his contest with S. *Paul* at *Antioch*.

The great care of the Divine Providence over the Church. Peter *dispatched by the Apostles to confirm the Church newly planted at* Samaria. *His baffling and silencing* Simon Magus *there. His going to* Lydda, *and curing* Æneas. *His raising* Dorcas *at* Joppa. *The Vision of all sorts of Creatures presented to him, to prepare him for the conversion of the* Gentiles. *His going to* Cornelius, *and declaring God's readiness to receive the* Gentiles *into the Church. The Baptizing* Cornelius *and his Family.* Peter *censured by the* Jews *for conversing with the* Gentiles. *The mighty prejudices of the* Jews *against the* Gentiles *noted out of Heathen Writers.* Peter *cast into prison by* Herod Agrippa: *miraculously delivered by an Angel. His discourse in the* Synod *at* Jerusalem, *that the* Gentiles *might be received without being put under the obligation of the Law of* Moses. *His unworthy compliance with the* Jews *at* Antioch *in opposition to the* Gentiles. *Severely checked and resisted by* S. Paul. *The ill use* Porphyry *makes of this difference. The conceit of some that it was not* Peter *the Apostle, but one of the Seventy.*

1. THE Church had been hitherto tossed with gentle storms, but now a more violent tempest overtook it, which began in the *Proto-Martyr Stephen*, and was more vigorously carried on afterwards; by occasion whereof the Disciples were dispersed. And God, who always brings good out of evil, hereby provided, that the Gospel should not be confin'd only to *Jerusalem*. Hitherto the Church had been crowded up within the City-walls, and the Religion had crept up and down in private corners; but the professors of it being now dispersed abroad by the malice and cruelty of their enemies, carried Christianity along with them, and propagated it into the neighbour-Countries, accomplishing hereby an ancient prophecy, That *out of Sion should go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* Thus God over-rules the malice of men, and makes intended poison to become food, or physick. That Divine Providence that governs the World, more particularly superintends the affairs and interests of his Church, so that no weapon form'd against *Israel* shall prosper; curses shall be turned into blessings, and that become an eminent means to enlarge and propagate the Gospel, which they designed as the only way to suppress and stifle it. Amongst those

Acts 8. 1.

Isai. 2. 3.

thoſe that were ſcattered, *Philip* the *Deacon* was driven down unto *Samaria*, where he preached the Goſpel, and confirmed his preaching by many miraculous cures, and diſpoſſeſſing Devils. In this City there was one *Simon*, who by Magick Arts and Diabolical Sorceries ſought to advance himſelf into a great fame and reputation with the People, inſomuch that they generally beheld him as the *great power of God*, for ſo the * Ancients tell us, he uſed to ſtyle himſelf, giving out himſelf to be the *firſt* and *chiefeſt Deity*, the *Father, who is God over all*, that is, that he was that which in every Nation was accounted the ſupreme Deity. This man hearing the Sermons, and beholding the Miracles that were done by *Philip*, gave up himſelf amongſt the number of believers, and was baptized with them. The Apoſtles, who yet remained at *Jeruſalem*, having heard of the great ſucceſs of *Philip*'s miniſtery at *Samaria*, thought good to ſend ſome of their number to his aſſiſtance. And accordingly deputed *Peter* and *John*, who came thither. Where having prayed for, and laid their hands upon theſe new converts, they preſently received the Holy Ghoſt. *Simon* the *Magician* obſerving, that by laying on of the Apoſtle's hands, miraculous gifts were conferred upon men, offered them a conſiderable ſumm of money to inveſt him with this power, that on whom he laid his hands they might receive the Holy Ghoſt. *Peter* perceiving his rotten and inſincere intentions, rejected his impious motion with ſcorn and deteſtation: *Thy money periſh with thee.* He told him that his heart was naught and hypocritical; that he could have no ſhare nor portion in ſo great a priviledge; that it more concerned him to repent of ſo great a wickedneſs, and ſincerely ſeek to God, that ſo the thought of his heart might be forgiven him; for that he perceived that he had a very vicious and corrupt temper and conſtitution of mind, and was as yet bound up under a very wretched and miſerable ſtate, diſpleaſing to God, and dangerous to himſelf. The Conſcience of the man was a little ſtartled with this, and he prayed the Apoſtles to intercede with Heaven, that God would pardon his ſin, and that none of theſe things might fall upon him. But how little cure this wrought upon him, we ſhall find elſewhere, when we ſhall again meet with him afterwards. The Apoſtles having thus confirmed the Church at *Samaria*, and preached up and down in the Villages thereabouts, returned back to *Jeruſalem*, to joyn their counſel and aſſiſtance to the reſt of the Apoſtles.

* *Mart. vol. 2. p. 69. l. 1. c. 20.* *Tull. de præſcript. Hæret. 6. p. 219.*

2. THE ſtorm, though violent, being at length blown over, the Church enjoyed a time of great calmneſs and ſerenity: during which *Peter* went out to viſit the Churches lately planted in thoſe parts by thoſe Diſciples who had been diſperſed by the perſecution at *Jeruſalem*. Coming down to *Lydda*, the firſt thing he did was to work a cure upon one *Æneas*, who being crippl'd with the Palſie, had layn bed-rid for eight years together. *Peter* coming to him, bad him in the name of Chriſt to ariſe, and the man was immediately reſtored to perfect health. A miracle that was not confined only to his perſon, for being known abroad generally brought over the Inhabitants of that place. The fame of this miracle having flown to *Joppa*, a Sea-port Town, ſome ſix miles thence; the Chriſtians there preſently ſent for *Peter* upon this occaſion. *Tabitha*, whoſe *Greek* name was *Dorcas*, a woman venerable for her piety and diffuſive charity, was newly dead, to the great lamentation of all good men, and much more to the loſs of the poor that had been relieved by her. *Peter* coming to the houſe, found her dreſſed up for her Funeral ſolemnity, and compaſſed about with the ſorrowful Widows, who ſhewed the Coats and Garments wherewith ſhe had clothed them, the badges of her charitable liberality. *Peter* ſhutting all out, kneeled down and prayed, and then turning him to the body, commanded her to ariſe, and lifting

Acts 9. 32.

her

her up by the hand, preſented her in perfect health to her friends, and thoſe that were about her: by which he confirmed many, and converted more to the Faith. After which he ſtaid ſome conſiderable time at *Joppa*, lodging in the houſe of *Simon* a *Tanner*.

3. WHILE he abode in this City, retiring one morning to the houſe-top to pray, (as the *Jews* frequently did, having thence a free and open proſpect towards *Jeruſalem* and the Temple) it being now near Noon, which was the concluſion of one of their ſtated times of Prayer, he found himſelf hungry, and called for meat: but while it was preparing he himſelf fell into a Trance, wherein was preſented to him a large ſheet let down from Heaven, containing all ſorts of Creatures, clean and unclean; a voice at the ſame time calling to him, that he ſhould riſe, kill freely, and indifferently feed upon them; *Peter* tenacious as yet of the Rites and Inſtitutions of the *Moſaick* Law, rejoyn'd, That he could not do it, having never eaten any thing that was common or unclean. To which the voice replied, That what God had cleanſed he ſhould not account or call common. Which being done thrice, the Veſſel was again taken up into Heaven, and the Viſion preſently diſappeared. By this ſymbolick repreſentment, though *Peter* at preſent knew not what to make of it, God was teaching him a new leſſon, and preparing him to go upon an Errand and Embaſſy, which the Spirit at the ſame time expreſly commanded him to undertake. While he was in this doubtful poſture of mind, three meſſengers knock'd at the door, enquiring for him, from whom he received this account: That *Cornelius* a *Roman*, Captain of a Band of *Italian* Souldiers at *Cæſarea*, a perſon of great Piety and Religion (being a *Proſelyte* of the *Gate*, who though not obſerving an exact conformity to the Rites of the *Moſaick* Law, did yet maintain ſome general correſpondence with it, and lived under the obligation of the *ſeven Precepts* of the *Sons* of *Noah*) had by an immediate command from God ſent for him. The next day *Peter* accompanied with ſome of the Brethren, went along with them, and the day after they came to *Cæſarea*. Againſt whoſe arrival *Cornelius* had ſummoned his friends and kindred to his houſe. *Peter* arriving, *Cornelius* (who was affected with a mighty reverence for ſo great a Perſon) fell at his Feet, and worſhipped him: a way of addreſs frequent in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries towards Princes and great men, but by the *Greeks* and *Romans* appropriated as a peculiar honour to the Gods. *Peter* rejecting the honour, as due only to God, entred into the houſe, where he firſt made his Apology to the Company, that though they could not but know, that it was not lawful for a *Jew* to converſe in the duties of Religion with thoſe of another Nation, yet that now God had taught him another leſſon. And then proceeded particularly to enquire the reaſon of *Cornelius* his ſending for him. Whereupon *Cornelius* told him, That four days ſince, being converſant in the duties of Faſting and Prayer, an Angel had appeared to him, and told him, that his Prayers and Alms were come up for a memorial before God, that he ſhould ſend to *Joppa* for one *Simon Peter*, who lodged in a Tanner's houſe by the Sea ſide, who ſhould further make known his mind to him; that accordingly he had ſent, and being now come, they were there met to hear what he had to ſay to them. Where we ſee, that though God ſent an *Angel* to *Cornelius* to acquaint him with his will, yet the Angel was only to direct him to the Apoſtle for inſtruction in the Faith; which no doubt was done, partly that God might put the greater honour upon an inſtitution, that was likely to meet with contempt and ſcorn enough from the World; partly to let us ſee, that we are not to expect extraordinary and miraculous ways of teaching and information, where God affords ordinary means. Acts 10. 9

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4. HEREUPON *Peter* began this diſcourſe, that by comparing things it was now plain and evident, that the *partition-wall* was broken down; that God had no longer a particular kindneſs for Nations or Perſons; that it was not the Nation, but the Religion; not the outward quality of the man, but the inward temper of the mind that recommends men to God; that the devout and the pious, the righteous and the good man, where-ever he be, is equally dear to Heaven; that God has as much reſpect for a juſt and a virtuous perſon in the Wilds of *Scythia*, as upon *Mount Sion*: that the reconciling and making peace between God and Man by *Jeſus Chriſt*, was the Doctrine publiſhed by the Prophets of old, and of late, ſince the times of *John*, preached through *Galilee* and *Judæa*, *viz.* that God had anointed and conſecrated *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* with Divine Powers and Graces, in the exerciſe whereof he conſtantly went about to do good to men: that they had ſeen all he had done amongſt the *Jews*, whom though they had ſlain and crucified, yet that God had raiſed him again the third day, and had openly ſhow'd him to his Apoſtles and followers, whom he had choſen to be his peculiar witneſſes, and whom to that end he had admitted to eat and drink with him after his Reſurrection, commanding them to preach the Goſpel to Mankind, and to teſtifie that he was the perſon whom God had ordained to be the great Judge of the World: that all the Prophets with one conſent bore witneſs of him: that this *Jeſus* is he, in whoſe Name whoſoever believes, ſhould certainly receive remiſſion of ſins. While *Peter* was thus preaching to them, the Holy Ghoſt fell upon a great part of his Auditory, enabling them to ſpeak ſeveral Languages, and therein to magnifie the giver of them: Whereat the *Jews*, who came along with *Peter*, did ſufficiently wonder, to ſee that the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be poured upon the *Gentiles*. *Peter* ſeeing this, told the Company that he knew no reaſon why theſe perſons ſhould not be baptized, having received the Holy Ghoſt as well as they; and accordingly commanded them to be baptized. For whoſe further confirmation he ſtaid ſome time longer with them. This act of *Peter*'s made a great noiſe among the Apoſtles and Brethren at *Jeruſalem*, who being lately converted from their Judaiſm, were as yet zealous for the Religion of their Country, and therefore ſeverely charged *Peter* at his return for his too familiar converſing with the *Gentiles*. See here the powerful prejudice of education. The *Jews* had for ſeveral Ages conceived a radicated and inveterate prejudice againſt the *Gentiles*. Indeed the Law of *Moſes* commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own Nation; and the Rites and Inſtitutions of their Religion, and the peculiar form of their Commonwealth made them different from the faſhion of other Countries: a ſeparation which in after-times they drew into a narrower compaſs. Beſides they were mightily puffed up with their external priviledges, that they were the *ſeed* of *Abraham*, the People whom God had peculiarly choſen for himſelf, above all other Nations of the World, and therefore with a lofty ſcorn proudly rejected the *Gentiles* as *Dogs* and *Reprobates*, utterly refuſing to ſhew them any office of common kindneſs and converſe. We find the *Heathens* frequently charging them with this rudeneſs and inhumanity. * *Juvenal* accuſes them, that they would not ſhew a Traveller the right way, nor give him a draught of Water, if he were not of their Religion. ‖ *Tacitus* tells us, that they had *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*, a bitter hatred of all other People: * *Haman* repreſented them to *Aha ſuerus*, as ἔθνος ἄμικτον, ἀσύμφυλον, &c. *A people that would never kindly mix and correſpond with any other, as different in their Manners, as in their Laws and Religion from other Nations.* The friends of *Antiochus* (as the ‖ Hiſtorian reports) charged them μόνους ἁπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτους

s eſtis tem- m Domini, Spiritus San- s habitat vobis. Et de eroſolymis, & Britannia ualiter patet a cœleſtis. gnum enim ei intra vos . Hieronym. Paulin. 02. Tom. 1.

cts 11. 1.

Satyr. p. 439.

Hiſt. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 535. Ap. Joſeph. ntiqu. Jud. b. 11. c. 6. Diod. Sicul. b. 34. apud hot. Cod. CXLIV. Col. 149.

ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας, καὶ πολεμίους ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας, μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἔθνει τραπέζης κοινωνεῖν τὸ παράπαν, μηδὲ εὐνοεῖν, *That they alone of all others were the most unsociable people under Heaven; that they held no converse or correspondence with any other, but accounted them as their mortal enemies; that they would not eat or drink with men of another Nation, no nor so much as wish well to them, their Ancestors having leavened them with an hatred of all mankind.* This was their humour; and that the *Gentiles* herein did not wrong them, is sufficiently evident from their ordinary practice, and is openly avowed by their own * Writings. Nay, at their first coming over to Christianity, though one great design of it was to soften the manners of men, and to oblige them to a more extensive and universal charity, yet could they hardly quit this common prejudice, quarrelling with *Peter* for no other reason, but that he had eaten and drunken with the *Gentiles*: insomuch that he was forced to Apologize for himself, and to justifie his actions as immediately done by Divine warrant and authority. And then, no sooner had he given them a naked and impartial account of the whole transaction, from first to last, but they presently turned their displeasure against him, into thanks to God, that he had granted to the *Gentiles* also Repentance unto life.

* *Vid. Mmon. in* רצה *cap.* 12, & *Gezelah, cap.*

5. IT was now about the end of *Caligula's* Reign, when *Peter* having finished his visitation of the new planted Churches, was returned unto *Jerusalem*. Not long after *Herod Agrippa*, Grand-child to *Herod* the *great*, having attained the Kingdom, the better to ingratiate himself with the People, had lately put S. *James* to death. And finding that this gratified the Vulgar, resolved to send *Peter* the same way after him. In order whereunto he apprehended him, cast him into Prison, and set strong guards to watch him: the Church in the mean time being very instant and importunate with Heaven for his life and safety. The Night before his intended execution, God purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, who coming to the Prison, found him fast asleep between two of his Keepers. So soft and secure a Pillow is a good Conscience, even in the confines of Death, and the greatest danger. The Angel raised him up, knock'd off his Chains, bad him gird on his Garments, and follow him. He did so, and having passed the first and second Watch, and entred through the *Iron-Gate* into the City (which opened to them of its own accord) after having passed through one Street more, the Angel departed from him. By this time *Peter* came to himself, and perceived that it was no Vision, but a reality that had hapned to him. Whereupon he came to *Mary's* house, where the Church were met together at Prayer for him. Knocking at the Door, the Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving 'twas his voice, ran back to tell them, that *Peter* was at the Door. Which they at first looked upon as nothing, but the effect of fright or fancy, but she still affirming it, they concluded that it was his Angel, or some peculiar messenger sent from him. The Door being open, they were strangely amazed at the sight of him: but he briefly told them the manner of his deliverance, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, presently withdrew into another place. 'Tis easie to imagine what a bustle and a stir there was the next Morning among the Keepers of the Prison, with whom *Herod* was so much displeased, that he commanded them to be put to Death.

Acts 12. 1.

6. SOME time after this it hapned, that a controversie arising between the *Jewish* and the *Gentile* Converts, about the observation of the *Mosaick* Law, the minds of men were exceedingly disquieted and disturbed with it; the *Jews* zealously contending for Circumcision, and the observance of the Ceremonial Law to be joyn'd with the belief & profession of the Gospel,

Acts 15. 1.

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as equally neceſſary to Salvation. To compoſe this difference, the beſt expedient that could be thought on, was to call a General Council of the Apoſtles and Brethren, to meet together at *Jeruſalem*, which was done accordingly, and the caſe throughly ſcanned and canvaſſed. At laſt *Peter* ſtood up, and acquainted the Synod, that God having made choice of him among all the Apoſtles, to be the firſt that preached the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*; God who was beſt able to judge of the hearts of men, had born witneſs to them, that they were accepted of him, by giving them his Holy Spirit as well as he had done to the *Jews*; having put no difference between the one and the other. That therefore it was a tempting and a provoking God, to put a *Yoke* upon the necks of the Diſciples, which neither they themſelves nor their Fathers were able to bear: there being ground enough to believe, that the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jews* ſhould be ſaved by the grace of the Goſpel. After ſome other of the Apoſtles had declared their judgments in the caſe, it was unanimouſly decreed, that except the temporary obſervance of ſome few particular things, equally convenient both for *Jew* and *Gentile*, no other burden ſhould be impoſed upon them. And ſo the decrees of the Council being drawn up into a *Synodical Epiſtle*, were ſent abroad to the ſeveral Churches, for allaying the heats and controverſies that had been raiſed about this matter.

Act. 2. 11. 7. *PETER* a while after the celebration of this Council, left *Jeruſalem*, and came down to *Antioch*, where uſing the liberty which the Goſpel had given him, he familiarly ate and converſed with the *Gentile* Converts, accounting them, now that the *partition-wall was broken down*, no longer *ſtrangers* and *foreigners, but fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of God*: This he had been taught by the Viſion of the *ſheet* let down from Heaven; this had been lately decreed, and he himſelf had promoted and ſubſcribed it, in the *Synod* at *Jeruſalem*: this he had before practiſed towards *Cornelius* and his Family, and juſtified the action to the ſatisfaction of his accuſers; and this he had here freely and innocently done at *Antioch*, till ſome of the *Jewiſh* Brethren coming thither, for fear of offending and diſpleaſing them, he withdrew his converſe with the *Gentiles*, as if it had been unlawful for him to hold Communion with *uncircumciſed* perſons, when yet he knew, and was fully ſatisfied, that our Lord had wholly removed all difference, and broken down the Wall of ſeparation between *Jew* and *Gentile*. In which affair, as he himſelf acted againſt the light of his own mind and judgment, condemning what he had approved, and deſtroying what he had before built up, ſo hereby he confirmed the *Jewiſh* zealots in their inveterate error, caſt infinite ſcruples into the minds of the *Gentiles*, filling their Conſciences with fears and diſſatisfactions, reviving the old feuds and prejudices between *Jew* and *Gentile*; by which means many others were enſnared, yea, the whole number of *Jewiſh* Converts followed his example, ſeparating themſelves from the company of the *Gentile* Chriſtians. Yea, ſo far did it ſpread, that *Barnabas* himſelf was carried away with the ſtream and torrent of this unwarrantable practice. S. *Paul*, who was at this time come to *Antioch*, unto whom *Peter* gave the *right hand of fellowſhip*, acknowledging his Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, obſerving theſe evil and unevangelical actings, reſolutely withſtood *Peter* to the face, and publickly reproved him as a perſon worthy to be blamed for his groſs prevarication in this matter; ſeverely expoſtulating and reaſoning with him, that he who was himſelf a *Jew*, and thereby under a more immediate obligation to the *Moſaick* Law, ſhould caſt off that *Yoke* himſelf, and yet endeavour to impoſe it upon the *Gentiles*, who were not in the leaſt under any obligation to it.

A ſmart, but an impartial charge; and indeed ſo remarkable was this carriage of S. *Paul* towards our Apoſtle, that though it ſet things right for the preſent, yet it made ſome noiſe abroad in the World. Yea, * *Porphyry* himſelf, that acute and ſubtil enemy of Chriſtianity, makes uſe of it as an argument againſt them both: charging the one with error and falſhood, and the other with rudeneſs and incivility; and that the whole was but a compact of forgery and deceit, while the Princes of the Church did thus fall out among themſelves. And ſo ſenſible were ſome of this in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, that rather than ſuch a diſhonour and diſgrace, as they accounted it, ſhould be reflected upon *Peter*; they tell * us of two ſeveral *Cephas*'s, one the *Apoſtle*, the other one of the *ſeventy Diſciples*; and that it was the laſt of theſe, that was guilty of this prevarication, and whom S. *Paul* ſo vigorouſly reſiſted and reproved at *Antioch*. But for this plauſible and well-meant Evaſion the Champions of the *Romiſh* Church conn them no great thanks at this day. Nay, S. *Hierom* long ſince fully confuted it in his Notes upon this place.

* *Apud Hier. proœm. in ad Gal. p. 1 Tom. 9.*

* *Hieron. Co in Gal. 2. p. 1*

SECT. IX.

Of S. *Peter*'s Acts from the End of the Sacred Story till his Martyrdom.

Peter's *ſtory proſecuted out of* Eccleſiaſtical *Writers. His planting of a Church, and an Epiſcopal See at* Antioch; *when ſaid to be. His firſt Journey to* Rome, *and the happineſs it brought to the* Roman *Empire. His preaching in other places, and return to* Rome. *His encounter with* Simon Magus. *The impoſtures of the* Magician. *His familiarity with the Emperours, and the great honours ſaid to be done to him. His* Statue, *and* Inſcription *at* Rome. Peter's *victory over him by raiſing one from the Dead.* Simon *attempting to fly is by* Peter's *Prayers hindred, falls down, and dies.* Nero's *diſpleaſure againſt* Peter, *whence. His being caſt into Priſon. His flight thence, and being brought back by* Chriſt *appearing to him. Crucified with his head downwards, and why. The place of his Martyrdom, and Burial. The original and greatneſs of S.* Peter's *Church in* Rome. *His Epiſcopal Chair pretended to be ſtill kept there.*

HITHERTO in drawing up the Life of this great Apoſtle, we have had an infallible Guide to conduct and lead us: But the ſacred Story breaking off here, forces us to look abroad, and to pick up what *Memoires* the Ancients have left us in this matter: which we ſhall for the main digeſt according to the order, wherein *Baronius*, and other Eccleſiaſtick Writers have diſpoſed the *ſeries* of S. *Peter*'s Life: Reſerving what is juſtly queſtionable, to a more particular examination afterward. And that we may preſent the account more entire and perfect, we muſt ſtep back a little in point of time, that ſo we may go forward with greater advantage. We are to know therefore, that during the time of peace and calmneſs which the Church enjoyed after *Saul*'s Perſecution, when S. *Peter* went down to viſit

the Churches, he is said to have gone to *Antioch*, where great Numbers of *Jews* inhabited, and there to have planted the Christian Faith. That he founded a Church here, * *Eusebius* expresly tells us, and by ‖ others it is said, that he himself was the first Bishop of this *See*. Sure I am that * S. *Chrysostom* reckons it one of the greatest honours of that City, that S. *Peter* staid so long there, and that the Bishops of it succeeded him in that See. The care and precedency of this Church he had between Six and Seven Years. Not that he staid there all that time, but that having ordered and disposed things to the best advantage, he returned to other affairs and exigencies of the Church: confirming the new Plantations, bringing in *Cornelius* and his Family, and in him the *first fruits* of the *Gentiles* conversion to the faith of *Christ*. After which he returned unto *Jerusalem*, where he was imprisoned by *Herod*, and miraculously delivered by an Angel sent from Heaven.

Chron. ad n Chr. xliii. Vicron. Comnt. in 2. ad lat. p. 168. 9. Encom. S. nat. Mart 503. Tom. 1.

2. WHAT became of *Peter* after his deliverance out of Prison, is not certainly known: probably he might preach in some parts a little further distant from *Judæa*, as we are told * he did at *Byzantium*, and in the Countries thereabouts (though, I confess, the evidence to me is not convincing.) After this he resolved upon a Journey to *Rome*; where most agree he arrived about the Second Year of the Emperor *Claudius*. ‖ *Orosius* tells us, that coming to *Rome*, he brought prosperity along with him to that City: For besides several other extraordinary advantages which at that time hapned to it, this was not the least observable, that *Camillus Scribonianus* Governor of *Dalmatia*, soliciting the Army to rebell against the Emperor, the *Eagles*, their Military *Standard*, remained so fast in the Ground, that no power, nor strength was able to pluck them up. With which *unusual* accident the minds of the Souldiers were surprized and startled, and turning their Swords against the Author of the sedition, continued firm and loyal in their obedience. Whereby a dangerous Rebellion was prevented, likely enough otherwise to have broken out. This he ascribes to Saint *Peter*'s coming to *Rome*, and the first Plantation of the *Christian* Faith in that City. Heaven beginning more particularly to smile upon that place at his first coming thither. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that at his first arrival, he disposed himself amongst the *Jews* his Country-men, who ever since the time of *Augustus*, had dwelt in the *Region* beyond *Tybur*. But when afterwards he began to preach to the *Gentiles*, he was forced to change his Lodging, and was taken in by one *Pudens*, a Senator lately converted to the Faith. Here he closely plyed his main office and employment, to establish Christianity in that place. Here we are told * he met with *Philo* the *Jew*, lately come on his second Embassy unto *Rome*, in the behalf of his Countrymen at *Alexandria*, and to have contracted an intimate friendship and acquaintance with him. And now it was, says ‖ *Baronius*, that *Peter* being mindful of the Churches which he had founded in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Asia* the less, wrote his *first Epistle* to them, which he probably infers hence, that Saint *Mark* being yet with him at the time of the date of this Epistle, it must be written at least some time this Year, for that now it was that S. *Mark* was sent to preach and propagate the Faith in *Egypt*. Next to the planting Religion at *Rome*, he took care to propagate it in the *Western* parts. And to that end (if we may believe one * of those that pretend to be his Successors) he sent abroad Disciples into several Provinces. That so *their sound might go into all the Earth, and their words into the ends of the World.*

Bar. ad An. r. xliv. Num. . vid. Epist. ap. ad Petr. ieros. in V. nd. sub Men. nc. Tom. 4. g. 24. Hist. lib. 7. 6. fol. 296. seq.

Euseb. H. cl. lib. 2. 17. p. 53. ieron. de ipt. Eccles. Phil. p. 270. Ad An. 45. um. 16.

Innoc. Ep. 1. Dec. Eug. ncil. Tom. 1. 751.

3. IT hapned that after S. *Peter* had been several Years at *Rome*, *Claudius* the Emperor taking advantage of some seditions and tumults raised by

by the *Jews*, by a publick *Edict* ‖ baniſhed them out of *Rome*. In the Number of whom S. *Peter* (they ſay) departed thence, and returned back to *Jeruſalem*, where he was preſent at that great *Apoſtolical Synod*, of which before. After this we are left under great uncertainties, how he diſpoſed of himſelf for many Years. Confident we may be, that he was not idle, but ſpent his time ſometimes in preaching in the Eaſtern parts, ſometimes in other parts of the World, as in * *Africk*, *Sicily*, *Italy*, and other places. And here it may not be amiſs to inſert a claim in behalf of our *own Country*: *Euſebius* telling us (as ‖ *Metaphraſtes* reports it) that *Peter* was not only in theſe *Weſtern* parts, but particularly that he was a long time in *Britain*, where he converted many Nations to the Faith. But we had better be without the honour of Saint *Peter*'s company, than build the ſtory upon ſo ſandy a foundation: *Metaphraſtes* his Authority being of ſo little value in this caſe, that it is ſlighted by the more learned and moderate Writers of the Church of *Rome*. But where-ever it was, that Saint *Peter* employed his time, towards the latter part of *Nero*'s Reign, he returned to *Rome*: where he found the minds of People ſtrangely bewitched and hardned againſt the embracing of the *Chriſtian* Religion by the ſubtilties and Magick arts of *Simon Magus*, whom (as we have before related) he had formerly baffled at *Samaria*. This *Simon* was born at * *Gitton*, a Village of *Samaria*, bred up in the Arts of Sorcery and Divination, and by the help of the Diabolical powers performed many ſtrange feats of wonder and activity. Inſomuch that People generally looked upon him as ſome great *Deity* come down from Heaven. But being diſcovered and confounded by *Peter* at *Samaria*, he left the *Eaſt* and fled to *Rome*. Where by Witchcraft and Sorceries *he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the People*, and at laſt became very acceptable to the Emperours themſelves, inſomuch that no honour and veneration was too great for him. ‖ *Juſtin Martyr* aſſures us, that he was honoured as a Deity, that a *Statue* was erected to him in the *Inſula Tyberina* between two Bridges with this Inſcription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO: To Simon the holy God:* that the *Samaritans* generally, and very many of other Nations did own and worſhip him as the chief principal Deity. I know the credit of this Inſcription is ſhrewdly ſhaken by ſome later Antiquaries, who tell us, that the good Father being a *Greek* might eaſily miſtake in a *Latin* Inſcription, or be impoſed upon by others; and that the true Inſcription was *SEMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO, &c.* ſuch an Inſcription being in the laſt Age dug up in the *Tyberine Iſland*, and there preſerved to this day. It is not impoſſible but this might be the foundation of the ſtory. But ſure I am, that it is not only reported by the *Martyr*, who was himſelf a *Samaritan*, and lived but in the next Age, but by others almoſt of the ſame time (a) *Irenæus*, (b) *Tertullian*, and by others (c) after them. It further deſerves to be conſidered, that *J. Martyr* was a perſon of great learning and gravity, inquiſitive about matters of this nature, at this time at *Rome*, where he was capable fully to ſatisfie himſelf in the truth of things, that he preſented this *Apology* to the *Emperor* and the *Senate* of *Rome*, to whom he would be careful what he ſaid, and who as they knew whether it was true or no, ſo if falſe, could not but ill reſent to be ſo boldly impoſed upon by ſo notorious a fable. But be it as it will, he was highly in favour both with the People, and their Emperors; eſpecially *Nero*, who was the Great Patron of Magicians, * and all who maintained ſecret ways of commerce with the infernal powers. With him ‖ S. *Peter* thought fit in the firſt place to encounter, and to undeceive the People, by diſcovering the impoſtures and deluſions of that wretched man.

‖ *Vid. Or* *lib. 7. c.* *fol. 297.*

* *Vid. Ina* *Epiſt. ubi*

‖ *De Petr* *Paul. ad* *29. Jun. N* *23. vid. e* *N. 10. ibi*

* *J. Mar* *Apol. 2. p. 6* *91. vid. Di* *cum Tryph.* *349.*

‖ *Ubi ſupr.* *Apol. 2.*

(a) *Iren. ad* *Hær. lib. 1. c. 2* *p. 115.*
(b) *Tertul. Ap* *c. 13. p. 14*
(c) *Euſeb. li* *2. c. 14. p. 5*
Aug de Hær *in Simon. To* *6. col. 13.*
Niceph. lib. *c. 14. pag. 15*
* *Vid. Plin.* *Nat. Hiſt. l* *30. c. 2. p. 60*
‖ *Euſeb. Hiſt* *Eccl. lib. 2. c* *pag. 51, 52.*

maſ. in Petr. Conc. 1. Conſt. lib. 6. c. 8, 944. Ar- adv. Gent. . p. 23. b. Hæreſ. p. 31. Sulp. lib. 2. pag. & alii. geſ. de Ex- Hieroſol. lib. 2. p. 293.

4. THAT he did ſo, is generally affirmed by the Ancient Fathers, who tell us of ſome particular Inſtances, wherein he baffled and confounded him. But becauſe the matter is more intirely drawn up by ‖ *Hegeſippus* the *younger*, an Author contemporary with S. *Ambroſe*, if not (which is moſt probable) S. *Ambroſe* himſelf, we ſhall from him repreſent the ſummary of the ſtory. There was at this time at *Rome* an eminent young Gentleman, and a Kinſman of the Emperors, lately dead. The fame which *Peter* had for raiſing perſons to life, perſwaded his friends that he might be called. Others alſo prevailing that *Simon* the Magician might be ſent for. *Simon* glad of the occaſion to magnifie himſelf before the People, propounded to *Peter*, that if he raiſed the Gentleman unto life, then *Peter*, who had ſo injuriouſly provoked the *great power of God*, (as he ſtiled himſelf) ſhould loſe his life: But if *Peter* prevailed, he himſelf would ſubmit to the ſame fate and ſentence. *Peter* accepted the termes, and *Simon* began his Charmes and Inchantments: Whereat the dead Gentleman ſeemed to move his hand. The People that ſtood by, preſently cryed out, that he was alive, and that he talked with *Simon*, and began to fall foul upon *Peter*, for daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt ſo great a power. The Apoſtle entreated their patience, told them, that all this was but a *phantaſm* and appearance, that if *Simon* was but taken from the Bed-ſide, all this pageantry would quickly vaniſh. Who being accordingly removed, the Body remained without the leaſt ſign of motion. *Peter* ſtanding at a good diſtance from the Bed, ſilently made his addreſs to Heaven, and then before them all commanded the young Gentleman in the Name of the *Lord Jeſus* to ariſe: who immediately did ſo, ſpoke, walked, and ate, and was by *Peter* reſtored to his Mother. The People who ſaw this, ſuddenly changed their opinions, and fell upon the Magician with an intent to ſtone him. But *Peter* begged his life, and told them, that it would be a ſufficient puniſhment to him, to live and ſee that in deſpite of all his power and malice, the Kingdom of *Chriſt* ſhould increaſe and flouriſh. The Magician was inwardly tormented with this defeat, and vext to ſee the triumph of the Apoſtle, and therefore muſtering up all his powers, ſummoned the People, told them that he was offended at the *Galileans*, whoſe Protector and Guardian he had been, and therefore ſet them a Day, when he promiſed that they ſhould ſee him fly up into Heaven. At the time appointed he went up to the *Mount* of the *Capitol*, and throwing himſelf from the top of the Rock, began his flight. A ſight which the People entertained with great wonder and veneration, affirming that this muſt be the power of God, and not of man. *Peter* ſtanding in the Croud, prayed to our Lord, that the People might be undeceived, and that the vanity of the Impoſtor might be diſcovered in ſuch a way, that he himſelf might be ſenſible of it. Immediately the Wings which he had made himſelf, began to fail him, and he fell to the ground, miſerably bruiſed and wounded with the fall: Whence being carried into a neighbouring Village, he ſoon after dyed. This is the ſtory, for the particular circumſtances whereof, the *Reader* muſt rely upon the credit of my *Author*, the thing in general being ſufficiently acknowledged by moſt ancient Writers. This conteſt of *Peter*'s with *Simon Magus* is placed by *Euſebius* under the Reign of *Claudius*, but by the generality both of ancient and later Authors, it is referred to the Reign of *Nero*.

5. SUCH was the end of this miſerable and unhappy Man. Which no ſooner came to the ears of the Emperor, to whom by wicked artifices he had indeared himſelf, but it became an occaſion of haſtning *Peter*'s ruine. The Emperor probably had before been diſpleaſed with *Peter*, not only upon the account

acount of the general diſagreement and inconformity of his Religion, but becauſe he had ſo ſtrictly preſſed temperance and chaſtity, and reclaimed ſo many Women in *Rome* from a diſſolute and vicious life, thereby croſſing that wanton and laſcivious temper, to which that Prince was ſo immoderate a ſlave and vaſſal. And being now by his means robbed of his dear favourite and companion, he reſolved upon revenge, commanded *Peter* (as alſo S. *Paul*, who was at this time at *Rome*) to be apprehended, and caſt into the *Mamertine* Priſon: * where they ſpent their time in the exerciſes of Religion, and eſpecially in Preaching to the Priſoners, and thoſe who reſorted to them. And here we may ſuppoſe it was (if not a little before) that *Peter* wrote his *ſecond Epiſtle* to the diſperſed *Jews*, wherein he endeavours to confirm them in the belief and practice of Chriſtianity, and to fortifie them againſt thoſe poyſonous and pernicious principles and practices, which even then began to break in upon the Chriſtian Church.

Vid. Ambr. Orat. in Auxent. Ep. lib. p. 125. Tom.

* *Vid. Mart. Rom. ad die 14. Mart. p. 165.*

6. *NERO* returning from *Achaia*, and entring *Rome* with a great deal of pomp and triumph, reſolved now the Apoſtles ſhould fall as a Victim and Sacrifice to his cruelty and revenge. While the fatal ſtroke was daily expected, the Chriſtians in *Rome* did by daily prayers and importunities ſolicite ‖ S. *Peter* to make an eſcape, and to reſerve himſelf to the uſes and ſervices of the Church. This at firſt he rejected, as what would ill reflect upon his courage and conſtancy, and argue him to be afraid of thoſe ſufferings for *Chriſt*, to which he himſelf had ſo often perſwaded others. but the prayers and the tears of the People overcame him, and made him yield. Accordingly the next Night having prayed with, and taken his farewell of the Brethren, he got over the Priſon-wall, and coming to the City-gate, he is there ſaid to have met with our Lord, who was juſt entring into the City. *Peter* asked him, *Lord, whither art thou going?* from whom he preſently received this anſwer, *I am come to Rome, to be crucified a ſecond time.* By which anſwer, *Peter* apprehended himſelf to be reproved, and that our Lord meant it of his death, that he was to be *crucified* in his Servant. Whereupon he went back to the Priſon, and delivered himſelf into the hands of his Keepers, ſhewing himſelf moſt ready and chearful to acquieſce in the will of God. And we are told, * that in the ſtone whereon our Lord ſtood while he talked with *Peter*, he left the impreſſion of his Feet, which ſtone has been ever ſince preſerved as a very ſacred Relique, and after ſeveral tranſlations was at length fixed in the Church of S. *Sebaſtian* the *Martyr*, where it is kept and viſited with great expreſſions of reverence and devotion at this day. Before his ſuffering he was no queſtion ſcourged, according to the manner of the *Romans*, who were wont firſt to whip thoſe Malefactors, who were adjudged to the moſt ſevere and capital puniſhments: Having ſaluted his Brethren, and eſpecially having taken his laſt farewell of S. *Paul*, he was brought out of the Priſon, and led to the top of the *Vatican Mount*, near to *Tybur*, the place deſigned for his Execution. The death he was adjudged to was crucifixion, as of all others accounted the moſt ſhameful, ſo the moſt ſevere and terrible. But he intreated the favour of the Officers, that he might not be crucified in the ordinary way, ‖ but might ſuffer with his Head downwards, and his Feet up to Heaven, affirming that he was unworthy to ſuffer in the ſame poſture wherein his Lord had ſuffered before him. Happy man (as * *Chryſoſtom* gloſſes) to be ſet in the readieſt poſture of travelling from Earth to Heaven. His Body being

‖ *Vid. Ambr. ut ſupr. & Hegeſ. ib. p. 279.*

* *Rom. Subter. lib. 3. c. 2. N. 15. Tom. 1. pag. 292.*

‖ *Orig. lib. 3. in Geneſ. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Pet. p. 262. Hegeſ. p. 279.*

Prima Petrum rapuit ſententia legibus Neronis,
Pendere juſſum præeminente ligno.
Ille tamen veritus celſæ decus æmulando mortis
Ambire tanti gloriam Magiſtri:
Exigit ut pedibus merſum caput imprimant ſupini
Quo ſpectet imum ſtipitem cerebro.
Figitur ergo manus ſubter, ſola verſus in cacumen
Hoc mente major, quo minor figura.
Noverat ex humili cælum citius ſolere adiri,
Dejecit ora, ſpiritum daturus.
Prudent. Periſteph. Hymn. XI. in Paſſ. Pet. & Paul.

* *Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 267. T. 6.*

being taken from the Croſs, is ſaid to have been imbalmed by *Marcellinus* the *Presbyter* after the *Jewiſh* manner, and was then buried in the *Vatican*, near the *Triumphal* way. Over his Grave a ſmall ‖ Church was ſoon after erected, which being deſtroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the Cemetery in the *Appian way*, two Miles from *Rome*: where it remained till the time of Pope *Cornelius*, who re-conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where it reſted ſomewhat obſcurely until the Reign of *Conſtantine*, who out of the mighty reverence which he had for the Chriſtian Religion, cauſed many Churches to be built at *Rome*, but eſpecially rebuilt and enlarged the *Vatican* to the honour of S. *Peter*. In the doing whereof Himſelf is ſaid to have been the firſt that began to dig the Foundation, and to have carried thence twelve Baskets of Rubbiſh with his own hands, in honour, as it ſhould ſeem, of the twelve Apoſtles. He infinitely enriched the Church with Gifts and Ornaments, which in every Age encreaſed in Splendor and Riches, till it is become one of the wonders of the World at this day. Of whoſe glories, ſtatelineſs, and beauty, and thoſe many venerable Monuments of antiquity that are in it, they who deſire to know more, may be plentifully ſatisfied by *Onuphrius*. Only one amongſt the reſt muſt not be forgotten: there being kept that very wooden *Chair*, wherein S. *Peter* ſate when he was at *Rome*, by the only touching whereof many Miracles are ſaid to be performed. But ſurely * *Baronius* his wiſdom and gravity were from home, when ſpeaking of this Chair, and fearing that Hereticks would imagine, that it might be rotten in ſo long a time, he tells us, that it's no wonder that this Chair ſhould be preſerved ſo long, when *Euſebius* affirms, that the wooden Chair of S. *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was extant in the time of *Conſtantine*. But the *Cardinal* it ſeems forgot to conſider, that there is ſome difference between three, and ſixteen hundred Years. But of this enough. S. *Peter* was crucified according to the common computation in the Year of *Chriſt*, ſixty nine, and the thirteenth (or as *Euſebius*, the fourteenth) of *Nero*, how truly may be enquired afterwards.

Onuphr. l. Urb. c. 4. p. 45.

ſupr. laud.

* *Ann.* 45.

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Character of his Person and Temper: and an Account of his Writings.

The description of S. Peter*'s person. An account of his Temper. A natural fervor and eagerness predominant in him. Fierceness and animosity peculiarly remarkable in the* Galileans. *The abatements of his zeal and courage. His humility and lowliness of mind. His great love to, and zeal for Christ. His constancy and resolution in confessing Christ. His faithfulness and diligence in his Office. His Writings genuine and suppostitious. His first Epistle; what the design of it. What meant by* Babylon, *whence it was dated. His second Epistle a long time questioned, and why. Difference in the style no considerable objection.* Grotius *his conceit of its being written by* Symeon *Bishop of* Jerusalem, *exploded. A concurrence of circumstances to entitle S:* Peter *to it. Some things in it referred to, which he had preached at* Rome, *particularly the destruction of* Jerusalem. *Written but a little before his death. The spurious Writings attributed to him, mentioned by the Ancients. His* Acts. Gospel. Petri Prædicatio. *His* Apocalypse. Judicium Petri. Peter*'s married relation. His Wife the companion of his Travels. Her Martyrdom. His Daughter* Petronilla.

1. HAVING run through the current History of S. *Peter*'s Life, it may not be amiss in the next place to survey a little his Person and Temper. His Body (if we may believe the description given of him by * *Nicephorus*) was somewhat slender, of a middle size, but rather inclining to tallness, his complexion very pale, and almost white: The hair of his Head and Beard curl'd and thick, but withall short; though || S. *Hierom* tells us out of *Clemens* his *Periods*, that he was Bald, which probably might be in his declining age; his Eyes black, but speckt with red, which * *Baronius* will have to proceed from his frequent weeping; his Eye-brows thin, or none at all; his Nose long, but rather broad and flat than sharp; such was the Case and out-side. Let us next look inwards, and view the Jewel that was within. Take him as a *Man*, and there seems to have been a natural eagerness predominant in his Temper, which as a Whetstone sharpned his Soul for all bold and generous undertakings. It was this in a great measure that made him so forward to speak, and to return answers, sometimes before he had well considered them. It was this made him expose his person to the most eminent dangers, promise those great things in behalf of his Master, and resolutely draw his Sword in his quarrel against a whole Band of Souldiers, and wound the High-Priests Servant; and possibly he had attempted greater matters, had not our Lord restrained, and taken him off by that seasonable check that he gave him.

* *Hist. Eccles. lib.* 2. *c.* 37. *p.* 195.

|| *Com. in Gal.* 2. *p.* 164. *T.* 9. *ex lib. dicto* περιόδοις *seu* περίοδοι Πέτρου.

* *Ad An.* 69 *n.* 31.

* Καὶ τοίγε ὁ Πέτρος θερμότερον πανταχοῦ καὶ κινεῖται καὶ φθέγγεται. *Chrysost. Hom.* 32. *in Joan. p.* 170.

2. THIS Temper he owed in a great measure to the *Genius* and nature of his Country, of which * *Josephus* gives this true character, That it naturally bred in men a certain *fierceness* and animosity, whereby they were fear-

* Τηλικαῦται οὖσαι τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τοσούτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ κυκλωμέναι, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀεὶ πολέμου πεῖραν ἀντέσχον. μάχιμοί τε γὰρ ἐκ νηπίων, καὶ πολλοὶ πάντοτε Γαλιλαῖοι· καὶ οὔτε δειλία ποτὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὔτε λειπανδρία τὴν χώραν κατέσχεν. *de Bello Jud. lib.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 833.

leſly carried out upon any action, and in all things ſhew'd a great ſtrength and courage both of mind and body. The *Galileans* (ſays he) being fighters from their childhood, the men being as ſeldom overtaken with cowardize, as their Country with want of men. And yet notwithſtanding this, his fervor and fierceneſs had its intervals; there being ſome times when the *Paroxyſms* of his heat and courage did intermit, and the man was ſurpriſed and betrayed by his own fears. Witneſs his paſſionate crying out, when he was upon the Sea in danger of his life, and his fearful deſerting his Maſter in the Garden, but eſpecially his carriage in the High-Prieſts Hall, when the confident charge of a ſorry Maid made him ſink ſo far beneath himſelf, and notwithſtanding his great and reſolute promiſes ſo ſhamefully deny his Maſter, and that with curſes and imprecations. But he was in danger, and paſſion prevailed over his underſtanding, and *fear betrayed the ſuccours which reaſon offered*, and being intent upon nothing but the preſent ſafety of his life, he heeded not what he did, when he diſown'd his Maſter, to ſave himſelf; ſo dangerous is it to be left to our ſelves, and to have our natural paſſions let looſe upon us.

3. CONSIDER him as a *Diſciple* and a Chriſtian, and we ſhall find him exemplary in the great inſtances of Religion. Singular his *Humility*, and lowlineſs of mind. With what a paſſionate earneſtneſs upon the conviction of a Miracle, did he beg of our Saviour to depart from him: accounting himſelf not worthy, that the Son of God ſhould come near ſo vile a ſinner. When our Lord by that wonderful condeſcenſion ſtoopt to waſh his Apoſtles feet, he could by no means be perſwaded to admit it, not thinking it fit, that ſo great a perſon ſhould ſubmit himſelf to ſo ſervile an office towards ſo mean a perſon as himſelf; nor could he be induced to accept it, till our Lord was in a manner forced to threaten him into obedience. When *Cornelius* heightned in his apprehenſions of him by an immediate command from God concerning him, would have entertained him with expreſſions of more than ordinary honour and veneration; ſo far was he from complying with it, that he plainly told him, he was no other than ſuch a man as himſelf. With how much candor and modeſty does he treat the inferiour Rulers and Miniſters of the Church. He, upon whom Antiquity heaps ſo many honourable titles, ſtiling himſelf no other than their *fellow-Presbyter*. Admirable his *love* to, and zeal for his Maſter, which he thought he could never expreſs at too high a rate: for his ſake venturing on the greateſt dangers, and expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent hazards of life. 'Twas in his quarrel that he drew his Sword againſt a Band of Souldiers, and an armed multitude; and 'twas love to his Maſter drew him into that imprudent advice, that he ſhould ſeek to ſave himſelf, and avoid thoſe ſufferings that were coming upon him, that made him promiſe and engage ſo deep, to ſuffer and die with him. Great was his forwardneſs in owning Chriſt to be the *Meſſiah* and Son of God; which drew from our Lord that honourable *Encomium, Bleſſed art thou Simon Bar Jonah*. But greater his courage and conſtancy in confeſſing *Chriſt* before his moſt inveterate enemies, eſpecially after he had recovered himſelf of his fall. With how much plainneſs did he tell the *Jews* at every turn to their very faces, that they were the Murderers and Crucifiers of the Lord of Glory. Nay, with what an undaunted courage, with what an Heroick greatneſs of mind did he tell that very *Sanhedrim*, that had ſentenced and condemned him, that they were guilty of his murder, and that they could never be ſaved any other way, than by this very *Jeſus*, whom they had crucified and put to death.

4. LAST-

4. LASTLY, let us reflect upon him as an *Apoſtle*, as a Paſtor and Guide of Souls. And ſo we find him faithful and diligent in his office, with an infinite zeal endeavouring to inſtruct the ignorant, reduce the erroneous, to ſtrengthen the weak, and confirm the ſtrong, to reclaim the vicious, and *turn Souls to righteouſneſs*. We find him taking all opportunities of preaching to the people, converting many thouſands at once. How many voyages and travels did he undergo? with how unconquerable a patience did he endure all conflicts and trials, and ſurmount all difficulties and oppoſitions, that he might plant and propagate the Chriſtian Faith? Not thinking much to lay down his own life, to promote and further it. Nor did he only do his duty himſelf, but as one of the prime Superintendents of the Church, and as one that was ſenſible of the value and the worth of Souls, he was careful to put others in mind of theirs, earneſtly preſſing and perſwading the Paſtors and Governours of it, *To feed the flock of God, To take upon them the Rule* and Inſpection of it *freely* and *willingly*, not out of a ſiniſter end, merely of gaining advantages to themſelves, but out of a ſincere deſign of doing good to Souls; that they would treat them mildly and gently, and be themſelves *examples* of Piety and Religion to them, as the beſt way to make their Miniſtery ſucceſsful and effectual. And becauſe he could not be always preſent to teach and warn men, he ceaſed not by Letters *to ſtir up their minds* to the remembrance and practice of what they had been taught. A courſe, he tells them, which he was reſolved to hold as long as he lived, as *thinking it meet while he was in this Tabernacle, to ſtir them up, by putting them in mind of theſe things, that ſo they might be able after his deceaſe, to have them always in remembrance.* And this may lead us to the conſideration of thoſe *Writings*, which he left behind him for the benefit of the Church.

1 Pet. 5. 3, 4.

2 Pet. 1. 12, 13, 15.

5. NOW the *Writings that entitle themſelves to this* Apoſtle, were either genuine, or ſuppoſititious. The genuine Writings are his two *Epiſtles*, which make up part of the Sacred Canon. For the firſt of them, no certain account can be had when it was written. Though *Baronius* and moſt Writers commonly aſſign it to the year of *Chriſt Forty Four*. But this cannot be, *Peter* not being at *Rome* (from whence it is ſuppoſed to have been written) at that time, as we ſhall ſee anon. He wrote it to the *Jewiſh* Converts, diſperſed through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and the Countries thereabouts, chiefly upon the occaſion of that perſecution, which had been raiſed at *Jeruſalem*. And accordingly the main deſign of it, is to confirm and comfort them under their preſent ſufferings and perſecutions, and to direct and inſtruct them how to carry themſelves in the ſeveral ſtates and relations, both of the Civil, and the Chriſtian life. For the place whence it was written, 'tis expreſly dated from *Babylon*. But what, or where this *Babylon* is, is not ſo eaſie to determine. Some think it was *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and probably *Alexandria*; and that there *Peter* preached the Goſpel. Others will have it to have been *Babylon* the Ancient *Metropolis* of *Aſſyria*, and where great numbers of *Jews* dwelt ever ſince the times of their Captivities. But we need not ſend *Peter* on ſo long an Errand, if we embrace the Notion of a Learned * man, who by *Babylon* will figuratively underſtand *Jeruſalem*, no longer now the *holy City*, but a kind of ſpiritual *Babylon*, in which the Church of God did at this time groan under great ſervitude and captivity. And this Notion of the Word he endeavours to make good, by calling in to his aſſiſtance two of the Ancient * Fathers, who ſo underſtand that of the Prophet, *We have healed Babylon, but ſhe was not healed.* Where the Prophet (*ſay they*) by *Babylon* means *Jeruſalem*, as differing nothing from the wickedneſs of the Nations, nor conforming it ſelf to the Law of God.

* *L. Capell. Append. ad Hiſt. App. pag. 42.*

* *Cyril. Alex. & Procop. Ga in Eſa. 53.*

God. But generally the Writers of the *Romish* Church, and the more moderate of the *Reformed* party, acquiescing herein in the Judgment of Antiquity, by *Babylon* understand *Rome*. And so 'tis plain S. *John* calls it in his *Revelation*, either from its conformity in power and greatness to that ancient City, or from that great *Idolatry* which at this time reign'd in *Rome*. And so we may suppose S. *Peter* to have written it from *Rome*, not long after his coming thither, though the precise time be not exactly known.

Chap.18.v.2, 20,21.

6. AS for the *Second Epistle*, it was not accounted ol old of equal value and authority with the First, and therefore for some Ages not taken into the Sacred Canon, as is expresly affirmed by * *Eusebius*, and many of the Ancients before him. The Ancient *Syriack* Church did not receive it, and accordingly it is not to be found in their ancient ‖ Copies of the *New Testament*. Yea, those of that Church at this day do not own it as Canonical, but only read it privately, as we do the *Apocryphal* Books. The greatest * exception that I can find against it, was the difference of its *Style* from the other Epistle; and therefore it was presumed, that they were not both written by the same hand. But S. *Hierom*, who tells us the objection, does ‖ elsewhere himself return the answer, That the difference in the style and manner of writing might very well arise from hence, that S. *Peter* according to his different circumstances, and the necessity of affairs, was forced to use several *Amanuenses* and Interpreters; sometimes S. *Mark*, and after his departure some other person, which might justly occasion a difference in the style and character of these *Epistles*. Not to say, that the same person may vastly alter and vary his style according to the times when, or the persons to whom, or the subjects about which he writes, or the temper and disposition he is in at the time of writing, or the care that is used in doing it. Who sees not the vast difference of *Jeremie's* writing in his *Prophecy*, and in his *Book of Lamentations*? between S. *John's* in his *Gospel*, his *Epistles*, and *Apocalypse*? How oft does S. *Paul* alter his style in several of his *Epistles*, in some more lofty and elegant, in others more rough and harsh? Besides hundreds of instances that might be given both in Ecclesiastical and Foreign Writers, too obvious to need insisting on in this place. The learned * *Grotius* will have this Epistle to have been written by *Symeon*, S. *James* his immediate Successor in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, and that the word [*Peter*] was inserted into the Title by another hand. But as a Judicious * person of our own observes, these were but his Posthume Annotations, published by others, and no doubt never intended as the deliberate result of that great man's Judgment: especially since he himself tacitly acknowledges, that all Copies extant at this day read the Title and Inscription, as it is in our Books. And indeed there is a concurrence of circumstances to prove S. *Peter* to be the Author of it. It bears his name in the Front and Title, yea, somewhat more expresly than the former, which has only *one*, this, *both* his Names. There's a passage in it, that cannot well relate to any but him. When he tells us, that he was present with *Christ* in the *holy Mount*, *When he received from God the Father honour, and glory; Where he heard the voice which came from Heaven, from the excellent glory, This is my Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* This evidently refers to *Christs Transfiguration*, where none were present, but *Peter*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, neither of which were ever thought of to be the Author of this Epistle. Besides, that there is an admirable consent and agreement in many passages between these two Epistles, as it were easie to show in particular instances. Add to this, that S. *Jude* speaking of the *Scoffers who should come in the last time, walking after their own ungodly lusts*, cites this as that which had been *before spoken by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus*

H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. Orig. ad Niceph. l. 5. c. 16. 365.

Vid. Edv. Pocock. Præfat. ad Epist. Syr. à se edit.

Hier. de script. Eccl. in Petr.

Quæst. 11. ad Pædib. Tom. 3. 151.

Annot. in Pet. 1.

Dr. Ham. in Argum. Epist.

Pet. 1, 16, 17, 18.

Jud. v. 17, 18.

Jeſus Chriſt: wherein he plainly quotes the words of this Second Epiſtle of *Peter*, affirming, *That there ſhould come in the laſt days ſcoffers, walking after their own luſts.* And that this does agree to *Peter*, will further appear by this, that he tells us of theſe *Scoffers*, that ſhould come in the *laſt days*, that is, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (as that phraſe is often uſed in the New Teſtament) that they ſhould ſay, *Where is the promiſe of his coming?* Which clearly reſpects their making light of thoſe threatnings of our Lord, whereby he had foretold, that he would ſhortly come in Judgment for the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Jewiſh* Nation. This he now puts them in mind of, as what probably he had before told them of *Vivâ voce*, when he was amongſt them. For ſo we find he did elſewhere. *Lactantius* "aſſuring us, That amongſt many ſtrange and wonderful things which *Peter* and *Paul* preached at *Rome*, and left upon Record, this was one, That "within a ſhort time God would ſend a *Prince*, who ſhould deſtroy the *Jews*, "and lay their Cities level with the ground, ſtraitly beſiege them, deſtroy "them with Famine, ſo that they ſhould feed upon one another: That their "Wives and Daughters ſhould be raviſhed, and their Childrens brains daſht "out before their faces; that all things ſhould be laid waſte by Fire and "Sword, and themſelves perpetually baniſhed from their own Country; "and this for their inſolent and mercileſs uſage of the innocent and dear Son "of God. All which, as he obſerves, came to paſs ſoon after their death, when *Veſpaſian* came upon the *Jews*, and extinguiſhed both their *Name* and *Nation*. And what *Peter* here foretold at *Rome*, we need not queſtion but he had done before to thoſe *Jews*, to whom he wrote this Epiſtle. Wherein he eſpecially antidotes them againſt thoſe corrupt and poiſonous principles, wherewith many, and eſpecially the followers of *Simon Magus* began to infect the Church of *Chriſt*. And this but a little time before his death, as appears from that paſſage in it, where he tells them, *That he knew he muſt ſhortly put off his earthly Tabernacle.*

2 Pet. 3. 2.

Lib. 4 *c.* 21. *p.* 422.

Chap. 1. v. 14.

7. BESIDES theſe Divine Epiſtles, there were other *ſuppoſititious* writings which in the firſt Ages were fathered upon S. *Peter*. Such was the Book called his *Acts*, mentioned by * *Origen*, ‖ *Euſebius*, and others, but rejected by them. Such was his *Goſpel*, which probably at firſt was nothing elſe but the Goſpel written by S. *Mark*, dictated to him (as is generally thought) by S. *Peter*; and therefore as * S. *Hierom* tells us, ſaid to be his. Though in the next Age there appeared a Book under that Title, mentioned by ‖ *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and by him at firſt ſuffered to be read in the Church, but afterwards upon a more careful peruſal of it, he rejected it as *Apocryphal*, as it was by others after him. Another was the Book ſtiled, *His Preaching*, mentioned and quoted both by * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and by ‖ *Origen*, but not acknowledged by them to be Genuine: Nay, expreſly ſaid to have been forged by *Hereticks*, by an ancient (a) Author contemporary with S. *Cyprian*. The next was his *Apocalypſe*, or *Revelation*, rejected, as (b) *Sozomen* tells us, by the Ancients as Spurious, but yet read in ſome Churches in *Paleſtine* in his time. The laſt was the Book called, *His Judgment*, which probably was the ſame with that called * *Hermes*, or *Paſtor*, a Book of good uſe and eſteem in the firſt times of Chriſtianity, and which, as ‖ *Euſebius* tells us, was not only frequently cited by the Ancients, but alſo publickly read in Churches.

* *Orig. Tom.* 2 *in Joan.*
‖ *Euſeb. lib.* 3 *c.* 3. *p.* 72.
* *In Petro, ſupr.*
‖ *Apud Euſeb. lib.* 6 *c.* 12. *p.* 213.
* *Strom. lib.* 6. *p.* 635. *& in Excerpt. Gra. ex Hypotyp. p.* 809.
‖ *Orig. Tom.* 1 *in Joan.*
(a) *De Hære non rebapt. apud Cypr. p.* 142.
(b) *H. Eccl. lib.* 7. *c.* 19. *p.* 735.
* *Vid. Ruffin. Expoſit. Symbol. inter Oper. Hier. Tom.* 4. *p.* 113.
‖ *H. Eccl. lib.* 3 *c.* 3. *p.* 72.

8. WE ſhall conclude this Section by conſidering *Peter* with reſpect to his ſeveral Relations: That he was married, is unqueſtionable, the Sacred Hiſtory mentioning his *Wifes Mother*: his Wife (might we believe

lieve * *Metaphraſtes*) being the Daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, Brother to *Barnabas* the Apoſtle. And though ‖ S. *Hierom* would perſwade us, that he left her behind him, together with his Nets, when he forſook all to follow *Chriſt*; yet we know that Father too well, to be over-confident upon his word in a caſe of Marriage or Single life, wherein he is not over-ſcrupulous ſometimes to ſtrain a point, to make his opinion more fair and plauſible. The beſt is, we have an infallible Authority which plainly intimates the contrary, the teſtimony of S. *Paul*, who tells us of *Cephas*, that *he led about a Wife, a Siſter*, along with him, who for the moſt part mutually cohabited and lived together, for ought that can be proved to the contrary. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives us this account, though he tells us not the time or place, That *Peter* ſeeing his Wife going towards Martyrdom, exceedingly rejoyced that ſhe was called to ſo great an honour, and that ſhe was now returning home, encouraging and earneſtly exhorting her, and calling her by her Name, *bad her to be mindful of our Lord*. Such (*ſays he*) was the Wedlock of that bleſſed couple, and the perfect diſpoſition and agreement in thoſe things that were deareſt to them. By her he is ſaid to have had a * Daughter, called *Petronilla* (‖ *Metaphraſtes* adds a Son) how truly I know not. This only is certain, that * *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons *Peter* for one of the Apoſtles that was Married and had Children. And ſurely he who was ſo good a man, and ſo good an Apoſtle, was as good in the relation both of an Husband and a Father.

Comment. de Petr. apud Pr. ad diem Jun. n. 2. Ep. ad Julian. m. 1 p. 207.

Cor. 9. 5. Id. Clem. Regnit. lib. 7. l. 76. p. 2. Strom. lib. 7. 736.

Bar. ad An. p. n. 32. Ubi ſupr. Strom. lib. 3. 448.

SECT. XI.

An Enquiry into S. *Peter's* going to *Rome*.

Peter's *being at* Rome *granted in general. The account of it given by* Baronius *and the Writers of that Church rejected, and diſproved. No foundation for it in the* Hiſtory *of the* Apoſtolick Acts. *No mention of it in* S. Paul's *Epiſtle to the* Romans. *No news of his being there, at* S. Paul's *coming to* Rome, *nor intimation of any ſuch thing in the ſeveral Epiſtles which* S. Paul *wrote from thence.* S. Peter's *firſt being at* Rome *inconſiſtent with the time of the* Apoſtolical Synod *at* Jeruſalem. *And with an Ancient* Tradition, *that the Apoſtles were commanded to ſtay Twelve years in* Judæa *after* Chriſt's *death. A paſſage out of* Clemens Alexandrinus *noted and corrected to that purpoſe. Difference among the Writers of the* Romiſh *Church in their Accounts.* Peter's *being* XXV *years Biſhop of* Rome, *no ſolid foundation for it in Antiquity. The Planting and Governing that Church equally attributed to* Peter *and* Paul. S. Peter *when* (*probably*) *came to* Rome. *Different dates of his Martyrdom aſſigned by the Ancients. A probable account given of it.*

1. THOUGH it be not my purpoſe to ſwim againſt the Stream and Current of Antiquity, in denying S. *Peter* to have been at *Rome*, an Aſſertion eaſilier perplexed and entangled, than confuted and diſproved; yet may we grant the main, without doing any great ſervice to that Church, there being evidence enough to every impartial and conſidering man, to ſpoil that ſmooth and plauſible Scheme of Times, which *Baronius* and the Writers

Writers of that Church have drawn with ſo much care and diligence. And in order to this we ſhall firſt enquire, whether that Account which *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter*'s being at *Rome* be tolerably reconcileable with the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts* recorded by S. *Luke*, which will be beſt done by briefly preſenting S. *Peter*'s Acts in their juſt *Series* and order of Time, and then ſeeing what countenance and foundation their Account can receive from hence.

2. AFTER our Lord's Aſcenſion, we find *Peter*, for the firſt year at leaſt, ſtaying with the reſt of the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*. In the next year he was ſent, together with S. *John*, by the command of the Apoſtles, to *Samaria*, to preach the Goſpel to that City, and the parts about it. About three years after S. *Paul* meets him at *Jeruſalem*, with whom he ſtaid ſome time. In the two following years he viſited the late planted Churches, preached at *Lydda* and *Joppa*, where having *tarried many days*, he thence removed to *Cæſarea*, where he preached to, and baptized *Cornelius* and his Family. Whence after ſome time he returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he probably ſtaid, till caſt into priſon by *Herod*, and delivered by the Angel. After which we hear no more of him, till three or four years after we find him in the Council at *Jeruſalem*. After which he had the conteſt with S. *Paul* at *Antioch*. And thence forward the Sacred Story is altogether ſilent in this matter. So that in all this time, we find not the leaſt footſtep of any intimation that he went to *Rome*. This * *Baronius* well foreſaw, and therefore once and again inſerts this caution, that S. *Luke* did not deſign to record all the Apoſtles Acts, and that he has omitted many things which were done by *Peter*. Which ſurely no man ever intended to deny. But then that he ſhould omit a matter of ſuch vaſt moment and importance to the whole Chriſtian World, that not one ſyllable ſhould be ſaid of a Church planted by *Peter* at *Rome*; a Church that was to be Paramount, the ſeat of all Spiritual Power and Infallibility, and to which all other Churches were to vail and do homage; nay, that he ſhould not ſo much as mention that ever he was there, and yet all this ſaid to be done within the time he deſigned to write of, is by no means reaſonable to ſuppoſe. Eſpecially conſidering, that S. *Luke* records many of his journeys and travels, and his preaching at ſeveral places, of far leſs conſequence and concernment. Nor let this be thought the worſe of, becauſe a *negative* Argument, ſince it carries ſo much rational evidence along with it, that any man who is not plainly byaſſed by Intereſt, will be ſatisfied with it.

* *Ad An.* 34. *num.* 12. *ad An.* 34. *n.* 285.

3. BUT let us proceed a little further to enquire, whether we can meet any probable footſteps afterwards. About the year *Fifty three*, towards the end of *Claudius* his Reign S. *Paul* is thought to have writ his Epiſtle to the Church at *Rome*, wherein he ſpends the greateſt part of one Chapter in ſaluting particular perſons that were there; amongſt whom it might reaſonably have been expected, that S. *Peter* ſhould have had the firſt place. And ſuppoſing with * *Baronius*, that *Peter* at this time might be abſent from the City, preaching the Goſpel in ſome parts in the *Weſt*, yet we are not ſure that S. *Paul* knew of this, and if he did, it is ſtrange that in ſo large an Epiſtle, wherein he had occaſion enough, there ſhould be neither direct nor indirect mention of him, or of any Church there founded by him. Nay, S. *Paul* himſelf intimates, what an earneſt deſire he had to come thither, that he might *impart unto them ſome ſpiritual gifts, to the end they might be eſtabliſhed in the Faith*, for which there could have been no ſuch apparent cauſe had *Peter* been there ſo lately, and ſo long before him. Well, S. *Paul* himſelf not many years after is ſent to *Rome*, *Ann. Chr.* LVI, or as

* *Ad An.* 58. *n.* 51.

Rom. 1. 10, 11, 12.

Euſebius, LVII, (though *Baronius* makes it two years after) about the ſecond year of *Nero*; when he comes thither, does he go to ſojourn with *Peter*, as 'tis likely he would, had he been there? No, but dwelt by himſelf in his own hired houſe. No ſooner was he come, but he called the chief of
28.17. the *Jews* together, acquainted them with the cauſe and end of his coming, explains the doctrine of Chriſtianity, which when they rejected, he tells them, That *henceforth the Salvation of God was ſent unto the Gentiles*, who would hear it, to whom he would now addreſs himſelf. Which ſeems to intimate, that however ſome few of the *Gentiles* might have been brought over, yet that no ſuch harveſt had been made before his coming, as might reaſonably have been expected from S. *Peter*'s having been ſo many years amongſt them. Within the two firſt years after S. *Paul*'s coming to *Rome*, he wrote Epiſtles to ſeveral Churches, to the *Coloſſians*, *Epheſians*, *Philippians*, and one to *Philemon*, in none whereof there is the leaſt mention of S. *Peter*, or from whence the leaſt probability can be derived, that he had
ap.4.10,11 been there. In that to the *Coloſſians*, he tells them, that of the *Jews* at *Rome*, he had had *no other fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, which had been a comfort unto him*, ſave only *Ariſtarchus*, *Marcus*, and *Jeſus* who was called *Juſtus*, which evidently excludes S. *Peter*. And in that to *Timothy*, which *Baronius* confeſſes to have been written a little before his *Martyrdom*, (though probably it was written the ſame time with the reſt above mentioned) he tells him, That
im.4.16. *at his firſt anſwer at Rome, no man ſtood with him, but that all men forſook him*. Which we can hardly believe S. *Peter* would have done, had he then been there. He further tells him, That *only Luke was with him*, that *Creſcens* was gone to this place, *Titus* to that, and *Tychicus* left at another. Strange! that if *Peter* was at this time gone from *Rome*, S. *Paul* ſhould take no notice of it as well as the reſt. Was he ſo inconſiderable a perſon, as not to be worth the remembring? or his errand of ſo ſmall importance, as not to deſerve a place in S. *Paul*'s account, as well as that of *Creſcens* to *Galatia*, or of *Titus* to *Dalmatia*? Surely, the true reaſon was, that S. *Peter* as yet had not been at *Rome*, and ſo there could be no foundation for it.

4. IT were no hard matter, further to demonſtrate the inconſiſtency of that Account which *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter*'s being at *Rome*, from the time of the *Apoſtolical Synod* at *Jeruſalem*. For if S. *Paul* went up to that Council *Fourteen years* after his own Converſion, as he plainly intil.2.1. mates; and that he himſelf was converted *Ann.* XXXV, ſomewhat leſs than two years after the death of *Chriſt*, then it plainly appears, that this Council was holden *Ann.* XLVIII, in the ſixth year of *Claudius*, if not ſomewhat ſooner, for S. *Paul*'s διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν does not neceſſarily imply, that Fourteen years were completely paſt, διὰ ſignifying *circa*, as well as *poſt*, but that it was near about that time. This being granted (and if it be not, it is eaſie to make it good) then three things amongſt others will follow from
Bellarm. de m. Pontif. .2.c.6.Col. 5. it. Firſt, That whereas, according to * *Bellarmine* and ‖ *Baronius*, S. *Peter* after his firſt coming to *Rome* (which they place *Ann.* XLIV, and the
ar. ad An. .n.15. ſecond of *Claudius*) was ſeven years before he returned thence to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, they are ſtrangely out in their ſtory, there being but three, or at moſt four years between his going thither, and the celebration
Ibid. & Bar. An 51. 53. of that Council. Secondly, That when they tell * us, that S. *Peter*'s leaving *Rome* to come to the Council, was upon the occaſion of the *decree* of *Claudius*, baniſhing all *Jews* out of the City, this can no ways be. For
Lib.7.c.6. l.297.p.2. * *Oroſius* does not only affirm, but prove it from *Joſephus*, that *Claudius* his Decree was publiſhed in the Ninth Year of his Reign, or *Ann. Chr.* LI,

Three

Three Years at leaſt after the Celebration of the Council. Thirdly, That when ‖ *Baronius* tells us, that the Reaſon why *Peter* went to *Rome* after the breaking up of the *Synod*, was becauſe *Claudius* was now dead, he not daring to go before for fear of the Decree, this can be no reaſon at all, the Council being ended at leaſt Three Years before that Decree took place: ſo that he might ſafely have gone thither without the leaſt danger from it. It might further be ſhewed (if it were neceſſary) that the account which even they themſelves give us, is not very conſiſtent with it ſelf. So fatally does a bad cauſe draw Men whether they will or no into Errors and Miſtakes.

‖ *Ad An.* 58 *n.* 51.

5. THE truth is, the learned Men of that Church are not well agreed among themſelves, to give in their verdict in this caſe. And indeed, how ſhould they, when the thing it ſelf affords no ſolid foundation for it? *Onuphrius* a man of great learning and induſtry in all matters of antiquity, and who (as the * writer of *Baronius* his Life informs us) deſigned before *Baronius* to write the Hiſtory of the Church, goes a way by himſelf, in aſſigning the time of S. *Peter*'s founding his *See* both at *Antioch* and ‖ *Rome*. For finding by the account of the Sacred ſtory, that *Peter* did not leave *Judæa* for the Ten firſt Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, and conſequently could not in that time erect his *See* at *Antioch*; he affirms, that he went firſt to *Rome*, whence returning to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, he thence went to *Antioch*, where he remained Seven Years, till the Death of *Claudius*, and having ſpent almoſt the whole Reign of *Nero* in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, returned in the laſt of *Nero*'s Reign to *Rome*, and there died. An opinion, for which he is ſufficiently chaſtiſed by * *Baronius*, and others of that Party. And here I cannot but remark the ingenuity (for the learning ſufficiently commends it ſelf) of ‖ *Monſieur Valois*, who freely confeſſes the miſtake of *Baronius*, *Petavius*, *&c.* in making *Peter* go to *Rome*, *Ann.* XLIV, the Second Year of *Claudius*, when as it is plain (*ſays he*) from the *Hiſtory* of the *Acts*, that *Peter* went not out of *Judæa* and *Syria*, till the Death of *Herod*, *Claudii Ann.* IV, Two whole years after. Conſonant to which, as he obſerves, is what *Apollonius*, a Writer of the Second Century, reports from a Tradition current in his time, that the Apoſtles did not depart aſunder till the Twelfth Year after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, our Lord himſelf having ſo commanded them. In confirmation whereof, let me add a paſſage that I meet with in *Clemens* of ‖ *Alexandria*, where from S. *Peter* he records this Speech of our Saviour to his Apoſtles, ſpoken probably either a little before his Death, or after his Reſurrection. Ἐὰν μὲν ἔν τις μετανοήσῃ τῶν Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι, διὰ τὸ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν ὅτι ὁ Θεὸν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη. ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. *If any Iſraelite ſhall repent, and believe in God through my Name, his ſins ſhall be forgiven him after twelve years. Go ye into the World, leſt any ſhould ſay, we have not heard.* This paſſage, as ordinarily pointed in all Editions that I have ſeen, is ſcarce capable of any tolerable ſence: for what's the meaning, of a penitent *Iſraelite*'s being pardoned *after twelve years?* It is therefore probable, yea, certain with me, that the ſtop ought to be after ἁμαρτίαι, and μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη joyned to the following clauſe, and then the ſence will run clear and ſmooth; *If any Jew ſhall repent, and believe the Goſpel, he ſhall be pardoned; but after twelve years go ye into all the World, that none may pretend that they have not heard the ſound of the Goſpel.* The Apoſtles were firſt to Preach the Goſpel to the *Jews* for ſome conſiderable time, Twelve Years after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, in and about *Judæa*, and then to betake themſelves to the Provinces of the *Gentile*-World, to make known to them the glad tidings of Salvation;

* *Hier. Barn de vit. Bar. l. c.* 18.

‖ *Onuphr. Ann. not. ad Plat. vit. Petr. p.* 9 *& in Faſt.*

* *Ad Ann.* 39 *N.* 12.

‖ *Annot. ad Euſeb. lib.* 2. *c.* 16.

‖ *Stromat. lib.* 6 *p.* 636.

exactly anſwerable to the Tradition mentioned by *Apollonius*. Beſides, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* tells us, that *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the Seventh Year of *Claudius*, *Ann. Chriſti* XLIX. So little certainty can there be of any matter, wherein there is no truth. Nay, the ſame excellent Man before * mentioned does not ſtick elſewhere to profeſs, he wonders at *Baronius*, that he ſhould make *Peter* come from *Rome*, baniſhed thence by *Claudius* his *Edict*, to the *Synod* at *Jeruſalem*, the ſame Year, *viz. Ann. Claudii* IX, a thing abſolutely inconſiſtent with that ſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts*, recorded by S. *Luke*, wherein there is the ſpace of no leſs than Three Years from the time of that *Synod*, to the Decree of *Claudius*. It being evident, what he obſerves, that after the celebration of that Council, S. *Paul* went back to *Antioch*, afterwards into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to Preach the Goſpel; thence into *Phrygia*, *Galatia* and *Myſia*; from whence he went into *Macedonia*, and firſt Preached at *Philippi*, then at *Theſſalonica* and *Beræa*, afterwards ſtay'd ſome conſiderable time at *Athens*, and laſt of all went to *Corinth*, where he met with *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, lately come from *Italy*, baniſhed *Rome* with the reſt of the *Jews*, by the *Decree* of *Claudius*: all which by an eaſie and reaſonable computation can take up no leſs than Three Years at leaſt.

6. THAT which cauſed *Baronius* to ſplit upon ſo many Rocks, was not ſo much want of ſeeing them, which a Man of his parts and induſtry could not but in a great meaſure ſee, as the unhappy neceſſity of defending thoſe unſound principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good *Peter*'s five and twenty years preſidency over the Church of *Rome*, he was forced to confound times, and diſlocate ſtories, that he might bring all his ends together. What foundation this ſtory of *Peter*'s being five and twenty years Biſhop of *Rome*, has in antiquity, I find not, unleſs it ſprang from hence, that *Euſebius* places *Peter*'s coming to *Rome* in the Second Year of *Claudius*, and his Martyrdom in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, between which there is the juſt ſpace of five and twenty years. Whence thoſe that came after concluded, that he ſate Biſhop there all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in S. *Hierom*'s Tranſlation it is expreſly ſaid, that he continued five and twenty years Biſhop of that City. But then it is as evident, that this was his own addition, who probably ſet things down as the report went in his time, no ſuch thing being to be found in the *Greek* Copy of * *Euſebius*. Nor indeed does he ever there or elſewhere poſitively affirm S. *Peter* to have been Biſhop of *Rome*, but only that he preached the Goſpel there. And expreſly ‖ affirms, that he and S. *Paul* being dead, *Linus* was the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*. To which I may add, that when the Ancients ſpeak of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and the firſt Originals of that Church, they equally attribute the founding, and the Epiſcopacy and Government of it to *Peter* and *Paul*, making the one as much concerned in it as the other. Thus * *Epiphanius* reckoning up the Biſhops of that *See*, places *Peter* and *Paul* in the front, as the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, *Peter and Paul Apoſtles became the firſt Biſhops of Rome, then Linus, &c.* And again a little after, ἡ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπων διαδοχὴ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, *the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of Rome was in this manner, Peter and Paul, Linus, Cletus, &c.* And ‖ *Egeſippus* ſpeaking of their coming to *Rome*, equally ſays of them, that they were *Doctores Chriſtianorum, ſublimes operibus, clari magiſterio, the Inſtructors of the Chriſtians, admirable for miracles, and renowned for their authority.* However granting not only that he was there, but that he was Biſhop, and that for five and twenty years together, yet what would this make for the unlimited Soveraignty and Univerſality of that Church, unleſs a better evidence than

Feed

* H. Valeſ. An. in Euſeb. 2.c.18.p.37.

* ...Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ...πρώτην θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄπεισι κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. ...eογ. Καν. ad ...um. MΓ. 204.

‖ H. Eccl.lib.3. ...2.p.71.

* Contr. Carpocrat. Hæreſ. XVII.p.51.

‖ De excid. Jud.lib.3.c.2. p.292.

Feed my ſheep could be produced for its uncontroulable Supremacy and Dominion over the whole Chriſtian World?

7. THE ſumm is this, granting what none that has any reverence for Antiquity will deny, that S. *Peter* was at *Rome*, he probably came thither ſome few Years before his death, joyned with, and aſſiſted S. *Paul* in Preaching of the Goſpel, and then both ſealed the Teſtimony of it with their Bloud. The date of his Death is differently aſſigned by the Ancients. * *Euſebius* places it *Ann.* LXIX. in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, ‖ *Epiphanius* in the Twelfth. That which ſeems to me moſt probable is, that it was in the Tenth, or the Year LXV. which I thus compute: *Nero*'s burning of *Rome* is placed by * *Tacitus*, under the Conſulſhip of *C. Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius*, about the Month of *July*, that is, *Ann. Chr.* LXIV. This act procured him the infinite hatred and clamours of the People, which having in vain endeavoured ſeveral ways to remove and pacifie, he at laſt reſolved upon this project, to derive the *Odium* upon the *Chriſtians*, whom therefore both to appeaſe the Gods, and pleaſe the People, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and cauſed to be executed with all manner of acute and exquiſite Tortures. This Perſecution we may ſuppoſe began about the end of that, or the beginning of the following Year. And under this Perſecution, I doubt not, it was that S. *Peter* ſuffered, and changed Earth for Heaven.

* *Chron. p.* ‖ *Hæreſ.* 27 *p.* 51.

* *Annal.* 15. *c.* 38. 41 *p.* 316, *&c.*

The End of S. Peter's *Life.*

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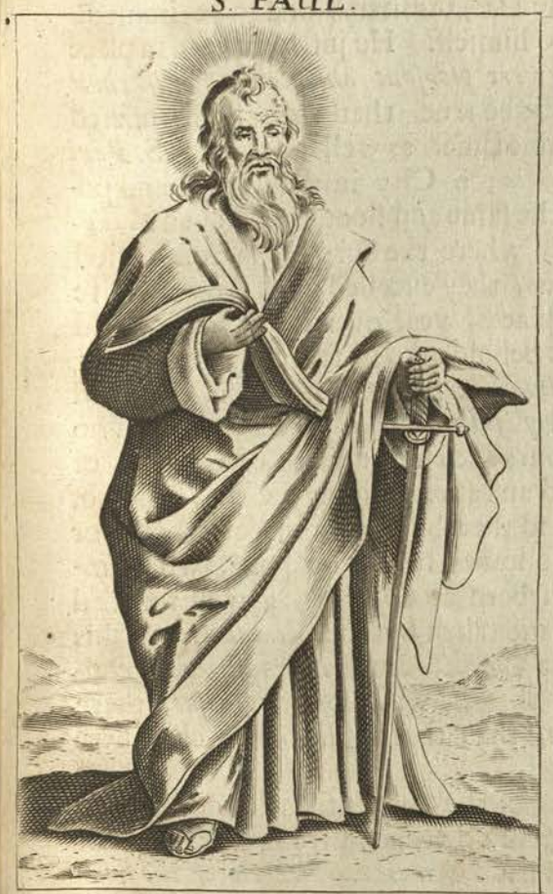
THE LIFE OF S. PAUL.

S. PAUL.



He was beheaded by the command of Nero the Roman Emperour. *Place this to the Epistle for the Conversion of S. Paul.*

St Paul's Conversion.

Act. 9. 3, 4. *And as he journied he came near to Damascus & suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven & he fell to the earth & heard a voice saying unto him Saul Saul &c. Ver. 7 And the men which journied with him stood speechless hearing a voice but seeing no man.*

SECT I.

Of S. *PAUL*, from his Birth till his Conversion.

S. Paul, *why placed next* Peter. Tarsus *the place of his Birth; an University, and a* Roman *Corporation. His Parents of the old stock of* Israel; *descended of the Tribe of* Benjamin. Jacob's *Prophecy applied to him by the Ancients. His Names;* Saul, *whence;* Paul, *when assumed; and why. His Education in the Schools of* Tarsus, *and in the Trade of Tent-making. The Custom of the* Jews *in bringing up their Youth to Manual Trades. His Study of the Law under the Tutorage of* Gamaliel. *This* Gamaliel, *who. Why said to have been a Christian. Sitting at the feet of their Masters the posture of learners.*

learners. His joyning himself to the Sect of the Pharisees. *An Enquiry into the Temper and Manners of that Sect. The fiery Zeal and Activity of his Temper. His being engaged in* Stephen's *Martyrdom. His violent persecution of the Church. His journey to* Damascus. *His Conversion by the way, and the manner of it. His blindness. His rapture into the third Heaven, when (probably.) His sight restored. His being Baptized, and preaching* Christ.

THOUGH S. *Paul* was none of the Twelve Apostles, yet had he the honour of being an Apostle extraordinary, and to be immediately called in a way peculiar to himself. He justly deserves a place next S. *Peter*; for as *in their lives they were pleasant and lovely*, so *in their death they were not divided*: especially if it be true, that they both suffered not only for the same cause, but at the same time, as well as place. S. *Paul* was born at *Tarsus*, the *Metropolis* of *Cilicia*; a City infinitely rich and populous, and what contributed more to the fame and honour of it, an *Academy*, furnished with Schools of Learning, where the Scholars so closely plied their Studies, that as * *Strabo* informs us, they excelled in all Arts of polite Learning and Philosophy those of other places, yea, even of *Alexandria*, and *Athens* it self; and that even *Rome* was beholden to it for many of its best Professors. It was a *Roman Municipium*, or free Corporation, invested with many Franchises and Priviledges by *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, who granted to the Inhabitants of it the honours and immunities of Citizens of *Rome*. In which respect S. *Paul* owned and asserted it as the priviledge of his Birth-right, that he was a *Roman*, and thereby free from being bound or beaten. True it is, that * S. *Hierom* (followed herein by ‖ one, who himself travelled in these parts) makes him born at *Gischalis*, a well fortified Town in *Judæa*, which being besieged and taken by the *Roman* Army, his Parents fled away with him and dwelt at *Tarsus*. But besides that this contradicts S. *Paul*, who expresly affirms, that he was born at *Tarsus*, there needs no more to confute this opinion, than that * S. *Hierom* elsewhere slights it as a fabulous report.

eographi. lib. p. 463.

s 22. 25, 26

e Script. l. in Paul. llon. Ob- v. lib. 2. c. 99 66.

m. in Phi- p. 263. 9.

2. HIS Parents were *Jews*, and that of the Ancient stock, not entring in by the Gate of *proselytism*, but originally descended from that Nation, which surely he means, when he says, That he *was an Hebrew of the Hebrews*, either because both his Parents were *Jews*, or rather, that all his Ancestors had been so. They belonged to the *Tribe* of *Benjamin*, whose Founder was the youngest son of the old Patriarch *Jacob*, who thus prophesied of him. *Benjamin shall raven as a Wolf, in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.* This prophetical character * *Tertullian*, and others after him will have to be accomplished in our Apostle. As a *ravening Wolf in the morning devouring the prey*, that is, as a persecutor of the Churches, in the first part of his life destroying the flock of God: *In the evening dividing the spoil*, that is, in his declining and reduced age, as Doctor of the Nations, feeding and distributing to *Christ*'s sheep.

n. 49. 27.

Adv. Marc. 5. c. 1. p. 461

3. WE find him described by two names in Scripture, one *Hebrew*, and the other *Latin*; probably referring both to his *Jewish* and *Roman* capacity and relation. The one, *Saul*, a name frequent and common in the *Tribe* of *Benjamin* ever since the first King of *Israel*, who was of that name, was chosen out of that Tribe. In memory whereof they were wont to give their Children this name at their Circumcision. His other was, *Paul*, assumed by him, as some think, at his Conversion, to denote his humility; as others,

others, in memory of his converting *Sergius Paulus* the *Roman* Governour, in imitation of the Generals and Emperors of *Rome*, who were wont from the places and Nations that they conquered, to assume the name, as an additional honour and title to themselves, as *Scipio Africanus*, *Cæsar Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Sarmaticus*, &c. But this seems no way consistent with the great humility of this Apostle. More probable therefore it is, what * *Origen* thinks, That he had a double name given him at his Circumcision; *Saul*, relating to his *Jewish* original; and *Paul*, referring to the *Roman* Corporation, where he was born. And this the Scripture seems to favour, when it says, *Saul, who also is called Paul.* Or if it was taken up by him afterwards, it was probably done at his Conversion, according to the custom and manner of the *Hebrews*, who used many times upon solemn and eminent occasions, especially upon their entering upon a more strict and religious course of life, to change their names, and assume one which they had not before.

* *Præfat. Ep. ad Ro fol.* 132. *To*

4. IN his Youth he was brought up in the Schools of *Tarsus*, fully instructed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences, whereby he became admirably acquainted with foreign and external Authors. Together with which he was brought up to a particular Trade and course of life; according to the great Maxim and principle of the *Jews*, That, * *He who teaches not his Son a Trade, teaches him to be a Thief.* They thought it not only fit, but a necessary part of Education, for their wisest and most learned *Rabbins* to be brought up to a manual Trade, whereby, if occasion was, they might be able to maintain themselves. Hence (as ‖ *Drusius* observes) nothing more common in their writings, than to have them denominated from their callings, *Rabbi Jose* the *Tanner*, *Rabbi Jochanan* the *Shoomaker*, *Rabbi Juda* the *Baker*, &c. A custom taken up by the Christians, especially the ‖ Monks and Ascetics of the Primitive times, who together with their strict profession and almost incredible exercises of devotion, each took upon him a particular Trade, whereat he daily wrought, and by his own hand-labour maintained himself. And this course of life the *Jews* were very careful should be free from all suspicion of scandal. אומנות נקייה (as they call * it) a *clean*, that is, honest *Trade*, being wont to say, That he was happy that had his Parents employed in an honest and commendable Calling; as he was miserable, who saw them conversant in any sordid and dishonest course of life. The Trade our Apostle was put to, was that of *Tent-making*, whereat he wrought, for some particular reasons, even after his calling to the Apostolate. An honest, but mean course of life; and as * *Chrysostom* observes, an argument that his Parents were not of the nobler and better rank; however, it was an useful and gainful Trade, especially in those war-like Countries, where Armies had such frequent use of Tents.

Talm. Tract. Kidduſch. c. ap. Buxtorf. voc. אומנות ‖ *Annot. in* Act. 18. 3. ‖ *Epiph.* 80 *p.* 451.

* *Buxtorf. ſupr.*

Acts 18. 3.

* *De Laud. Paul. Tom.* 4 *p.* 512.

5. HAVING run through the whole circle of the Sciences, and laid the sure foundations of humane Learning at *Tarsus*; he was by his Parents sent to *Jerusalem*, to be perfected in the study of the Law, and put under the Tutorage of *Rabban Gamaliel*. This *Gamaliel* was the son of *Rabban Symeon* (probably presumed to be the same *Symeon* that came into the Temple, and took *Christ* into his arms) President of the Court of the *Sanhedrim*: he was a Doctor of the Law, a Person of great wisdom and prudence, and head at that time of one of the *Families* of the Schools at *Jerusalem*. A man of chief eminency and authority in the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, and President of it at that very time when our Blessed Saviour was brought before it. He lived to a great Age, and was buried by *Onkelos* the Proselyte, Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphrase (one who infinitely loved and honoured him) at his own vast expence and charge. He it was that made that wise and excellent speech

Acts 22. 3. 5. 34.

in

in the *Sanhedrim*, in favour of the Apoſtles and their Religion. Nay, he himſelf is * ſaid (though I know not why) to have been a *Chriſtian*, and his ſitting amongſt the Senators to have been conniv'd at by the Apoſtles, that he might be the better friend to their affairs. ‖ *Chryſippus, Presbyter* of the Church of *Jeruſalem* adds, that he was brothers ſon to *Nicodemus*, together with whom he and his ſon *Abib* were baptized by *Peter* and *John*. This account he derives from *Lucian*, a *Presbyter* alſo of that Church under *John* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, who in an Epiſtle of his ſtill extant, tells us, that he had this, together with ſome other things, communicated to him in a Viſion by *Gamaliel* himſelf. Which if true, no better evidence could be deſired in this matter. At the *feet* of this *Gamaliel*, S. *Paul* tells us, he was *brought up*, alluding to the cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Maſters, who were wont to ſit, while their Diſciples and Scholars ſtood at their feet. Which honorary cuſtom continued till the death of this *Gamaliel*, and was then left off. Their own * *Talmud* telling us, That *ſince old Rabban Gamaliel died, the honour of the Law was periſhed, Purity and Phariſaiſm were deſtroyed:* which the *Gloſs* thus explains, That whileſt he lived, men were ſound, and ſtudied the Law *ſtanding*; but he being dead, weakneſs crept into the World, and they were forced to *ſit*.

lem. Recog- lib. 1. p. 16.

p. Phot. Cod. XXI. Col. . extat Lu- i hac de re ſt. ap. Sur. 3. Aug p. 31. Bar. ad nn. 415.

otah. c. 9. ac. 15. apud htſ. Hor. H. Matth. 13. 2.

6. UNDER the Tuition of this great Maſter S. *Paul* was Educated in the knowledge of the Law, wherein he made ſuch quick and vaſt improvements, that he ſoon out-ſtript his fellow-Diſciples. Amongſt the various *Sects* at that time in the *Jewiſh* Church, he was eſpecially Educated in the Principles and Inſtitutions of the *Phariſees*: Of which Sect was both his Father and his Maſter, whereof he became a moſt earneſt and zealous profeſſor. This being, as himſelf tells us, the *ſtricteſt Sect of their Religion*. For the underſtanding whereof, it may not be amiſs a little to enquire into the Temper and Manners of this Sect. * *Joſephus*, though himſelf a *Phariſee*, gives this character of them, That *they were a crafty and ſubtil generation of men, and ſo perverſe even to Princes themſelves, that they would not fear many times openly to affront and oppoſe them.* And ſo far had they ‖ inſinuated themſelves into the affections and eſtimations of the populacy, that their good or ill word was enough to make, or blaſt any one with the People, who would implicitly believe them, let their report be never ſo falſe or malicious. And therefore *Alexander Jannæus*, when he lay a dying, wiſely adviſed his Queen by all means to comply with them, and to ſeem to Govern by their counſel and direction, affirming, that this had been the greateſt cauſe of his fatal miſcarriage, and that which had derived the *odium* of the Nation upon him, that he had offended this ſort of men. Certain it is, that they were infinitely proud and inſolent, ſurly and ill-natured, that they hated all mankind but themſelves, and cenſured whoever would not be of their way, as a Villain and a Reprobate: greatly zealous to gather *Proſelytes* to their party, not to make them more religious, but more fierce and cruel, more carping and cenſorious, more heady and high-minded, in ſhort, *twofold more the children of the Devil, than they were before.* All Religion and kindneſs was confined within the bounds of their own party, and the firſt principles wherewith they inſpired their new converts were, That none but they were the godly party, and that all other perſons were ſlaves and ſons of the Earth: and therefore eſpecially endeavoured to inſpire them with a mighty zeal and fierceneſs againſt all that differed from them, ſo that if any one did but ſpeak a good word of our Saviour, he ſhould be preſently excommunicated and caſt out, perſecuted and devoted to the death. To this end they were wont, not only to ſeparate, but diſcriminate themſelves from the herd

l. 1. 14.

Antiq. Jud. 17. cap. 3. 85.

d. ibid. lib. c. 23. p 463.

and

and community, by ſome peculiar notes and badges of diſtinction; ſuch as their *long Robes*, *broad Phylacteries*, and their *large Fringes* and Borders of their Garments, whereby they made themſelves known from the reſt of men. Theſe dogged and ill-natured principles, together with their ſeditious, unnatural, unjuſt, unmerciful, and uncharitable behaviour, which otherwiſe would have made them ſtink above-ground in the noſtrils of men, they ſought to palliate and varniſh over with a more than ordinary pretence and profeſſion of Religion: but were eſpecially active and diligent in what coſt them little, the outward inſtances of Religion, ſuch duties eſpecially as did more immediately refer to God, as frequent faſting, and praying, which they did very often, and very long, with demure and mortified looks, in a whining and an affected tone, and this almoſt in every corner of the ſtreets: and indeed ſo contrived the *ſcheme* of their Religion, that what they did, might appear above-ground, where they might be ſeen of men to the beſt advantage.

7. THOUGH this ſeems to have been the general temper and diſpoſition of the party, yet doubtleſs there were ſome amongſt them of better and honeſter principles than the reſt. In which number we have juſt reaſon to reckon our Apoſtle: who yet was deeply leavened with the active and fiery *genius* of the Sect; not able to brook any oppoſite party in Religion, eſpecially if late and novel. Inſomuch that when the *Jews* were reſolved to do execution upon *Stephen*, he ſtood by and kept the cloaths of them that did it. Whether he was any further engaged in the death of this innocent and good man, we do not find. However this was enough loudly to proclaim his approbation and conſent. And therefore elſewhere we find him indicting himſelf for this fact, and pleading guilty. *When the blood of thy Martyr Stephen was ſhed, I alſo was ſtanding by, and conſenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that ſlew him.* Acts 22. 20. God chiefly inſpects the heart, and if the vote be paſſed there, writes the man guilty, though he ſtir no farther. 'Tis eaſie to murder another by a ſilent wiſh, or a paſſionate deſire. In all moral actions God values the will for the deed, and reckons the man a companion in the ſin, who, though poſſibly he may never actually joyn in it, does yet inwardly applaud and like it. The ſtorm thus begun, encreaſed a pace, and a violent perſecution began to ariſe, which miſerably afflicted and diſperſed the Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*. In which our Apoſtle was a prime Agent and Miniſter, raging about in all parts with a mad and ungovernable zeal, ſearching out the Saints, beating them in the Synagogues, compelling many to blaſpheme, impriſoning others, and procuring them to be put to death. Indeed he was a kind of *Inquiſitor Hæreticæ pravitatis* to the High-Prieſt, by whom he was employed to hunt and find out theſe upſtart *Heretick*s, who preached againſt the Law of *Moſes*, and the Traditions of the Fathers. Accordingly having made ſtrange havock at *Jeruſalem*, he addreſſed himſelf to the *Sanhedrim*, and there took out a Warrant and Commiſſion to go down and ranſack the Synagogues at *Damaſcus*. Acts 9. 1. How eternally inſatiable is fury and a miſguided zeal! how reſtleſs and unwearied in its deſigns of cruelty! it had already ſufficiently haraſſed the poor Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*, but not content to have vexed them there, and to have driven them thence, it perſecuted them unto *ſtrange Cities*, following them even to *Damaſcus* it ſelf, whither many of theſe perſecuted Chriſtians had fled for ſhelter, reſolving to bring up thoſe whom he found there to *Jeruſalem*, in order to their puniſhment and execution. For the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* had not only power of ſeizing and ſcourging offenders againſt their Law within the bounds of their own Country, but by the connivence and favour of the *Romans*,

mans, might ſend into other Countries, where there were any Synagogues that acknowledged a dependence in Religious matters upon the Council at *Jeruſalem,* to apprehend them; as here they ſent *Paul* to *Damaſcus* to fetch up what Chriſtians he could find, to be arraigned and ſentenced at *Jeruſalem.*

Gal. 1. 15. 8. BUT God who had deſigned him for work of another nature, and *ſeparated him from his Mothers womb to the preaching of the Goſpel,* ſtopt him in his journey. For while he was together with his company travelling on the Road, not far from *Damaſcus,* on a ſudden a gleam of light beyond the ſplendor and brightneſs of the Sun, was darted from Heaven upon them, whereat being ſtrangely amazed and confounded, they all fell to the ground, a Voice calling to him, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* To which he replied, *Lord, who art thou?* Who told him, That *he was Jeſus whom he perſecuted,* that what was done to the members was done to the head, that it was hard for him to *kick* againſt the *pricks,* that he now appeared to him, to make choice of him for a *Miniſter,* and a *Witneſs* of what he had now ſeen, and ſhould after hear; that he would ſtand by him, and preſerve him, and make him a great inſtrument in the converſion of the *Gentile* World. This ſaid, He asked our Lord, what he would have him to do? who bad him go into the City, where he ſhould receive his Anſwer. S. *Paul*'s companions, who had been preſent at this tranſaction, *heard* the voice, but *ſaw* not him that ſpoke to him: though elſewhere the Apoſtle himſelf affirms, that they *ſaw* the light, but *heard not* the voice of him that ſpake, that is, they heard a confuſed ſound, but not a diſtinct and articulate voice; or, more probably, being ignorant of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein our Lord ſpake to Saint *Paul,* they heard the words, but knew not the ſence and the meaning of them.

Acts 22. 9.

9. S. *PAUL* by this time was gotten up, but though he found his feet, yet he had loſt his eyes, being ſtricken blind with the Extraordinary brightneſs of the light, and was accordingly led by his companions into *Damaſcus.* In which condition he there remained faſting three days together. At this time, we may probably ſuppoſe it was, that he had that *viſion* and ecſtaſie, wherein he was taken up into the *third Heaven,* where he *ſaw* and *heard* things great and *unutterable,* and was fully inſtructed in the myſteries of the Goſpel, and hence expreſly affirms, that he was not *taught the Goſpel which he preached by man, but by the Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.* There was at this time at *Damaſcus* one *Ananias,* a very devout and religious man, (one of the *ſeventy Diſciples,* as the Ancients inform us, and probably the firſt planter of the Chriſtian Church in this City) and though a Chriſtian, yet of great reputation amongſt all the *Jews.* To him our Lord appeared, commanding him to go into ſuch a ſtreet, and to ſuch an houſe, and there enquire for *one Saul of Tarſus,* who was now at Prayer, and had ſeen him in a Viſion coming to him, to lay his hands upon him, that he might receive his ſight. *Ananias* ſtartled at the name of the man, having heard of his bloudy temper and practices, and upon what errand he was now come down to the City. But our Lord to take off his fears, told him, that he miſtook the man, that he had now taken him to be a *choſen veſſel,* to preach the Goſpel both to *Jews* and *Gentiles,* and before the greateſt Potentates upon Earth, acquainting him with what great things he ſhould both do and ſuffer for his ſake, what chains and impriſonments, what racks and ſcourges, what hunger and thirſt, what ſhipwracks and death, he ſhould undergo. Upon this *Ananias* went, laid his hands upon him, told him that our Lord had ſent him to him, that he might receive his ſight, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, which was no ſooner done, but thick films like ſcales

2 Cor. 12. 1.

Gal. 1. 10, 11.

fell

fell from his eyes, and his ſight returned. And the next thing he did was to be baptized, and ſolemnly initiated into the Chriſtian Faith. After which he joyned himſelf to the Diſciples of that place, to the equal joy and wonder of the Church: that the *Wolf* ſhould ſo ſoon lay down its fierceneſs, and put on the meek nature of a *Lamb*; that he who had lately been ſo violent a perſecutor, ſhould now become not a profeſſor only, but a preacher of that Faith, which before he had routed and deſtroyed,

SECT. II.

Of S. *Paul*, from his Converſion, till the Council at *Jeruſalem*.

S. Paul's *leaving* Damaſcus, *and why. His Three Years Miniſtry in* Arabia. *His return to* Damaſcus. *The greatneſs of that City. The deſign of the* Jews *to ſurprize* S. Paul, *and the manner of his eſcape. His coming to* Jeruſalem, *and converſe with* Peter *and* James. *His departure thence. The Diſciples firſt ſtiled* Chriſtians *at* Antioch. *This when done, and by whom. The ſolemnity of it. The importance of the word* χρηματίσαι. Χρηματισμὸς Ἀντιοχείων, *what.* S. Paul's *Journey to* Jeruſalem *with contributions. His voyage to* Cyprus, *and planting Chriſtianity there. The oppoſition made by* Elymas, *and his ſevere puniſhment. The* Proconſuls *converſion. His preaching to the* Jews *at* Antioch *of* Piſidia. *His curing a Cripple at* Lyſtra; *and diſcourſe to the people about their Idolatry. The Apoſtles way of arguing noted; and his diſcourſe concerning the Being and Providence of God illuſtrated. His confirming the Churches in the Faith. The controverſie at* Antioch; *and* S. Paul's *account of it in the Synod at* Jeruſalem.

SAINT *Paul* ſtaid not long at *Damaſcus* after his Converſion, but having received an immediate intimation from Heaven, probably in the *Ecſtaſie* wherein he was caught up thither, he waited for no other counſel or direction in the caſe, leſt he ſhould ſeem to derive his Miſſion and Authority from Men, and *being not diſobedient to the Heavenly Viſion*, he preſently rerired out of the City; and the ſooner probably, to decline the *Odium* of the *Jews*, and the effects of that rage and malice, which he was ſure would purſue and follow him. He withdrew into the parts of *Arabia*, where he ſpent the firſt fruits of his Miniſtery, Preaching up and down for three Years together. After which he returned back to *Damaſcus*, Preached openly in the Synagogues, and convinced the *Jews* of *Chriſt*'s *Meſſiah*-ſhip, and the truth of his Religion. Angry and enraged hereat, they reſolved his Ruine, which they knew no better way to effect, than by exaſperating and incenſing the Civil powers againſt him. *Damaſcus* was a place, not more venerable for its Antiquity, if not built by, at leaſt it gave title to *Abraham*'s ſteward, hence called, *Eliezer of Damaſcus*, than it was conſiderable for its ſtrength, ſtatelineſs and ſituation: it was the nobleſt City of all *Syria* (as * *Juſtin* of old, and the *Arabian* ‖ *Geographer* has ſince informed us, and the Prophet *Iſaiah* before both calls it דמשק ראש *the head of Syria*) ſeated in a moſt

Gal. 1.17.

Acts 9.23. 2 Cor. 11.32.

* *Juſt. lib.* 36 *c.* 2. *p.* 425.
‖ *Geograph. Nub. Clim.* 3 *part* 5. *p.* 116
Iſai. 7.7.

most healthful Air, in a most fruitful Soil, watered with most pleasant Fountains and Rivers, rich in Merchandize, adorned with stately Buildings, goodly and magnificent Temples, and fortified with strong Guards and Garrisons: in all which respects * *Julian* calls it the *Holy* and *great Damascus*, καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἑῴας ἁπάσης ὀφθαλμὸν, *the Eye of the whole East.* Scituate it was between *Libanus* and Mount *Hermon*, and though properly belonging to *Syria*, yet *Arabiæ retro deputabatur* (as ‖ *Tertullian* tells us) was in after-times reckoned to *Arabia*. Accordingly at this time it was under the Government of *Aretas* (Father-in-law to *Herod* the *Tetrarch*) King of *Arabia Petræa*, a Prince tributary to the *Roman* Empire. By him there was an ἐθνάρχης, or *Governour*, who had Jurisdiction over the whole *Syria Damascena*, placed over it, who kept constant residence in the City, as a place of very great importance. To him the *Jews* made their address, with crafty and cunning insinuations perswading him to apprehend S. *Paul*, possibly under the notion of a Spy, there being War at this time between the *Romans*, and that King. Hereupon the Gates were shut, and extraordinary Guards set, and all Engines that could be laid to take him. But the Disciples to prevent their cruel designs, at Night put him into a Basket, and let him down over the City-wall. And the place, we are * told, is still shewed to Travellers, not far from the Gate, thence called S. *Paul's Gate* at this day.

st.XXIV.

dv. Marc. .13.p.404

Sion.& J. on.de Urb. nt.c.4.p.11

9.26. 1.18,19.

2. HAVING thus made his escape, he set forwards for *Jerusalem*, where when he arrived, he addressed himself to the Church. But they knowing the former temper and principles of the Man, universally shunn'd his company; till *Barnabas* brought him to *Peter*, who was not yet cast into Prison, and to *James*, our Lord's Brother, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, acquainting them with the manner of his conversion, and by them he was familiarly entertained. Here he staid fifteen days, preaching *Christ*, and confuting the *Hellenist Jews* with a mighty courage and resolution. But snares were here again laid to intrap him, as malice can as well cease to be, as to be restless and active. Whereupon he was warned by God in a Vision, that his Testimony would not find acceptance in that place, that therefore he should leave it, and betake himself to the *Gentiles*. Accordingly being conducted by the Brethren to *Cæsarea*, he set sail for *Tarsus*, his Native City, from whence not long after he was fetched by *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, to assist him in propagating Christianity in that place. In which employment they continued there a whole Year. And now it was that the *Disciples* of the Religion were at this place first *called Christians*; according to the manner of all other Institutions, who were wont to take their denominations from the first Authors and Founders of them. Before this they were usually stiled ‖ *Nazarenes*, as being the Disciples and followers of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, a Name by which the *Jews* in scorn call them to this day, with the same intent that the *Gentiles* of old used to call them *Galileans*. The name of *Nazarenes* was hence-forward fixed upon those *Jewish* converts, who mixed the Law and the Gospel, and compounded a Religion out of *Judaism* and *Christianity*. The fixing this honourable Name upon the Disciples of the crucified *Jesus* was done at *Antioch* (as an ancient * *Historian* informs us) about the beginning of *Claudius* his Reign, Ten Years after *Christ*'s Ascension; nay, he further adds, that *Euodius* lately ordained Bishop of that place was the person that imposed this name upon them, stiling them *Christians*, who before were called *Nazarenes* and *Galileans*, Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου Εὐοδίου προσομιλήσαντος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπιθήσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο· πρώην γὰρ Ναζαραῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ χριστιανοὶ, as my Authors words are. I may not omit, what

9.30.

11.26.

ζαραῖοι αλαιὸν ς οἱ νῦν ανοί. Eu- e loc.Hebr. c.Ναζα-

n. Anti- n.in Chro- MS à Sel- cit.de Sy- .l.1.c.8. 6.vid. in voc. ζαραῖος.

a learned ‖ Man has obſerved, that the word χρηματίσαι uſed by S. *Luke* (*they were called*) implies the thing to have been done by ſome publick and ſolemn act and declaration of the whole Church, ſuch being the uſe of the word in the *Imperial Edicts* and proclamations of thoſe times, the Emperors being ſaid χρηματίζειν, *to ſtile themſelves*, when they publickly proclaimed by what titles they would be called. When any Province ſubmitted it ſelf to the *Roman* Empire, the Emperor was wont by publick Edict χρηματίζειν ἑαυτὸν, *to entitle himſelf* to the Government and Juriſdiction of it, and the People to ſeveral great priviledges and immunities. In a grateful ſenſe whereof the People uſually made this time the ſolemn date of their common *Epocha* or computation. Thus (as the forementioned * *Hiſtorian* informs us) it was in the particular caſe of *Antioch*; and thence their publick *Æra* was called χρηματισμὸς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, *the Aſcription of the People at Antioch.* Such being the general acception of the word, S. *Luke* (who was himſelf a Native of this City) makes uſe of it to expreſs that ſolemn declaration, whereby the Diſciples of the Religion entitled themſelves to the Name of *Chriſtians.*

‖ *F. Greg. not obſ. cap. 36.*

* *F. Antio Chron. lib. 9*

3. IT happened about this time that a terrible Famine, foretold by *Agabus*, afflicted ſeveral parts of the *Roman* Empire, but eſpecially *Judæa*: The conſideration whereof made the Chriſtians at *Antioch* compaſſionate the caſe of their ſuffering Brethren, and accordingly raiſed conſiderable contributions for their relief and ſuccour, which they ſent to *Jeruſalem* by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, who having diſpatched their Errand in that City, went back to *Antioch.* Where while they were joyning in the publick exerciſes of their Religion, it was revealed to them by the H. Ghoſt, that they ſhould *ſet apart Paul and Barnabas* to preach the Goſpel in other places. Which was done accordingly, and they by Prayer, Faſting and Impoſition of Hands immediately deputed for that ſervice. Hence they departed to *Seleucia*, and thence ſailed to *Cyprus*, where at *Salamis*, a great City in that Iſland, they Preached in the Synagogues of the *Jews.* Hence they removed to *Paphos*, the reſidence of *Sergius Paulus* the *Proconſul* of the Iſland, a Man of great wiſdom and prudence, but miſerably ſeduced by the wicked Artifices of *Bar-Jeſus* a *Jewiſh* Impoſtor, who called himſelf *Elymas*, or the *Magician*, vehemently oppoſed the Apoſtles, and kept the *Proconſul* from embracing of the Faith. Nay, ‖ one who pretends to be ancient enough to know it, ſeems to intimate, that he not only ſpake, but wrote againſt S. *Paul*'s Doctrine, and the Faith of *Chriſt.* However, the *Proconſul* calls for the Apoſtles, and S. *Paul* firſt takes *Elymas* to task, and having ſeverely checked him for his malicious oppoſing of the truth, told him, that the Divine Vengeance was now ready to ſeize upon him. Upon which he was immediately ſtruck blind. The Vengeance of God obſerving herein a kind of juſt proportion, that he ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his Bodily eyes, who had ſo wilfully and maliciouſly ſhut the eyes of his mind againſt the light of the Goſpel, and had endeavoured to keep not only himſelf, but others under ſo much blindneſs and darkneſs. This Miracle turned the Scale with the *Proconſul*, and quickly brought him over a Convert to the Faith.

Acts 11. 27

Acts 13. 2.

‖ *Dionyſ. Ar de divin. nomin. c. 8. pag. 623.*

4. AFTER this ſucceſs in *Cyprus*, he went to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, where taking *Titus* along with him in the room of *Mark*, who was returned to *Jeruſalem*, they went to *Antioch* the *Metropolis* of *Piſidia.* Where entring into the *Jewiſh* Synagogue on the *Sabbath* Day, after ſome *Sections* of the Law were read, they were invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to diſcourſe a little to the People. Which S. *Paul* did in a large and eloquent Sermon, wherein he put them in mind of the many great and particular

Acts 13. 13.

bleſſings which God had heaped upon the *Jews*, from the firſt Originals of that Nation; that he had crowned them all with the ſending of his Son, to be the *Meſſiah* and the Saviour, that though the *Jews* had ignorantly crucified this juſt, innocent Perſon, yet that God according to his own predictions had raiſed him up, from the dead, that through Him they preached forgiveneſs of ſins, and that by Him alone it was that Men, if ever, muſt be juſtified and acquitted from that Guilt and Condemnation, which all the pompous Ceremonies, and Miniſteries of the *Moſaick* Law could never do away: That therefore they ſhould do well to take heed leſt by their oppoſing this way of Salvation, they ſhould bring upon themſelves that prophetical curſe, which God had threatned to the *Jews* of old for their great contumacy and neglect. This Sermon wanted not its due effects. The *Proſelyte-Jews* deſired the Apoſtles to diſcourſe again to them of this matter the next *Sabbath* Day, the Apoſtles alſo perſwading them to continue firm in the belief of theſe things. The Day was no ſooner come, but the whole City almoſt flocked to be their Auditors, which when the *Jews* ſaw, acted by a ſpirit of envy, they began to blaſpheme, and to contradict the Apoſtles, who nothing daunted, told them that our Lord had charged them *firſt* to preach the Goſpel to the *Jews*, which ſince they ſo obſtinately rejected, they were now to addreſs themſelves to the *Gentiles*, who hearing this exceedingly rejoyced at the good news, and magnified the Word of God, and *as many of them* as were thus prepared and diſpoſed towards *eternal life*, heartily cloſed with it and embraced it; the Apoſtles preaching not there only, but through the whole Country round about. The *Jews* more exaſperated than before, reſolved to be rid of their company, and to that end perſwaded ſome of the more devout and honourable Women, to deal with their Husbands, Perſons of prime rank and quality in the City, by whoſe means they were driven out of thoſe parts. Whereat *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſhaking off the duſt of their Feet, as a Teſtimony againſt their ingratitude and infidelity, departed from them.

S 14. 1. 5. THE next place they went to was *Iconium*, where at firſt they found kind entertainment, and good ſucceſs, God ſetting a Seal to their Doctrine by the Teſtimony of his Miracles. But here the *Jewiſh* malice began again to ferment, exciting the People to ſedition and a mutiny againſt them. Inſomuch that hearing of a deſign to ſtone them, they ſeaſonably withdrew to *Lyſtra*: where they firſt made their way by a miraculous cure. For S. *Paul* ſeeing an impotent Cripple that had been lame from his Mothers Womb, cured him with the ſpeaking of a word. The People who beheld the Miracle, had ſo much natural *Logick*, as to infer, that there was a Divinity in the thing, though miſtaking the Author, they applied it to the Inſtruments, crying out, That the *Gods* in humane ſhape were come down from Heaven; *Paul* as being chief Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the God of ſpeech and eloquence; *Barnabas* by reaſon of his Age and gravity, they called *Jupiter*, the Father of their Gods; accordingly the *Syriack* Interpreter here renders *Jupiter* by ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝܐ *the Lord, or Soveraign of the Gods.* The fame of this being ſpread over the City, the Prieſt of *Jupiter* brought Oxen, dreſſed up with Garlands after the *Gentile* Rites, to the Houſe where the Apoſtles were, to do Sacrifice to them. Which they no ſooner underſtood, but in deteſtation of thoſe undue honours offered to them, they rent their clothes, and told them that they were Men of the ſame make and temper,

of

of the same passions and infirmities with themselves, that the design of their Preaching was to convert them from these vain Idolatries and superstitions, to the worship of the true God, the great Parent of the World, who though heretofore he had left Men to themselves, to go on in their own ways of *Idolatrous* worship, yet had he given sufficient evidence of himself in the constant returns of a gracious and benign providence in crowning the Year with fruitful Seasons, and other acts of common kindness and bounty to Mankind.

6. A SHORT discourse, but very rational and convictive, which it may not be amiss a little more particularly to consider, and the method which the Apostle uses to convince these blind Idolaters. He proves Divine honours to be due to God alone, as the Sovereign Being of the World, and that there is such a Supreme infinite Being, he argues from his Works both of *Creation and Providence.* Creation, *He is the living God that made Heaven, and Earth, the Sea, and all things that are therein.* Providence, *He left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.* Than which no argument can be more apt and proper to work upon the minds of men. *That which may be known of God is manifest to the Gentiles, for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the Creation of the World, even his eternal power and Godhead, are clearly seen and understood by the things that are made:* It being impossible impartially to survey the several parts of the Creation, and not see in every place evident footsteps of an infinite wisdom, power, and goodness. Who can look up unto the Heavens, and not there discern an Almighty wisdom, beautifully garnishing those upper Regions, distinguishing the circuits, and perpetuating the motions of the Heavenly lights? placing the Sun in the middle of the Heavens, that he might equally dispense and communicate his light and heat to all parts of the World, and not burn the Earth with the too near approach of his scorching beams: by which means the Creatures are refreshed and cheared, the Earth impregnated with fruits and flowers by the benign influence of a vital heat, and the vicissitudes and seasons of the year regularly distinguished by their constant and orderly revolutions. Whence are the great Orbs of Heaven kept in continual motion, always going in the same tract, but because there's a Superiour power that keeps these great wheels a going? Who is it that *poises the balancings of the Clouds; that divides a water-course for the overflowing of waters, and a way for the lightning of the Thunder?* Who can *bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?* Or who can *bring forth Mazzaroth in his season, or guide Arcturus with his sons?* Do these come by chance? or by the secret appointment of infinite wisdom? Who can consider the admirable thinness and purity of the Air, its immediate subserviency to the great ends of the Creation, its being the treasury of vital breath to all living Creatures, without which the next moment must put a period to our days, and not reflect upon that Divine wisdom that contrived it? If we come down upon the Earth, there we discover a Divine providence, supporting it with the pillars of an invisible power, *stretching the North over the empty space,* and *hanging the Earth upon nothing;* filling it with great variety of admirable and useful Creatures, and maintaining them all according to their kinds at his own cost and charges. 'Tis he that clothes the Grass with a delightful verdure, that *crowns the Year with his loving kindness,* and *makes the Valleys stand thick with corn;* that *causes the*

Καί τοι νὴ τ̃ Δία κὴ τοὺς Θεοὺς, ἓν τῶν γεγ[ονό]των ἀπήρκει πρὸς τὸ αἰσθέσθαι τ̃ προνοίας, γε αἰδήμονι κὴ εὐχαρίστῳ· κὴ μή μοι νῦν τὰ γάλα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐκ πόας γάλα γεννᾶσθαι. ἐκ γάλακτος τυρὸν, κὴ ἐκ δέρματος ἔρια. [τίς] ἐστὶν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ταῦτα, ἢ ἐπινενοηκώς; [ο]ὐδεὶς φησίν. ὢ μεγάλης ἀναισχυντίας, κὴ ἀναισθησίας. Arrian. *dissert. lib.* 1. *c.* 16. *p.* 126.

the Graſs to grow for the Cattel, and Herb for the ſervice of Man, that he may bring forth food out of the Earth; and Wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and Oil to make his face to ſhine, and Bread which ſtrengtheneth man's heart; that beautifies the *Lilies* that neither *toil* nor *ſpin*, and that with a glory that out-ſhines *Solomon* in all his pomp and grandeur. From Land let us ſhip our obſervations to Sea, and there we may deſcry the wiſe effects of infinite underſtanding: A wide Ocean fitly diſpoſed for the mutual commerce and correſpondence of one part of mankind with another; filled with great and admirable Fiſhes, and enriched with the treaſures of the deep. What but an Almighty arm can ſhut in the Sea with doors, bind it by a *perpetual decree* that it cannot paſs, and tye up its wild raging waves with no ſtronger cordage than ropes of Sand? Who but he commands the ſtorm, and ſtills the tempeſt? and brings the Mariner, when at his wits-end in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, to his deſired Haven? *They that go down to the Sea in ſhips, and do buſineſs in great waters; theſe ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.* So impoſſible is it for a man to ſtand in any part of the Creation, wherein he may not diſcern evidences enough of an infinitely wiſe, gracious and Omnipotent Being. Thus much I thought good to add, to illuſtrate the *Apoſtles* argument; whence he ſtrongly infers, that 'tis very reaſonable, that we ſhould worſhip and adore this great Creator and Benefactor, and not transfer the honours due to him alone upon men of frail and ſinful paſſions, and much leſs upon dumb Idols, unable either to make or to help themſelves. An argument, which though very plain and plauſible, and adapted to the meaneſt underſtandings, yet was all little enough to reſtrain the people from offering Sacrifice to them. But how ſoon was the wind turned into another corner? The old ſpirit of the *Jews* did ſtill haunt and purſue them: Who coming from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, exaſperated and ſtirred up the multitude. And they who juſt before accounted them as *Gods*, uſed them now worſe, not only than ordinary *men*, but *ſlaves*. For in a mighty rage they fall upon S. *Paul*, ſtone him, as they thought, dead, and then drag him out of the City: Whither the Chriſtians of that place coming, probably to interr him, he ſuddenly revived, and roſe up amongſt them, and the next day went thence to *Derbe*.

7. HERE they preached the Goſpel, and then returned to *Lyſtra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* of *Piſidia*, confirming the Chriſtians of thoſe places in the belief and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, earneſtly perſwading them to perſevere, and not be diſcouraged with thoſe troubles and perſecutions which they muſt expect would attend the profeſſion of the Goſpel. And that all this might ſucceed the better, with faſting and prayer they ordained Governours and Paſtors in every Church, and having recommended them to the grace of God, departed from them. From hence they paſſed through *Piſidia* and thence came to *Pamphilia*, and having preached to the people at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*. And thus having at this time finiſhed the whole circuit of their Miniſtery, they returned back to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the place whence they had firſt ſet out. Here they acquainted the Church with the various tranſactions and ſucceſſes of their travels, and how great a door had hereby been opened to the converſion of the *Gentile* World.

§ 15. 1. 8. WHILE S. *Paul* ſtaid at *Antioch* there aroſe that famous controverſie about the obſervation of the *Moſaick* Rites, ſet on foot and brought in by ſome *Jewiſh* Converts that came down thither, whereby great diſturbances and diſtractions were made in the minds of the people. For the compoſing whereof the Church of *Antioch* reſolved to ſend *Paul* and *Barnabas* to conſult with the Apoſtles and Church at *Jeruſalem*. In their way thither, they declared

declared to the Brethren, as they went along, what ſucceſs they had had in the converſion of the *Gentiles*. Being come to *Jeruſalem*, they firſt addreſſed themſelves to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, the pillars and principal perſons in that place: By whom they were kindly entertained, and admitted to the *right hand of fellowſhip*. And perceiving by the account which S. *Paul* gave them, that the Goſpel of the *uncircumciſion* was committed to him, as that of the *circumciſion* was to *Peter*; they ratified it by compact and agreement, that *Peter* ſhould preach to the *Jews*, and *Paul* unto the *Gentiles*. Hereupon a Council was ſummoned, wherein *Peter* having declared his ſence of things, *Paul* and *Barnabas* acquainted them what great things God by their Miniſtery had done among the *Gentiles*. A plain evidence, that though uncircumciſed, they were accepted by God as well as the *Jews* with all their legal Rites and Priviledges. The iſſue of the debate was, That the *Gentiles* were not under the obligation of the Law of *Moſes*, and that therefore ſome perſons of their own ſhould be joyned with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, to carry the *Canons* and decrees of the Council down to *Antioch*, for their fuller ſatisfaction in this matter. But of this affair we ſhall give the Reader a more diſtinct and particular account in another place.

SECT. III.

Of S. *Paul*, from the time of the Synod at *Jeruſalem*, till his departure from *Athens*.

S. Paul's *carrying the* Apoſtolick *Decree to* Antioch. *His conteſt with* Peter. *The diſſention between him and* Barnabas. *His Travels to confirm the new-planted Churches. The converſion of* Lydia *at* Philippi. *The* Jewiſh Proſeuchæ, *what; the frequency of them in all places. The diſpoſſeſſing of a* Pythoneſſe. *S.* Paul's *impriſonment and ill uſage at* Philippi. *The great proviſion made by the* Roman *Laws for the ſecurity of its Subjects. His preaching at* Theſſalonica *and* Bercea. *His going to* Athens. *The fame of that place. His doctrine oppoſed by the* Stoicks *and* Epicureans, *and why. The great Idolatry and Superſtition of that City. The* Altar *to the* Unknown God. *This Unknown God, who. The Superſtition of the* Jews *in concealing the name of God. This imitated by the* Gentiles. *Their general Forms of Invocating their Deities noted. The particular occaſion of theſe* Altars *at* Athens, *whence. S.* Paul's *diſcourſe to the Philoſophers in the* Areopagus *concerning the Divine Being and Providence. The different entertainment of his Doctrine.* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite, *who. His Learning, Converſion, and being made Biſhop of* Athens. *The difference between him and S.* Denys *of* Paris. *The Books publiſhed under his name.*

SAINT *Paul* and his Companions having received the *Decretal* Epiſtle, returned back to *Antioch*; where they had not been long before *Peter* came thither to them. And according to the Decree of the Council freely and inoffenſively converſed with the *Gentiles*: Till ſome of the *Jews* coming down thither from *Jeruſalem*, he withdrew his converſe, as if it were a thing unwarrantable and unlawful. By which means the minds of many were

were diſſatisfied, and their Conſciences very much enſnared. Whereat S. *Paul* being exceedingly troubled, publickly rebuked him for it, and that as the caſe required, with great ſharpneſs and ſeverity. It was not long after, that S. *Paul* and *Barnabas* reſolved upon viſiting the Churches, which they had lately planted among the *Gentiles*. To which end *Barnabas* determined to take his couſin *Mark* along with them. This, *Paul* would by no means agree to, he having deſerted them in their former journey. A little ſpark, which yet kindled a great feud and diſſention between theſe two good men, and aroſe to that height, that in ſome diſcontent they parted from each other. So natural is it for the beſt of men ſometimes to indulge an unwarrantable paſſion, and ſo far to eſpouſe the intereſt of a private and particular humour, as rather to hazard the great Law of Charity, and violate the bands of friendſhip, than to recede from it. The effect was, *Barnabas* taking his Nephew, went for *Cyprus*, his native Country, S. *Paul* made choice of *Silas*, and the ſucceſs of his undertaking being firſt recommended to the Divine care and goodneſs, they ſet forwards on their journey.

15.36.

2. THEIR firſt paſſage was into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the Churches as they went along. And to that end they left with them Copies of the *Synodical* Decrees, lately ordained in the Council at *Jeruſalem*. Hence we may ſuppoſe it was that he ſet ſail for *Crete*, where he preached and propagated Chriſtianity, and conſtituted *Titus* to be the firſt Biſhop and Paſtor of that Iſland, whom he left there, to ſettle and diſpoſe thoſe affairs, which the ſhortneſs of his own ſtay in thoſe parts would not ſuffer him to do. Hence he returned back unto *Cilicia*, and came to *Lyſtra*, where he found *Timothy*, whoſe Father was a *Greek*, his Mother a *Jewiſh* convert, by whom he had been brought up under all the advantages of a pious and religious education, and eſpecially an incomparable skill and dexterity in the holy Scriptures. S. *Paul* deſigned him for the companion of his travels, and a ſpecial inſtrument in the Miniſtery of the Goſpel, and knowing that his being uncircumciſed would be a mighty prejudice in the opinion and eſtimation of the *Jews*, cauſed him to be circumciſed; being willing in lawful and indifferent matters (ſuch was Circumciſion now become) to accommodate himſelf to mens humors and apprehenſions for the ſaving of their Souls.

16.6. 3. FROM hence with his company he paſſed through *Phrygia*, and the Country of *Galatia*, where he was entertained by them with as mighty a kindneſs and veneration, as if he had been an Angel immediately ſent from Heaven. And being by Revelation forbidden to go into *Aſia*, by a ſecond Viſion he was commanded to direct his journey for *Macedonia*. And here it was that S. *Luke* joyned himſelf to his company, and became ever after his inſeparable companion. Sailing from *Troas*, they arrived at the Iſland *Samothracia*, and thence to *Neapolis*, from whence they went to *Philippi*, the chief City of that part of *Macedonia*, and a *Roman* Colony: where he ſtaid ſome conſiderable time to plant the Chriſtian Faith, and where his Miniſtery had more particular ſucceſs on *Lydia*, a Purple-ſeller, born at *Thyatira*, baptized together with her whole Family; and with her the Apoſtle ſojourned during his reſidence in that place. A little without this City there was a *Proſeucha*, ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ as the *Syriack* renders it, an *Oratory*, or *houſe of Prayer*, whereto the Apoſtle and his company uſed frequently to retire, for the exerciſe of their Religion, and for preaching the Goſpel to thoſe that reſorted thither. The *Jews* had three ſorts of places for their publick worſhip: The Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which was like the *Cathedral*, or Mother-Church, where all Sacrifices and Oblations were offered, and

where

where all Males were bound three times a-year perſonally to pay their devotions: Their Synagogues (many whereof they had almoſt in every place, not unlike our Parochial Churches) where the Scriptures were read and expounded, and the people taught their duty: *Moſes of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day.* Acts 15.21. And then they had their *Proſeuchæ* (τὰ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια, as *Philo* ſometimes calls them) or *Oratories*, which were like Chappels of Eaſe to the Temple and the Synagogues, whither the people were wont to come ſolemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven. They were built (as * *Epiphanius* informs us) ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀιθρίῳ τόπῳ, without the City, in the open Air and uncovered, τόποι πλατεῖς φόρων δίκην, προσευχὰς ταύτας ἐκάλουν, being large ſpacious places, after the manner of *Fora*, or Market-places, and theſe they called *Proſeucha*'s. And that the *Jews* and *Samaritans* had ſuch places of Devotion, he proves from this very place at *Philippi*, where S. *Paul* preached. For they had them not in *Judæa* only, but even at *Rome* it ſelf, where *Tiberius* (as * *Philo* tells *Caius* the Emperor) ſuffered the *Jews* to inhabit the *Tranſtiberin Region*, and undiſturbedly to live according to the Rites of their Inſtitutions, ἐν προσευχὰς ἔχειν, ἐν συνιέναι εἰς αὐτὰς, ἐν μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἑβδόμαις, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν πάτριον παιδεύονται φιλοσοφίαν, and alſo to have their *Proſeucha*'s, and to meet in them, eſpecially upon their holy *Sabbaths*, that they might be familiarly inſtructed in the Laws and Religion of their Countrey. Such they had alſo in other places, eſpecially where they had not, or were not ſuffered to have Synagogues for their publick worſhip. But to return.

De vit. Moſ. lib. 3. p. 685.

* *Adv. Maſſ. Hæreſ.* LXX. *p.* 450.

In qua te quæro Proſeucha. Juvenal. *Sat.* 3. *v.* 296. Proſeucha] *cus Judæorum ubi orant. Vet. Schol. ibid.*

* *De Legat. Caium, p.* 1014.

4. AS they were going to this *Oratory*, they were often followed by a *Pythoneſſe*, a Maid-ſervant, acted by a ſpirit of Divination, who openly cried out, That *theſe men were the ſervants of the moſt high God, who came to ſhew the way of Salvation* to the World. So eaſily can Heaven extort a Teſtimony from the mouth of Hell. But S. *Paul*, to ſhew how little he needed *Satan* to be his witneſs, commanded the *Dæmon* to come out, which immediately left her. The evil Spirit thus thrown out of poſſeſſion, preſently raiſed a ſtorm againſt the Apoſtles; for the Maſters of the Damſel, who uſed by her Diabolical arts to raiſe great advantages to themſelves, being ſenſible that now their gainful Trade was ſpoil'd, reſolved to be revenged on them that had ſpoiled it. Accordingly they laid hold upon them, and drag'd them before the Seat of Judicature, inſinuating to the Governours, that theſe men were *Jews*, and ſought to introduce different cuſtoms and ways of worſhip, contrary to the Laws of the *Roman* Empire. The Magiſtrates and People were ſoon agreed, the one to give Sentence, the other to ſet upon the Execution. In fine, they were ſtript, beaten, and then commanded to be thrown into Priſon; and the Jaylor charged to keep them with all poſſible care and ſtrictneſs. Who to make ſure of his charge, thruſt them into the Inner-Dungeon, and made their feet faſt in the Stocks. But a good man can turn a *Priſon* into a *Chappel*, and make a *den of Thieves* to be *an houſe of Prayer*. Our feet cannot be bound ſo faſt to the Earth, but that ſtill our hearts may mount up to Heaven. At midnight the Apoſtles were over-heard by their fellow-priſoners, praying, and ſinging Hymns to God. But after the ſtill voice came the Tempeſt. An Earthquake ſuddenly ſhook the foundations of the Priſon, the Doors flew open, and their Chains fell off. The Jaylor awaking with this amazing accident, concluded with himſelf, that the Priſoners were fled, and to prevent the Sentence of publick Juſtice, was going to lay violent hands upon himſelf, which S. *Paul* eſpying, called out to him to hold his hand, and told him they were

Milites ſi eam ſerint cuſtodiam, ipſi in periculum deducuntur. l. 12 de cuſtod. & exhib. reor. Tit.

were all there: Who thereupon came in to them with a greater Earthquake in his own Conſcience, and falling down before them, asked them, *What he ſhould do to be ſaved?* They told him there was no other way of Salvation for him or his, than an hearty and ſincere embracing of the Faith of *Chriſt*. What a happy change does Chriſtianity make in the minds of men! How plain does it ſmooth the roughêſt tempers, and inſtill the ſweeteſt principles of civility and good nature! He who but a little before had tyrannized over the Apoſtles with the moſt mercileſs and cruel uſage, began now to treat them with all the arts of kindneſs and charity, bringing them out of the Dungeon, and waſhing their ſtripes and wounds, and being more fully inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity, was together with his whole Family, immediately baptized by them. Early in the morning the Magiſtrates ſent Officers privately to releaſe them: Which the Apoſtles refuſed, telling them, That they were not only innocent perſons, but *Romans*; that they had been illegally condemned and beaten, that therefore their delivery ſhould be as publick, as the injury, and an open vindication of their innocency, and that they themſelves, that had ſent them thither, ſhould fetch them thence; for the *Roman* Government was very tender of the lives and liberties of its own ſubjects, thoſe eſpecially that were free *Denizens* of *Rome*, every injury offered to a *Roman* being look'd upon as an affront againſt the Majeſty of the whole People of *Rome*. Such a one might not be beaten; but to be ſcourged, or bound, without being firſt legally heard and tried, was not only againſt the *Roman*, but the Laws of all Nations: * and the more publick any injury was, the greater was its aggravation, and the Laws required a more ſtrict and ſolemn reparation. *S. Paul* who was a *Roman*, and very well underſtood the Laws and priviledges of *Rome*, inſiſted upon this, to the great ſtartling and affrighting of the Magiſtrates, who ſenſible of their error, came to the Priſon, and intreated them to depart. Whereupon going to *Lydia*'s houſe, and having ſaluted and encouraged the Brethren, they departed from that place.

Iſta laus primum eſt majorum noſtrorum, Quirites, qui lenitate legum veſtram libertatem mitam eſſe voluerunt. Quamobrem inviolaum corpus omnium civium Romanorum intetum libertatis defendo ſervari oportere. Porcia ex virgas ab omnium civium Rom. Corpore ovit. C. Gracchus legem tulit, ne de capite cium Rom. injuſſu veſtro judicaretur. Cicer. *at. pro C. Rabir. p. 314. Tom. 2.*

* *L. 7. ff. de injuriis. lib. 49. Tit. 10.*

5. LEAVING *Philippi*, they came next to *Theſſalonica*, the *Metropolis* of *Macedonia*; where *Paul*, according to his cuſtom, preſently went to the *Jewiſh* Synagogue, for three Sabbath-days, reaſoning and diſputing with them, proving from the predictions of the Old Teſtament, that the *Meſſiah* was to ſuffer, and to riſe again, and that the bleſſed *Jeſus* was this *Meſſiah*. Great numbers, eſpecially of religious *Proſelytes*, were converted by his preaching: while like the Sun that melts wax, but hardens clay, it wrought a quite contrary effect in the unbelieving *Jews*, who preſently ſet themſelves to blow up the City into a tumult and an uproar, and miſſing *S. Paul* (who had withdrawn himſelf) they fell foul upon *Jaſon*, in whoſe houſe he lodged; repreſenting to the Magiſtrates, that they were enemies to *Cæſar*, and ſought to undermine the peace and proſperity of the *Roman* Empire. At night *Paul* and *Silas* were conducted by the Brethren to *Beræa*. Where going to the Synagogue, they found the People of a more noble and generous, a more pliable and ingenuous temper, ready to entertain the Chriſtian Doctrine, but yet not willing to take it merely upon the Apoſtles word, till they had firſt compared his preaching with what the Scriptures ſay of the *Meſſiah* and his Doctrine. And the ſucceſs was anſwerable, in thoſe great numbers that came over to them. But the *Jewiſh* malice purſued them ſtill, for hearing at *Theſſalonica*, what entertainment they had found in this place,

they

they presently came down, to exasperate and stir up the People. To avoid which, S. *Paul* leaving *Silas* and *Timothy* behind him, thought good to withdraw himself from that place.

6. FROM *Beræa* he went to *Athens*, one of the most renowned Cities in the World, excelling all others (says an Ancient * *Historian*) in *Antiquity, Humanity*, and *Learning*. Indeed it was the great seat of Arts and Learning, and as || *Cicero* will have it, the Fountain whence Civility, Learning, Religion, Arts and Laws were derived into all other Nations. So universally flocked to by all that had but the least kindness for the *Muses*, or good Manners, that he who had not seen *Athens*, was accounted a *Block*; he who having seen it, was not in love with it, a dull stupid *Asse*; and he who after he had seen it, could be willing to leave it, fit for nothing but to be a *Pack-Horse*. Here among the several Sects of Philosophers, he had more particular contests with the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*, who beyond all the rest seemed enemies to Christianity. The *Epicureans*, because they found their pleasant and jovial humour, and their loose and exorbitant course of life, so much checked and controlled by the strict and severe precepts of Christ, and that Christianity so plainly and positively asserted a Divine providence, that governs the World, and that will adjudge to men suitable rewards and punishments in another World. The *Stoicks* on the other hand, though pretending to principles of great and uncommon rigour and severity, and such as had nearest affinity to the doctrines of the Christian Religion, yet found themselves aggrieved with it: That meek and humble temper of mind, that modesty and self-denial, which the Gospel so earnestly recommends to us, and so strictly requires of us, being so directly contrary to the immoderate pride and ambition of that Sect, who beyond all proportions of reason were not ashamed to make their *wise man* equal to, and in some things to exceed God himself.

Acts 17. 1

* *C. Nep. vit. Attic.* c. *p.* 267.

|| *Orat. pro Flac. Tom.* 2

Εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ.
Εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι, μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος.
Εἰ δ' εὐαρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιον.
Lysipp. Comic. apud Dicæarch. de vit. Græc. Steph. edit. cap. 3. *p.* 18.

Tantum sapienti sua, quantum Deo omnis ætas patet. Est aliquid, quo sapiens antecedat Deum: ille naturæ beneficio non timet; suo sapiens. Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem Dei. Senec *Epist.* 53. *p.* 131. *Solebat Sextius dicere, Jovem plus non posse, quam bonum virum. Plura Jupiter habet quæ præstet hominibus. sed inter duos bonos non est melior, qui locupletior. Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihilo se minoris æstimat, quod virtutes ejus spatio breviore clauduntur. Id. Epist.* 73. *p.* 203.

7. WHILE S. *Paul* staid at *Athens* in expectation of *Silas* and *Timothy* to come to him, he went up and down to take a more curious view and survey of the City; which he found miserably overgrown with Superstition and Idolatry. As indeed *Athens* was noted by all their own Writers for far greater numbers of *Deities* and *Idols* than all *Greece* besides. They were ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοὺς Θεούς· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο, as * *Strabo* notes: Not more fond of strangers and novelties in other things, than forward to comply with novelties in Religion, ready to entertain any foreign Deities and Rites of worship; no Divinity that was elsewhere adored, coming amiss to them. Whence *Athens* is by || one of their own *Orators* stiled τὸ μέγιστον τῆς εὐσεβείας κεφάλαιον, the great Summ and Center of Piety and Religion: And he there aggravates the impiety of *Epicurus*, in speaking unworthily and irreverently of the Gods, from the place where he did it; at *Athens*, a place so pious, so devoted to them. Indeed herein justly commendable, that they could not brook the least

Λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς. *Pausan. lib.* 1. *p.* 42. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν ἄλλων πλέον. *Id.*

Θεοὶ ξενικοὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμῶνται, οὓς καταλέγει Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Κρησί. *Hesych. in voc.* Θεοί. *p.* 438.

——αἰεὶ δὲ θεοῤῥήτων περὶ μύθων
Ἀτθίδος ἀρχαίης φιλοπευθέες εἰσὶ πολῖται.
Nonn. Dionys. lib. 38. *p.* 542

* *Geograph. lib.* 10. *pag.* 325.

|| *Himer. Orat. in Epicur. ap. Phot. Cod.* CCXLIII *col.* 1086.

Philoſtr. de vit. Apollon. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 262. & ex eo, Suid. in voc. Τιμα-σιων.

leaſt diſhonourable reflexion upon any Deity, and therefore * *Apollonius Tyanæus* tells *Timaſion*, that the ſafeſt way was to ſpeak well of all the Gods, and eſpecially at *Athens*, where *Altars* were dedicated even to *Unknown Gods*. And ſo *S. Paul* here found it, for among the ſeveral Shrines and places of Worſhip and Devotion, he took more particular notice of one *Altar* inſcrib'd *To the Unknown God*. The intire *Inſcription*, whereof the Apoſtle quotes only part of the laſt words, is thought to have been this.

Oecumen. Schol. in Act. 17. pag. 137.

TO the Gods of Aſia, Europe, and Africa, to the ſtrange and UNKNOWN *GOD.* Saint * *Hierom* repreſents it in the ſame manner, onely makes it *Gods* in the plural number, which becauſe, ſays he, Saint *Paul* needed not, he only cited it in the ſingular. Which ſurely he affirms without any juſt ground and warrant: though it cannot be denied, but that *Heathen* Writers make frequent mention of the Altars of *Unknown Gods*, that were at *Athens*, as there want not others who ſpeak of ſome erected there to an unknown *God*. This Notion the *Athenians* might probably borrow from the *Hebrews*, who had the Name of God in great ſecrecy and veneration. This being one of the *Titles* given him by the Prophet אֵל מִסְתַּתֵּר *a hidden God*, or *a God that hides himſelf*. Sure I am that ‖ *Juſtin Martyr* tells us, that one of the principal names given to God by ſome

* Com. in Tit. cap. 1. ad Paul. & Euſtoch. p. 348. Tom. 9.

Iſai. 45. 15.

‖ Paræn. ad Græc. p. 37.

some of the Heathens, was Πάγκρυφος *one altogether hidden.* Hence the *Egyptians* probably derived their great God *Ammon*, or more truly *Amun*, which signifies *occult*, or *hidden*. Accordingly in this passage of *S. Paul* the *Syriac Interpreter* renders it, *the Altar* ܕܐܠܗܐ ܓܢܝܙܐ *of the hidden God.* The *Jews* were infinitely superstitious in concealing the Name of God, not thinking it lawful ordinarily to pronounce it. This made the *Gentiles*, strangers at best both to the Language and Religion of the *Jews*, at a great loss by what Name to call him, only stiling him in general an *uncertain, unspeakable, invisible* Deity; whence * *Caligula* in his ranting Oration to the *Jews*, told them, that wretches as they were, though they refused to own him, whom all others had confessed to be a Deity, yet they could worship τὸν ἀκατανόμαστον ὑμῖν, *their own nameless God.* And hence the *Gentiles* derived their custom of keeping secret the name of their Gods; Thus (a) *Plutarch* tells us of the *Tutelar* Deity of *Rome*, that it was not lawful to name it, or so much as to enquire what Sex it was of, whether God or Goddess; and that for once revealing it, *Valerius Soranus*, though *Tribune* of the People, came to an untimely end, and was crucified, the vilest and most dishonourable kind of death. Whereof among other reasons he assigns this, that by concealing the Author of their publick safety, μὴ μόνον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι, not he only, but all the other Gods might have due honour and worship paid to them. Hence in their publick adorations, after the Invocation of particular Deities, they were wont to add some more general and comprehensive form, as when *Cicero* had been making his address to most of their particular Gods, he concludes with a * *Cæteros item Deos, Deasque omnes imploro atque obtestor.* Usually the form was, *DII DEAEQUE OMNES.* The reason whereof was this, that not being assured many times what that peculiar Deity was, that was proper to their purpose, or what numbers of Gods there were in the World, they would not affront or offend any, by seeming to neglect and pass them by. And this ‖ *Chrysostome* thinks to have been particularly designed in the erection of this *Athenian Altar*, μήποτε καὶ ἄλλός τις ᾖ αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδέπω γνώριμος, θεραπευόμενος δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ, they were afraid lest there might be some other Deity (besides those whom they particularly worshipped) as yet unknown to them, though honoured and adored elsewhere, and therefore ὑπὲρ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας, *for the more security*, they dedicated an *Altar* to the *unknown God.* As for the particular occasion of erecting these *Altars* at *Athens* (omitting that of *Pans* appearing to *Philippides*, mentioned by *Oecumenius*) the most probable seems to be this. When a great Plague raged at * *Athens*, and several means had been attempted for the removal of it, they were advised by *Epimenides* the Philosopher, to build an *Altar*, and dedicate it τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ, *to the proper and peculiar Deity, to whom it did appertain*, be he what he would. A course which proving successful, no doubt gave occasion to them by way of gratitude to erect more shrines to this *unknown God.* And accordingly *Laertius* who lived long after *S. Paul*'s time, tells us that there were such *nameless Altars* (he means such as were not inscribed to any particular Deity) in and about *Athens* in his days, as Monuments of that eminent deliverance.

Ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ γυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἀμοῦν (ὃ παρά ἡμεῖς Ἄμμωνα λέγομεν) Μανεθὼς μὲν ὁ βεννίτης τὸν κεκρυμμένον οἴεται, καὶ τὸν κ ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς, *Plutarch. li Isid. & Osir. p.* 354.

——— *dedita sacris Incerti Judæa Lucan. Pharsal. lib.* 2. *incertum Mosis nu Tribol. Poll. in vit. Claud. c.* 2. *p.* 800.

Judæi mente sola, unumque numen i ligunt; summum illud & æternum, neque tabile, neque interiturum. Tacit. *Histor. li c.* 5. *p.* 535.

* *Phil. de legat. ad Cai. p.* 1041.

(a) *Quæst. p.* 279. *vi* Serv. *ad il Virgil Geo lib.* 1. Di trii indigit &c.

* *In Verr. Accus.* 7. *p.* 223. *Post speci invocationem, transit ad generalitatem, nè numen prætereat, more Pontificum, per quo tu veteri in omnibus sacris, post speciales D quos ad ipsum sacrum, quod fiebat, necesse era vocari, generaliter omnia numina invocaban* Serv. *in illud Virgil. Georgic. lib.* 1. Diique aque omnes.

‖ *Homil.* 3 *in Act. p.* 7

* *Laert. li in vit. Epi p.* 78.

7. BUT whatever the particular cauſe might be, hence it was that *S. Paul* took occaſion, to diſcourſe of the true, but to them *unknown God.* For the Philoſophers had before treated him with a great deal of ſcorn and deriſion,asking what that idle and prating fellow had to ſay to them? Others looking upon him as a propagator of new and ſtrange Gods, becauſe he preached to them *Jeſus* and *Anaſtaſis* or the Reſurrection, which they looked upon as two upſtart Deities, lately come into the World. Hereupon they brought him to the place, where ſtood the famous Senate-houſe of the *Areopagites,* and according to the *Athenian* humour, which altogether delighted in curious novelties, running up and down the *Forum,* and places of publick concourſe to ſee any ſtrange accident, or hear any new report (a Vice which their own great * Orator long ſince taxed them with) they asked him, what that new and ſtrange Doctrine was, which he preached to them? Whereupon, in a neat and elegant diſcourſe he began to tell them, he had obſerved how much they were over-run with *ſuperſtition,* that their zeal for Religion was indeed generous and commendable, but which miſerably over-ſhot its due meaſures and proportions; that he had taken notice of an *Altar* among them Inſcribed, *To the unknown God,* and therefore in compaſſion to their blind and miſguided zeal, he would declare unto them the Deity which they ignorantly worſhipped; and that this was no other, than the great God, the Creator of all things, the Supreme Governor and Ruler of the World, who was incapable of being confined within any Temple or humane Fabrick: That no Image could be made as a proper Inſtrument to repreſent him; that he needed no Gifts or Sacrifices, being himſelf the Fountain, from whence Life, Breath, and all other bleſſings were derived to particular Beings: That from one common original he had made the whole Race of Mankind, and had wiſely fixed and determined the times and bounds of their habitation: And all to this end, that Men might be the ſtronglier obliged to ſeek after him, and ſincerely to ſerve and worſhip him. A duty which they might eaſily attain to (though otherwiſe ſunk into the deepeſt degeneracy,and overſpread with the groſſeſt darkneſs) he every where affording ſuch palpable evidences of his own being and providence,that he ſeemed to ſtand near,and touch us; It being intirely from him, that we derive our life, motion, and ſubſiſtence. A thing acknowledged even by their own *Poet,* that *We alſo are his Off-ſpring.* If therefore God was our Creator, it was highly unreaſonable, to think that we could make any Image or Repreſentation of Him: That it was too long already, that the Divine patience had born with the manners of Men, and ſuffered them to go on in their blind Idolatries, that now he expected a general repentance and reformation from the World, eſpecially having by the publiſhing of his Goſpel put out of all diſpute the caſe of a future judgment, and particularly appointed the Holy *Jeſus* to be the Perſon that ſhould ſentence and judge the World: By whoſe Reſurrection he had given ſufficient evidence and aſſurance of it. No ſooner had he mentioned the Reſurrection,but ſome of the Philoſophers (no doubt *Epicureans,* who were wont to laugh at the notion of a future ſtate) mocked and derided him, others more gravely anſwered, that they would hear him again concerning this matter. But his diſcourſe however ſcorned and ſlighted, did not wholly want its deſired effect, and that upon ſome of the greateſt quality and rank among them. In the number of whom was *Dionyſius* one of the grave Senators and Judges of the *Areopagus,* and *Damaris,* whom the Ancients * not improbably make his Wife.

* Τοσοῦτον ...ον σπουδά-... ὅσον ἂν ...θε, ἀκού-... ἦν πεισ-...λθῇ τι ...ερον, ...oſth. Phi-... pag. 53.

—πάντη δ' Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες. ...ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΕΣΜΕΝ· ὁ δ' ἤπιος ...ιὰ σημαίνει—*Arat. Phæno. in prin.* (ἀνθρώποισι. ...ς τὸ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ...το ἐδημιούργησε πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βι-...ὲς, αὐτοῦ ἂν κληθείημεν, αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ ...ουργὸν ἐπιγραφόμενοι. *Schol. ibid.*

* ...hryſoſt. de ...cerdot. lib. 4. ...p. 67. T. 4.

8. THIS *Dionyſius* was bred at *Athens*, in all the learned Arts and Sciences; at five and twenty Years of Age, he is ſaid to have travelled into *Egypt*, to perfect himſelf in the ſtudy of *Aſtrology*, for which that Nation had the credit and renown. Here beholding the miraculous Eclipſe that was at the time of our *Saviour*'s Paſſion, he concluded that ſome great accident muſt needs be coming upon the World. Returning to *Athens*, he became one of the Senators of the *Areopagus*, diſputed with *S. Paul*, and was by him converted from his Errours and Idolatry; and being thoroughly inſtructed, was by him (as the * Ancients inform us) made the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*. As for ‖ thoſe that tell us, that he went afterwards into *France* by the direction of *Clemens* of *Rome*, planted Chriſtianity at, and became Biſhop of *Paris*, of his ſuffering Martyrdom there under *Domitian*, his carrying his Head for the ſpace of two Miles in his Hand, after it had been cut off, and the reſt of his Miracles done before, and after his Death, I have as little leiſure to enquire into them, as I have faith to believe them. Indeed the foundation of all is juſtly denied, *viz.* that ever he was there, a thing never heard of till the times of *Charles* the *Great*, though ſince that, Volumes have been written of this controverſie both heretofore, and of later times, among which *F. Sirmondus* the Jeſuit, and *Monſieur Launoy*, one of the learned Doctors of the *Sorbon*, have unanſwerably proved the *Athenian* and *Pariſian Dionyſius* to be diſtinct Perſons. For the Books that go under his name, *M. Daillé* has ſufficiently evinced them to be of a date many Hundred Years younger than S. *Denys*, though I doubt not but they may claim a greater Antiquity, than what he allows them. But whoever was their Author, I am ſure *Suidas* has over-ſtretched the praiſe of them beyond all proportion, when he gives them this character, εἴ τις ἀπαίδοι πρὸς τὰ κάλλη τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῶν νοημάτων, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ταῦτα νομίσοι γενήματα, ἀλλά τινος ἀκηράτου καὶ θείας δυνάμεως, that whoever conſiders the elegancy of his diſcourſes, and the profoundneſs of his notions and ſpeculations, muſt needs conclude that they are not the iſſue of any humane underſtanding, but of ſome Divine and Immaterial Power. But to return to our Apoſtle.

Vid. inter alia Said. in voc. Διονύσιος.

* *Dionyſ. Corinth. Epiſc ap Euſeb. lib.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 74. *lib.* 4. *c.* 22. *p.* 144.

‖ *Martyrium S. Dionyſ. per S. Metaphr. Sur. ad diem* 9. *Octob. Epiſt. Hiſduin. Abb. Henom. Rhem. item Paſſio ejus, aliaque ibid. Niceph. lib.* 2. *c.* 20. *p.* 167.

Ubi ſupr.

SECT. IV.

Of S. *Paul's* Acts at *Corinth* and *Epheſus.*

S. Paul's *arrival at* Corinth. *The oppoſition made by the* Jews. *The ſucceſs of his Preaching upon others. His firſt Epiſtle to the* Theſſalonians, *when written. His Arraignment before* Gallio. *The ſecond Epiſtle to the* Theſſalonians, *and the deſign of it.* S. Paul's *voyage to* Jeruſalem. *His coming to* Epheſus. *Diſciples baptized into* John's *Baptiſm.* S. Paul's *preaching at* Epheſus, *and the Miracles wrought by him.* Epheſus *noted for the ſtudy of* Magick. Jews *eminently verſed in Charms and Inchantments. The Original of the Myſtery, whence pretended to have been derived. The ill attempt of the Sons of* Sceva *to diſpoſſeſs* Dæmons *in the name of* Chriſt. S. Paul's *doctrine greatly ſucceſsful upon this ſort of men. Books of* Magick *forbidden by the* Roman *Laws.* S. Paul's *Epiſtle to the* Galatians, *why, and when written.* Diana's *Temple at* Epheſus, *and its great ſtateline ſs and magnificence. The mutiny againſt* S. Paul *raiſed by* Demetrius, *and his party.* S. Paul's *firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *upon what occaſion written. His Epiſtle to* Titus. Apollonius Tyanæus, *whether at* Epheſus *at the ſame time with* S. Paul. *His Miracles pretended to be done in that City.*

Acts 18. 1. AFTER his departure from *Athens*, he went to *Corinth*, the *Metropolis* of *Greece*, and the reſidence of the *Proconſul* of *Achaia*: where he found *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* lately come from *Italy*, baniſhed out of *Rome* by the Decree of *Claudius*: And they being of the ſame trade and profeſſion, wherein he had been educated in his youth, he wrought together with them, leſt he ſhould be unneceſſarily burdenſom unto any, which for the ſame reaſon he did in ſome other places. Hither, after ſome time, *Silas* and *Timothy* came to him. In the Synagogue he frequently diſputed with the *Jewes* and *Proſelytes*, reaſoning and proving, that *Jeſus* was the true *Meſſiah*. They, according to the nature of the men, made head and oppoſed him, and what they could not conquer by argument and force of reaſon, they endeavoured to carry by noiſe and clamour, mixed with blaſphemies and revilings, the laſt refuges of an impotent and baffled cauſe. Whereat to teſtifie his reſentment, he ſhook his Garments, and told them, ſince he ſaw them reſolved to pull down vengeance and deſtruction upon their own heads, he for his part was guiltleſs and innocent, and would henceforth addreſs himſelf unto the *Gentiles*. Accordingly he left them, and went into the houſe of *Juſtus*, a religious Proſelyte, where by his preaching and the many miracles which he wrought, he converted great Numbers to the Faith. Amongſt which were *Criſpus*, the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue, *Gaius*, and *Stephanus*, who together with their Families embraced the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and were baptized into the Chriſtian Faith. But the conſtant returns of malice and ingratitude are enough to tire the largeſt charity, and cool the moſt generous reſolution: therefore that the Apoſtle might not be diſcouraged by the reſtleſs attempts and machinations of his enemies, our Lord appeared to him in a Viſion, told him that notwithſtanding the bad ſucceſs he had hitherto met with, there was a great Harveſt to be gathered in that

that place, that he ſhould not be afraid of his enemies, but go on to preach confidently and ſecurely, for that he himſelf would ſtand by him and preſerve him.

2. ABOUT this time, as is moſt probable, he wrote his *firſt Epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*, *Silas* and *Timothy* being lately returned from thence, and having done the meſſage for which he had ſent them thither. The main deſign of the Epiſtle, is to confirm them in the belief of the Chriſtian Religion, and that they would perſevere in it, notwithſtanding all the afflictions and perſecutions, which he had told them would enſue upon their profeſſion of the Goſpel, and to inſtruct them in the main duties of a Chriſtian and Religious life. While the Apoſtle was thus employed, the malice of the *Jewes* was no leſs at work againſt him, and univerſally combining together, they brought him before *Gallio* the *Proconſul* of the Province, elder Brother to the famous *Seneca*: Before him they accuſed the Apoſtle as an *Innovator* in Religion, that ſought to introduce a new way of worſhip, contrary to what was eſtabliſhed by the *Jewiſh* Law, and permitted by the *Roman* Powers. The Apoſtle was ready to have pleaded his own cauſe, but the *Proconſul* told them, that had it been a matter of right or wrong, that had fall'n under the cognizance of the Civil Judicature, it had been very fit and reaſonable that he ſhould have heard and determined the caſe, but ſince the controverſie was only concerning the *punctilio*'s and niceties of their Religion, it was very improper for him to be a Judge in ſuch matters. And when they ſtill clamoured about it, he threw out their Indictment, and commanded his Officers to drive them out of Court. Whereupon ſome of the Towns-men ſeized upon *Soſthenes*, one of the Rulers of the *Jewiſh* Conſiſtory, a man active and buſie in this Inſurrection, and beat him even before the Court of Judicature, the *Proconſul* not at all concerning himſelf about it. A year and an half Saint *Paul* continued in this place, and before his departure thence, wrote his *ſecond Epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*, to ſupply the want of his coming to them, which in his former he had reſolved on, and for which, in a manner, he had engaged his promiſe. In this therefore he endeavours again to confirm their minds in the truth of the Goſpel, and that they would not be ſhaken with thoſe troubles which the wicked unbelieving *Jewes* would not ceaſe to create them; a loſt and undone race of men, and whom the Divine vengeance was ready finally to overtake. And becauſe ſome paſſages in his former Letter, relating to this deſtruction, had been miſ-underſtood, as if this day of the Lord were juſt then at hand, he rectifies thoſe miſtakes, and ſhews what muſt precede our Lord's coming unto Judgment.

3. S. *PAUL* having thus fully planted and cultivated the Church at *Corinth*, reſolved now for *Syria*. And taking along with him *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, at *Cenchrea*, the Port and Harbour of *Corinth*, *Aquila* (for of him it is certainly to be underſtood) ſhaved his head, in performance of a *Nazarite*-Vow he had formerly made, the time whereof was now run out. In his paſſage into *Syria* he came to *Epheſus*, where he preached a while in the Synagogue of the *Jewes*. And though deſired to ſtay with them, yet having reſolved to be at *Jeruſalem* at the *Paſſeover* (probably that he might have the fitter opportunity to meet his friends, and preach the Goſpel to thoſe vaſt numbers that uſually flock'd to that great ſolemnity) he promiſed, that in his return he would come again to them. Sailing thence, he landed at *Cæſarea*, and thence went up to *Jeruſalem*, where having viſited the Church, and kept the *Feaſt*, he went down to *Antioch*. Here having ſtaid ſome time, he traverſed the Countries of *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, Acts 18. 18

confirming, as he went, the new-converted Christians, and so came to
s 19.1. *Ephesus*, where finding certain Christian Disciples, he enquired of them, whether, since their conversion, they had received the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost. They told him, that the Doctrine which they had received had nothing in it of that nature, nor had they ever heard that any such extraordinary Spirit had of late been bestowed upon the Church. Hereupon he further enquired, unto what they had been *baptized* (the *Christian* Baptism being administred in the name of the Holy Ghost?) They answered, they had received no more than *John*'s Baptism; which though it obliged men to repentance, yet did it explicitly speak nothing of the Holy Ghost, or its gifts and powers. To this the Apostle replied, That though *John*'s Baptism did openly oblige to nothing but Repentance, yet that it did implicitly acknowledge the whole Doctrine concerning *Christ* and the Holy Ghost. Whereto they assenting, were solemnly initiated by Christian Baptism, and the Apostle laying his hands upon them, they immediately received the Holy Ghost, in the gift of Tongues, Prophecy, and other miraculous powers conferred upon them.

4. AFTER this he entred into the *Jewish* Synagogues, where for the first three months he contended and disputed with the *Jews*, endeavouring with great earnestness and resolution to convince them of the truth of those things that concerned the Christian Religion. But when instead of success, he met with nothing but refractoriness and infidelity, he left the Synagogue, and taking those with him whom he had converted, instructed them, and others that resorted to him, in the School of one *Tyrannus*, a place where Scholars were wont to be educated and instructed. In this manner he continued for two years together: In which time the *Jews* and *Proselytes* of the whole *Proconsular Asia* had opportunity of having the Gospel preached to them. And because Miracles are the clearest evidence of a Divine commission, and the most immediate Credentials of Heaven, those which do nearliest affect our senses, and consequently have the strongest influence upon our minds, therefore God was pleased to ratifie the doctrine which S. *Paul* delivered by great and miraculous operations; and those of somewhat a more peculiar and extraordinary nature. Insomuch that he did not only heal those that came to him, but if Napkins or Handkerchiefs were but touched by him, and applied unto the sick, their diseases immediately vanished, and the *Dæmons* and evil Spirits departed out of those that were possessed by them.

5. *EPHESUS*, above all other places in the World, was noted of old for the study of *Magick*, and all secret and hidden Arts, whence the Ἐφέσια γράμματα so often spoken of by the Ancients, which were certain obscure and mystical Spells and Charms, by which they endeavoured to heal Diseases, and drive away evil Spirits, and do things beyond the reach and apprehensions of common people. Besides other professors of this black Art, there were at this time at *Ephesus* certain *Jews*, who dealt in the arts of *Exorcism* and Incantation; a craft and mystery which * *Josephus* affirms to have been derived from *Solomon*; who, he tells us, did not only find it out, but composed forms of Exorcism and Inchantment, whereby to cure diseases, and expel *Dæmons*, so as they should never return again; and adds, καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει; *That this Art was still in force among the Jews*: Instances whereof, he tells us, he himself had seen, having beheld one *Eleazar* a *Jew*, in the presence of *Vespasian*, his Sons, and the great Officers of his Army, curing *Dæmoniacks*, by holding a ring to their nose, under whose Seal was hid the root of a certain Plant, prescribed by *Solomon*, at the

...σια γράμ-
...α, ἐπῳδαὶ
...δυσπαρα-
...θητοι.
...in voc.
...σ. γράμμ.
...Clem.
...Strom. l. 1
...5, 306.
...tiq. Jud.
...3. cap. 2.
...7.

the ſcent whereof the *Dæmon* preſently took leave and was gone, the Patient falling to the ground, while the Exorciſt, by mentioning *Solomon*, and reciting ſome Charms made by him, ſtood over him, and charged the evil Spirit never to return. And to let them ſee that he was really gone, he commanded the *Dæmon* as he went out to overturn a cup full of water, which he had cauſed to be ſet in the room before them. In the number of theſe Conjurers now at *Epheſus*, there were the ſeven Sons of *Sceva*, one of the chief heads of the Families of the Prieſts, who ſeeing what great things were done by calling over *Dæmoniacks* the name of *Chriſt*, attempted themſelves to do the like, Conjuring the evil Spirit in the name of that *Jeſus*, whom *Paul* preached, to depart. But the ſtubborn *Dæmon* would not obey the warrant, telling them, he knew who *Jeſus* and *Paul* were, but did not underſtand what authority they had to uſe his name. And not content with this, forced the *Dæmoniack* violently to fall upon them, to tear their clothes, and wound their bodies, ſcarce ſuffering them to eſcape with the ſafety of their lives. An accident that begot great terror in the minds of men, and became the occaſion of converting many to the Faith, who came to the Apoſtle, and confeſſed the former courſe and manner of their lives. Several alſo, who had traded in curious Arts, and the myſterious methods of Spells and Charms, freely brought their *Books* of *Magick* Rites (whoſe price, had they been to be ſold, according to the rates which men who dealt in thoſe curſed myſteries put upon them, would have amounted to the value of above One thouſand Five hundred pounds) and openly burnt them before the people, themſelves adjudging them to thoſe flames, to which they were condemned by the Laws of the Empire. For ſo we find the **Roman* Laws prohibiting any to keep Books of *Magick* Arts, and that where any ſuch were found, their Goods ſhould be forfeited, the Books publickly burned, the perſons baniſhed, and if of a meaner rank, beheaded. Theſe Books the penitent converts did of their own accord ſacrifice to the fire, not tempted to ſpare them either by their former love to them, or the preſent price and value of them. With ſo mighty an efficacy did the Goſpel prevail over the minds of men.

Act. 19. 19. συνεψηφισαν τας τιμας αυτων, ευρον αργυρεις μυριαδας πεντε. Argenteum Graecum valuit Drachmam Articam, adeóque non 7 d. ob. Ac proinde Αργυρεις myriades quinque nummi noſtri ſummam conficiunt 1562 l. 10 s.

* *Paul. IC. Sentent. lib.* 5. *Sent.* 21. *Sect.* 4. *Tit. ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. & Venefic. vid. leg.* 4. ff. *mil. herciſc. Sect.* 1. *lib.* 10 *T.* 2. & *l.* 12. *C. Theod. Maleſ. & Mathem. lib.* 9. *Tit.* 16.

6. ABOUT this time it was that the Apoſtle writ his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*. For he had heard, that ſince his departure, corrupt opinions had got in amongſt them about the neceſſary obſervation of the *legal* Rites, and that ſeveral Impoſtors were crept into that Church, who knew no better way to undermine the Doctrine he had planted there, than by vilifying his perſon, ſlighting him as an Apoſtle only at the ſecond hand, not to be compared with *Peter*, *James* and *John*, who had familiarly converſed with *Chriſt* in the days of his fleſh, and been immediately deputed by him. In this Epiſtle therefore he reproves them with ſome neceſſary ſmartneſs and ſeverity, that they had been ſo ſoon led out of that right way, wherein he had ſet them, and had ſo eaſily ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by the crafty artifices of ſeducers. He vindicates the honour of his Apoſtolate, and the immediate receiving his Commiſſion from *Chriſt*, wherein he ſhews, that he came not behind the very beſt of thoſe Apoſtles. He largely refutes thoſe *Judaical* opinions, that had tainted and infected them, and in the concluſion inſtructs them in the rules and duties of an holy life. While the Apoſtle thus ſtaid at *Epheſus*, he reſolved with himſelf to paſs through *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, thence to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo to *Rome*. But for the preſent altered his reſolution, and continued ſtill at *Epheſus*. 7. DU-

7. DURING his stay in this place, an accident happened, that involved him in great trouble and danger. *Ephesus* above all the Cities of the East was renowned for the famous Temple of *Diana*, one of the statelieſt Temples of the World. It was (as * *Pliny* tells us) the very wonder of magnificence, built at the common charges of all *Asia* properly so called, 220 Years (elsewhere ‖ he says 400) in building, which we are to understand of its successive rebuildings and reparations, being often wasted and destroyed. It was 425 Foot long, 220 broad, supported by 127 Pillars, 60 Foot high; for its antiquity it was in some degree before the times of *Bacchus*, equal to the Reign of the *Amazons* (by whom it is generally said to have been first built) as the * *Ephesian* Ambassadors told *Tiberius*, till by degrees it grew up into that greatness and splendor, that it was generally reckoned one of the seven wonders of the World. But that which gave the greatest fame and reputation to it, was an *Image* of *Diana* kept there, made of no very costly materials, but which the crafty Priests perswaded the People was beyond all humane artifice or contrivement, and that it was immediately formed by *Jupiter*, and *dropt down from Heaven*, having first killed, or banished the Artists that made it (as ‖ *Suidas* informs us) that the cheat might not be discovered, by which means they drew not *Ephesus* only, but the whole World into a mighty veneration of it. Besides there were within this Temple multitudes of Silver Cabinets, or *Chappelets*, little *Shrines*, made in fashion of the Temple, wherein was placed the *Image* of *Diana*. For the making of these holy shrines, great numbers of Silversmiths were employed and maintained, among whom one *Demetrius* was a Leading-man, who foreseeing that if the Christian Religion still got ground, their gainful Trade would soon come to nothing, presently called together the Men of his Profession, especially those whom he himself set on work; told them, that now their welfare and livelihood were concerned, and that the fortunes of their Wives and Children lay at stake, that it was plain that this *Paul* had perverted City and Country, and perswaded the People that the *Images*, which they made and worshipped, were no real Gods; by which means their Trade was not only like to fall to the ground, but also the honour and magnificence of the great Goddess *Diana*, whom not *Asia* only, but the whole World did worship and adore. Enraged with this discourse, they cried out with one voice, that *Great was Diana of the Ephesians*. The whole City was presently in an uproar, and seizing upon two of S. *Paul*'s Companions, hurried them into the *Theatre*, probably with a design to have cast them to the wild Beasts. S. *Paul* hearing of their danger, would have ventured himself among them, had not the Christians, nay, some even of the *Gentile* Priests, Governours of the popular Games and Sports, earnestly disswaded him from it; well knowing that the People were resolved, if they could meet with him, to throw him to the wild Beasts, that were kept there for the disport and pleasure of the People. And this doubtless he means, when elsewhere he tells us, that *he fought with Beasts at Ephesus*, probably intending what the People designed, though he did not actually suffer; though the brutish rage, the savage and inhumane manners of this People did sufficiently deserve that the censure and character should be fixed upon themselves.

8. GREAT was the confusion of the Multitude, the major-part not knowing the reason of the Concourse. In which distraction *Alexander* a *Jewish*

* *H. Natur. lib.* 36. *c.* 14. *p.* 716.
‖ *Lib.* 16. *c.* 40. *p.* 336.
ὶ καὶ Ἀμαζονίδες ———
κοτε παῤῥαλίῃ Ἐφέσου βρέτας ἱδρύσαντο.
τῶν δ' ὀπὶ θεώτερον ὄψεται ἠὼς
δ' ἀφνειότερον· ῥέα κεν Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι.
llym. in Dian. Hymn. 2. *p.* 23.
—— περιώσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα. *Dionys. Peri-*
v. 829.

acit. Annal.
3. *c.* 61.
17.

uid. in voc.
ποπέτες.

Jewiſh Convert being thruſt forward by the *Jews*, to be queſtioned and examined about this matter, he would accordingly have made his *Apologie* to the People, intending no doubt to clear himſelf by caſting the whole blame upon S. *Paul*; This being very probably that *Alexander the Copper-ſmith*, of whom our Apoſtle elſewhere complains, *That he did him much evil, and greatly withſtood his words*, and *whom he delivered over unto Satan* for his Apoſtaſie, for *blaſpheming* Chriſt, and reproaching Chriſtianity. But the Multitude perceiving him to be a *Jew*, and thereby ſuſpecting him to be one of S. *Paul*'s Aſſociates, began to raiſe an out-cry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great is Diana of the Epheſians*. The noiſe being a little over, the *Recorder*, a diſcreet and prudent Man, came out and calmly told them, That it was ſufficiently known to all the World, what a mighty honour and veneration the City of *Epheſus* had for the great Goddeſs *Diana*, and the famous *Image* which fell from Heaven, that therefore there needed not this ſtir to vindicate and aſſert it: That they had ſeized Perſons, who were not guilty either of *Sacriledge*, or *Blaſphemy* towards their Goddeſs; that if *Demetrius* and his Company had any juſt charge againſt them, the Courts were ſitting, and they might prefer their Indictment: or if the Controverſie were about any other matter, it might be referred to ſuch a proper Judicature, as the Law appoints for the determination of ſuch caſes: That therefore they ſhould do well to be quiet, having done more already than they could anſwer, if called in queſtion, (as 'tis like they would) there being no cauſe ſufficient to juſtifie that days riotous Aſſembly. With which prudent diſcourſe, he appeaſed and diſmiſſed the Multitude.

2 Tim. 4. 14
1 Tim. 1. 20

9. IT was about this time that S. *Paul* heard of ſome diſturbance in the Church at *Corinth*, hatched and fomented by a pack of falſe heretical Teachers, crept in among them, who endeavoured to draw them into Parties and Factions, by perſwading one Party to be for *Peter*, another for *Paul*, a third for *Apollos*, as if the main of Religion conſiſted in being of this or that Denomination, or in a warm active zeal to decry and oppoſe whoever is not of our narrow Sect. 'Tis a very weak and ſlender claim, when a Man holds his Religion by no better a title, than that he has joyned himſelf to this Man's Church, or that Man's Congregation, and is zealouſly earneſt to maintain and promote it, to be childiſhly and paſſionately clamorous for one Man's mode and way of adminiſtration, or for ſome particular humour or opinion, as if Religion lay in nice and curious diſputes, or in ſeparating from our Brethren, and not rather *in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt*. By this means Schiſms and Factions broke into the *Corinthian* Church, whereby many wild and extravagant Opinions, and ſome of them ſuch as undermined the fundamental Articles of Chriſtianity, were planted, and had taken root there. As the envious Man never fiſhes more ſucceſsfully than in troubled Waters. To cure theſe Diſtempers S. *Paul* (who had received an Account of all this by Letters which *Apollos*, and ſome others had brought to him from the Church of *Corinth*) writes his firſt Epiſtle to them. Wherein he ſmartly reproves them for their Schiſms and Parties, conjures them to peace and unity, corrects thoſe groſs corruptions that were introduced among them, and particularly reſolves thoſe many caſes and controverſies, wherein they had requeſted his advice and counſel. Shortly after *Apollos* deſigning to go for *Crete*, by him and *Zenas* S. *Paul* ſends his Epiſtle to *Titus*, whom he had made Biſhop of that Iſland, and had left there for the propagating of the Goſpel. Herein he fully inſtructs him in the execution of his Office, how to carry himſelf, and what directions he ſhould give to others,

others, to all particular ranks and relations of men, especially those who were to be advanced to places of Office and Authority in the Church.

10. A LITTLE before S. *Paul*'s departure from *Ephesus*, we may not improbably suppose, that *Apollonius Tyaneus*, the famous Philosopher and Magician of the Heathen World (a Man remarkable for the strictness of his manners, and his sober and regular course of life, but especially for the great Miracles said to have been done by him ✱ whom therefore the Heathens generally set up as the great Corrival of our Saviour; though some of his own pary, and particularly * *Euphratus* the Philosopher, who lived with him at the same time at *Rome*, accused him for doing his strange feats by *Magick*) came to *Ephesus*. The enemy of Mankind, probably designing to obstruct the propagation of Christianity, by setting up one who by the Arts of Magick might, at least in the Vogue and estimation of the People, equal, or eclipse the Miracles of S. *Paul*. Certain it is, if we compare times and actions set down by the ‖ Writer of his Life, we shall find that he came hither about the beginning of *Nero*'s Reign, and he particularly sets down the strange things that were done by him, especially his clearing the City of a grievous Plague, for which the People of *Ephesus* had him in such veneration, that they erected a *Statue* to him as to a particular Deity, and did divine honour to it. But whether this was before S. *Paul*'s going thence, I will not take upon me to determine; it seems most probable to have been done afterwards.

Euseb. lib. 4. ntra Hierocl. 30. ad calc. emonstr. yang.

Philostr. de . Apollon. an. lib. 4. p. 1. p. 159. c. 12. p. 194. nfer. lib. 5.

d. lib. 4. c. 3. 64. vid. Eu- . in Hierocl. 4. ap. Phi- v. p. 457.

SECT. V.

S. *Paul*'s Acts, from his departure from *Ephesus*, till his Arraignment before *Felix*.

S. Paul's *journey into* Macedonia. *His preaching as far as* Illyricum, *and return into* Greece. *His second Epistle to the* Corinthians, *and what the design of it. His first Epistle to* Timothy. *His Epistle to the* Romans *whence written, and with what design.* S. Paul's *preaching at* Troas, *and raising* Eutychus. *His summoning the* Asian *Bishops to* Miletus, *and pathetical discourse to them. His stay at* Cæsarea *with* Philip *the* Deacon. *The Churches passionate dissuading him from going to* Jerusalem. *His coming to* Jerusalem, *and compliance with the indifferent Rites of the* Mosaick *Law, and why. The tumults raised against him by the* Jews, *and his rescue by the* Roman *Captain. His asserting his* Roman *freedom. His carriage before the* Sanhedrim. *The difference between the* Pharisees *and* Sadducees *about him. The* Jews *conspiracy against his life discovered. His being sent unto* Cæsarea.

1. IT was not long after the tumult at *Ephesus*, when S. *Paul* having called the Church together, and constituted *Timothy* Bishop of that place, took his leave, and departed by *Troas* for *Macedonia*. And at this time it was, that, as he himself tells us, he *preached the Gospel round about unto Illyricum*, since called *Sclavonia*, some parts of *Macedonia* bordering on that Province. From *Macedonia* he returned back unto *Greece*, where he abode

s 20. 1.

three

three months, and met with *Titus*, lately come with great contributions from the Church at *Corinth*. By whoſe example he ſtirr'd up the liberality of the *Macedonians*, who very freely, and ſomewhat beyond their ability contributed to the poor Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*. From *Titus* he had an account of the preſent ſtate of the Church at *Corinth*; and by him at his return, together with S. *Luke*, he ſent his ſecond Epiſtle to them. Wherein he endeavours to ſet right what his former Epiſtle had not yet effected, to vindicate his Apoſtleſhip from that contempt and ſcorn, and himſelf from thoſe ſlanders and aſperſions, which the ſeducers, who had found themſelves laſht by his firſt Epiſtle, had caſt upon him, together with ſome other particular caſes relating to them. Much about the ſame time he writ his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, whom he had left at *Epheſus*, wherein at large he counſels him, how to carry himſelf in the diſcharge of that great place and authority in the Church, which he had committed to him; inſtructs him in the particular qualifications of thoſe whom he ſhould make choice of, to be Biſhops and Miniſters in the Church. How to order the *Deaconeſſes*, and to inſtruct Servants, warning him withall of that peſtilent generation of hereticks and ſeducers, that would ariſe in the Church. During his three months ſtay in *Greece*, he went to *Corinth*, whence he wrote his famous Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which he ſent by *Phœbe*, a *Deaconeſs* of the Church of *Cenchrea*, nigh *Corinth*: wherein his main deſign is fully to ſtate and determine the great controverſie between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, about the obligation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Law, and thoſe main and material Doctrines of Chriſtianity, which did depend upon it, ſuch as of Chriſtian liberty, the uſe of indifferent things, *&c.* And which is the main end of all Religion, inſtructs them in, and preſſes them to the duties of an holy and good life, ſuch as the Chriſtian Doctrine does naturally tend to oblige men to.

2. S. *PAUL* being now reſolved for *Syria*, to convey the contributions to the Brethren at *Jeruſalem*, was a while diverted from that reſolution, by a deſign he was told of which the *Jews* had to kill and rob him by the way. Whereupon he went back into *Macedonia*, and ſo came to *Philippi*, and thence went to *Troas*, where having ſtaid a week, on the *Lords-day* the Church met together to receive the holy Sacrament. Here S. *Paul* preached to them, and continued his diſcourſe till mid-night, the longer probably, being the next day to depart from them. The length of his diſcourſe, and the time of the night had cauſed ſome of his Auditors to be overtaken with ſleep and drowzineſs, among whom a young man called *Eutychus* being faſt aſleep, *fell down from the third ſtory*, and was taken up dead, but whom S. *Paul* preſently reſtored to life and health. How indefatigable was the induſtry of our Apoſtle! how cloſe did he tread in his Maſters ſteps, who *went about doing good!* He compaſſed Sea and Land, preached and wrought miracles where-ever he came. In every place like a wiſe Maſter-builder, he either laid a foundation, or raiſed the ſuperſtructure. He was *inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, and ſpared not his pains, either night or day, that he might do good to the Souls of men. The night being thus ſpent in holy exerciſes, S. *Paul* in the morning took his leave, and went on foot to *Aſſos*, a Sea-port Town, whither he had ſent his company by Sea. Thence they ſet ſail to *Mytilene*; from thence to *Samos*, and having ſtaid ſome little time at *Trogyllium*, the next day came to *Myletus*, not ſo much as putting in at *Epheſus*, becauſe the Apoſtle was reſolved, if poſſible, to be at *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*.

3. AT

Acts 20. 17. 3. AT *Myletus* he ſent to *Epheſus*, to ſummon the Biſhops and Governours of the Church, who being come, he put them in mind with what uprightneſs and integrity, with what affection and humility, with how great trouble and danger, with how much faithfulneſs to their Souls he had been converſant among them, and had preached the Goſpel to them, ever ſince his firſt coming into thoſe parts: That he had not failed to acquaint them both publickly and privately with whatever might be uſeful and profitable to them, urging both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles* repentance and reformation of life, and an hearty entertainment of the Faith of *Chriſt*: That now he was reſolved to go to *Jeruſalem*, where he did not know what particular ſufferings would befall him, more than this, That it had been foretold him in every place by thoſe who were endued with the Prophetical gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, that afflictions and impriſonment would attend him there: But that he was not troubled at this, no nor unwilling to lay down his life, ſo he might but ſucceſsfully preach the Goſpel, and faithfully ſerve his Lord in that place and ſtation wherein he had ſet him: That he knew that henceforth they ſhould ſee his face no more, but that this was his encouragement and ſatisfaction, that they themſelves could bear him witneſs, that he had not by concealing from them any parts of the Chriſtian Doctrine, betray'd their Souls: That as for themſelves, whom God had made Biſhops and Paſtors of his Church, they ſhould be careful to feed, guide and direct thoſe Chriſtians under their inſpection, and be infinitely tender of the good of Souls, for whoſe redemption *Chriſt* laid down his own life: That all the care they could uſe was no more than neceſſary, it being certain, that after his departure, Heretical Teachers would break in among them, and endanger the ruine of mens Souls; nay, that even among themſelves, there would ſome ariſe, who by ſubtil and crafty methods, by corrupt and pernicious Doctrines would gain Proſelytes to their party, and thereby make Rents and Schiſms in the Church: That therefore they ſhould watch, remembring with what tears and ſorrow, he had for three years together warned them of theſe things: That now he recommended them to the Divine care and goodneſs, and to the rules and inſtructions of the Goſpel, which if adhered to, would certainly diſpoſe and perfect them for that ſtate of happineſs, which God had prepared for good men in Heaven. In ſhort, that he had all a-long dealt faithfully and uprightly with them, they might know from hence, that in all his preaching he had no crafty or covetous deſigns upon any man's Eſtate or Riches, having (as themſelves could witneſs) induſtriouſly laboured with his own hands, and by his own work maintained both himſelf and his company: Herein leaving them an example, what pains they ought to take to ſupport the weak, and relieve the poor, rather than to be themſelves chargeable unto others; according to that incomparable ſaying of our Saviour (which ſurely S. *Paul* had received from ſome of thoſe that had converſed with him in the days of his fleſh) *It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive.* This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Viſitation-Sermon* being ended, the Apoſtle kneeled down, and concluded all with Prayer. Which done, they all melted into tears, and with the greateſt expreſſions of ſorrow attended him to the Ship, though that which made the deepeſt impreſſion upon their minds was, that he had told them, *That they ſhould ſee his face no more.*

Acts 20. 1. 4. DEPARTING from *Myletus*, they arrived at *Coos*, thence came to *Rhodes*, thence to *Patara*, thence to *Tyre*; where meeting with ſome Chriſtians, he was adviſed by thoſe among them, who had

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the gift of Prophecy, that he ſhould not go up to *Jeruſalem*: with them he ſtaid a week, and then going all together to the ſhore, he kneeled down and prayed with them, and having mutually embraced one another, he went on board, and came to *Ptolemais*, where only ſaluting the Brethren, they came next day unto *Cæſarea*. Here they lodged in the houſe of *Philip* the *Evangeliſt*, one of the ſeven *Deacons* that were at firſt ſet apart by the Apoſtles, who had four Virgin-daughters, all endued with the gift of prophecy. During their ſtay in this place, *Agabus* a Chriſtian Prophet came down hither from *Judæa*, who taking *Paul*'s girdle, bound with it his own hands and feet, telling them, that by this external *Symbol* the Holy Ghoſt did ſignifie and declare, that S. *Paul* ſhould be thus ſerv'd by the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, and be by them delivered over into the hands of the *Gentiles*. Whereupon they all paſſionately beſought him, that he would divert his courſe to ſome other place. The Apoſtle ask'd them, what they meant, by theſe compaſſionate diſſwaſives to add more affliction to his ſorrow; that he was willing and reſolved not only to be impriſoned, but, if need were to die at *Jeruſalem* for the ſake of Chriſt and his Religion. Finding his reſolution fixed and immoveable, they importuned him no further, but left the event to the Divine will and pleaſure. All things being in readineſs, they ſet forwards on their journey, and being come to *Jeruſalem*, were kindly and joyfully entertained by the Chriſtians there.

5. THE next day after their arrival, S. *Paul* and his company went to the houſe of S. *James* the Apoſtle, where the reſt of the Biſhops and Governours of the Church were met together; after mutual ſalutations, he gave them a particular account with what ſucceſs God had bleſſed him in propagating Chriſtianity among the *Gentiles*, for which they all heartily bleſſed God, but withall told him, that he was now come to a place, where there were many thouſands of *Jewiſh* converts, who all retained a mighty zeal and veneration for the Law of *Moſes*, and who had been informed of him, that he taught the *Jews*, whom he had converted, in every place, to renounce Circumciſion, and the Ceremonies of the Law: That as ſoon as the multitude heard of his arrival, they would come together to ſee how he behaved himſelf in this matter; and therefore to prevent ſo much diſturbance, it was adviſable, that there being four men there at that time, who were to accompliſh a Vow (probably not the *Nazarite-vow*, but ſome other, which they had made for deliverance from ſickneſs, or ſome other eminent danger and diſtreſs; for ſo * *Joſephus* tells us, they were wont to do in ſuch caſes, and before they came to offer the accuſtomed Sacrifices, to abſtain for ſome time from Wine, and to ſhave their heads) he would joyn himſelf to them, perform the uſual Rites and Ceremonies with them, and provide ſuch Sacrifices for them, as the Law required in that caſe, and that in diſcharge of their Vow, they might ſhave their heads. Whereby it would appear, that the reports which were ſpread concerning him were falſe and groundleſs, and that he himſelf did ſtill obſerve the Rites and Orders of the *Moſaical* Inſtitution; That as for the *Gentile* converts they required no ſuch obſervances at their hands, nor expected any thing more from them in theſe indifferent matters, than what had been before determined by the *Apoſtolical Synod* in that place. S. *Paul* (who in ſuch things was willing *to become all things to all men, that he might gain the more*) conſented to the counſel which they gave him, and taking the perſons along with him to the Temple, told the Prieſts, that the time of a Vow which they had made being now run out, and having purified themſelves, as the nature

Acts 21. 18.

* *De Bell. Ju. lib. 2. c. 15.*

of the caſe required, they were come to make their offering according to the Law.

6. THE ſeven days wherein thoſe Sacrifices were to be offered being now almoſt ended, ſome *Jews* that were come from *Aſia* (where, probably, they had oppoſed S. *Paul*) now finding him in the Temple, began to raiſe a tumult and uproar, and laying hold of him, called out to the reſt of the *Jews* for their aſſiſtance: Telling them, that this was the fellow, that every where vented Doctrines derogatory to the prerogative of the *Jewiſh* Nation, deſtructive to the Inſtitutions of the Law, and to the purity of that place, which he had prophaned by bringing in uncircumciſed *Greeks* into it: Poſitively concluding, that becauſe they had ſeen *Trophimus* a *Gentile* convert of *Epheſus* with him in the City, therefore he had brought him alſo into the Temple. So apt is malice to make any premiſes, from whence it may infer its own concluſion. Hereupon the whole City was preſently in an uproar, and ſeizing upon him, they dragged him out of the Temple, the doors being preſently ſhut againſt him. Nor had they failed there to put a period to all his troubles, had not *Claudius Lyſias*, Commander of the *Roman* Garriſon in the Tower of *Antonia*, come in with ſome Souldiers to his reſcue and deliverance, and ſuppoſing him to be a more than an ordinary Malefactor, commanded a double chain to be put upon him, though as yet altogether ignorant, either who he, or what his crime was, and wherein he could receive little ſatisfaction from the clamorous multitude, who called for nothing but his death, following the cry with ſuch crouds and numbers, that the Souldiers were forced to take him into their arms, to ſecure him from the preſent rage and violence of the people. As they were going up into the Caſtle, S. *Paul* asked the Governour, whether he might have the liberty to ſpeak to him, who finding him to ſpeak *Greek* enquired of him, whether he was not that *Egyptian*, which a few Years before had raiſed a Sedition in *Judæa*, and headed a party of Four Thouſand debauched and profligate wretches. The Apoſtle replied, that he was a *Jew* of *Tarſus*, a Free-man of a rich and honourable City, and therefore begg'd of him, that he might have leave to ſpeak to the People. Which the Captain readily granted, and ſtanding near the Door of the Caſtle, and making ſigns that they would hold their peace, he began to addreſs himſelf to them in the *Hebrew* Language: which when they heard, they became a little more calm and quiet, while he diſcourſed to them to this effect.

22.1. 7. HE gave them an account of himſelf from his Birth, of his education in his youth, of the mighty zeal which he had for the Rites and Cuſtoms of their Religion, and with what a paſſionate earneſtneſs he perſecuted and put to death all the Chriſtians that he met with, whereof the High-Prieſt and the *Sanhedrim* could be ſufficient witneſſes. He next gave them an entire and punctual relation of the way and manner of his converſion, and how that he had received an immediate command from God himſelf to depart *Jeruſalem*, and preach unto the *Gentiles*. At this word the patience of the *Jews* could hold no longer, but they unanimouſly cried out, to have him put to death, it not being fit that ſuch a Villain ſhould live upon the Earth. And the more to expreſs their fury, they threw off their Clothes, and caſt duſt into the Air, as if they immediately deſigned to ſtone him. To avoid which, the Captain of the Guard commanded him to be brought within the Caſtle, and that he ſhould be examined by whipping, till he confeſſed the reaſon

reason of so much rage against him. While the *Lictor* was binding him in order to it, he asked the *Centurion* that stood by, whether they could justifie the scourging a *Citizen* of *Rome*, and that before any sentence legally passed upon him. This the *Centurion* presently intimated to the Governour of the Castle, bidding him have a care what he did, for the Prisoner was a *Roman*. Whereat the Governour himself came, and asked him, whether he was a free *Denizon* of *Rome*? and being told that he was, he replied, that it was a great priviledge, a priviledge which he himself had purchased at a considerable rate. To whom S. *Paul* answered, that it was his Birth-right, and the priviledge of the place where he was born and bred. Hereupon they gave over their design of whipping him, the Commander himself being a little startled, that he had bound and chained a *Denizon* of *Rome*.

Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ Romanus, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vo[x] istius miseri audiebatur, nisi hæc, Civis Ro[manus] sum. *Hac se commemoratione Civitatis omni[a] bera depulsurum arbitrabatur.* —— *O nomen libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis!* Porcia, *legesque* Semproniæ! Cicer. *in Verr. Tom.2.p.218. Facinus est vincire Civem Roma[num] scelus, verberare. Id.ib. p. 220. vid. supra Se[ct.] Num.4.*

8. THE next Day the Governour commanded his Chains to be knock'd off, and that he might throughly satisfie himself in the matter, commanded the *Sanhedrim* to meet, and brought down *Paul* before them: where being Acts 23.1. set before the Council, he told them, that in all passages of his life he had been careful to act according to the severest rules and conscience of his duty. *Men and Brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day.* Behold here the great security of a good man, and what invisible supports innocency affords under greatest danger. With how generous a confidence does virtue and honesty guard the breast of a good man! as indeed nothing else can lay a firm basis and foundation for satisfaction and tranquillity, when any misery or calamity does overtake us. Religion and a good conscience beget peace and a Heaven in the Man's bosom beyond the power of the little accidents of this World to ruffle and discompose. Whence * *Seneca* compares the mind of a wise and a good man to the state of the upper Region, which is always serene and calm. The High-Priest *Ananias* being offended at the holy and ingenuous freedom of our Apostle, as if by asserting his own innocency, he had reproached the justice of their Tribunal, commanded those that stood next him, to strike him in the Face; whereto the Apostle tartly replied, That GOD would smite him, Hypocrite as he was, who under a pretence of doing Justice had illegally commanded him to be punished, before the Law condemned him for a Malefactor. Whereupon they that stood by asked him, how he durst thus affront so sacred and venerable a Person as *Gods High-Priest*? He calmly returned, That *he did not know* [or own] *Ananias to be an High-Priest* [of God's appointment.] However being a Person in Authority, it was not lawful to *revile* him, God himself having commanded, that *no man should speak evil of the Ruler of the People*. The Apostle, who as he never laid aside the innocency of the *Dove*, so knew how, when occasion was, to make use of the wisdom of the *Serpent*, perceiving the Council to consist partly of *Sadducees*, and partly of *Pharisees*, openly told them,

Εἰς αὐτὸν συνειλοῦ. φύσιν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ... μονικὸν, ἑαυτῷ ἀρκεῖσθαι δικαιοπραγοῦντι, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γαλήνην ἔχοντι. *M. Anton.* τῶν εἰς ἑ[αυτὸν] *lib.7.Sect.28.p.63.*

Justum & tenacem propositi Virum,
Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis Tyranni
Mente quatit solida: neque Auste[r]
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.
Horat. *Carm.l.3.Od.3 p.154.*

* *Sapiens ille est plenus gaudio, hilaris, & p[laci]dus, inconcussus, cum diis ex pari vivit. per[dies] noctesque par & æqualis animi tenor erecti & [pla]centis sibi est.* —— *Talis est sapientis animus, q[ualis] mundi status super Lunam, semper illic serenum [est]. nunquam sine gaudio est. Gaudium hoc non n[ascitur], nisi ex virtutum conscientia.* Senec. E[p.] *59.p.152.*

Hæc Pauli *verba* Ananias & *Apparitores sic [ac]cipiebant, quasi excusaret* Paulus *quod sibi in i[n] malis constituto non satis in mentem venisset, q[ui]cum sibi res esset. Verum latentior sensus suber[at] non esse eum sacerdotem, aut principem Sena[tus] qui eas dignitates precio comparasset. Didice[rat] enim hoc à Gamaliele Paulus;* Judicem qui ho[no]ris consequendi causa pecunias dederit, revera [ne]que judicem esse, neque honorandum, sed a[sini] habendum loco, *ut est in Titulo Talmudico de [San]nedrio.* Grot. *in loc.*

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that he was a *Phariſee*, and the Son of a *Phariſee*, and that the main thing he was queſtioned for, was his belief of a future Reſurrection. This quickly divided the Council, the *Phariſees* being zealous Patrons of that Article, and the *Sadducees* as ſtifly denying, that there is either *Angel* (that is, of a ſpiritual and immortal nature, really ſubſiſting of it ſelf, for otherwiſe they cannot be ſuppoſed to have utterly denied all ſorts of Angels, ſeeing they own'd the *Pentateuch*, wherein there is frequent mention of them) or *Spirit*, or that humane Souls do exiſt in a ſeparate ſtate, and conſequently that there is no Reſurrection. Preſently the Doctors of the Law, who were *Phariſees*, ſtood up to acquit him, affirming he had done nothing amiſs, that it was poſſible he had received ſome intimation from Heaven by an Angel, or the revelation of the H. Spirit, and if ſo, then in oppoſing his Doctrine, they might fight againſt God himſelf.

9. GREAT were the diſſentions in the Council about this matter, in ſo much that the Governour fearing S. *Paul* would be torn in pieces, commanded the Souldiers to take him from the Bar, and return him back into the Caſtle. That night to comfort him after all his frights, and fears, God was pleaſed to appear to him in a viſion, encouraging him to conſtancy and reſolution, aſſuring him that as he had born witneſs to his cauſe at *Jeruſalem*, ſo in deſpite of all his enemies he ſhould live to bear his teſtimony even at *Rome* it ſelf. The next Morning the *Jews*, who could as well ceaſe to be, as to be miſchievous and malicious, finding that theſe dilatory proceedings were not like to do the work, reſolved upon a quicker diſpatch. To which end above Forty of them entred into a wicked confederacy, which they ratified by Oath and Execration, never to eat or drink till they had killed him: and having acquitted the *Sanhedrim* with their deſign, they entreated them to importune the Governour, that he might again the next day be brought down before them, under pretence of a more ſtrict trial of his caſe, and that they themſelves would lye in ambuſh by the way, and not fail to diſpatch him, But that Divine providence that peculiarly ſuperintends the ſafety of good men, *diſappoints the devices of the crafty*. The deſign was diſcovered to S. *Paul* by a Nephew of his, and by him imparted to the Governour, who immediately commanded two Parties of Foot and Horſe, to be ready by Nine of the Clock that Night, and proviſion to be made for S. *Paul*'s carriage to *Fœlix* the *Roman* Governour of that Province: To whom alſo he wrote, ſignifying whom he had ſent, how the *Jews* had uſed him, and that his enemies alſo ſhould appear before him to manage the charge and accuſation. Accordingly he was by Night conducted to *Antipatris*, and afterwards to *Cæſarea*, where the Letters being delivered to *Fœlix*, the Apoſtle was preſented to him: and finding that he belonged to the Province of *Cilicia*, he told him, that as ſoon as his Accuſers were arrived he ſhould have an hearing, commanding him in the mean time to be ſecured in the place called *Herod's Hall*.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of *S. Paul*, from his firſt Trial before *Fœlix*, till his coming to *Rome*.

S. Paul *impleaded before* Fœlix *by* Tertullus *the* Jewiſh *Advocate. His charge of* Sedition, Hereſie, *and* Prophanation *of the Temple. S.* Paul's *reply to the ſeveral parts of the charge. His ſecond Hearing before* Fœlix *and* Druſilla. *His ſmart and impartial Reaſonings.* Fœlix *his great injuſtice and oppreſſion: His Luxury and Intemperance, Bribery and Covetouſneſs. S.* Paul's *Arraignment before* Feſtus, Fœlix *his Succeſſor, at* Cæſarea. *His* Appeal *to* Cæſar. *The nature and manner of thoſe* Appeals. *He is again brought before* Feſtus *and* Agrippa. *His vindication of himſelf, and the goodneſs of his cauſe. His being acquitted by his Judges of any Capital crime. His Voyage to* Rome. *The trouble and danger of it. Their Shipwrack, and being caſt upon the Iſland* Melita. *Their courteous entertainment by the* Barbarians, *and their different cenſure of S.* Paul. *The civil uſage of the Governour, and his Converſion to Chriſtianity. S.* Paul *met and conducted by Chriſtians to* Rome.

1. NOT many days after down comes *Ananias* the High-Prieſt, with ſome others of the *Sanhedrim* to *Cæſarea*, accompanied with *Tertullus* their *Advocate*, who in a ſhort but neat ſpeech, ſet off with all the flattering and inſinuative arts of Eloquence, began to implead our Apoſtle, charging him with *Sedition*, *Hereſie*, and the *Prophanation* of the *Temple*: That they would have ſaved him the trouble of this Hearing, by judging him according to their own Law, had not *Lyſias* the Commander violently taken him from them, and ſent both him and them down thither. To all which the *Jews* that were with him gave in their Vote and Teſtimony. *S. Paul* having leave from *Fœlix* to defend himſelf, and having told him, how much he was ſatisfied that he was to plead before one, who for ſo many years had been Governour of that Nation, diſtinctly anſwered to the ſeveral parts of the Charge. Acts 24.1.

2. AND firſt for *Sedition*, he point-blank denied it, affirming that they found him behaving himſelf quietly and peaceably in the Temple, not ſo much as diſputing there, nor ſtirring up the people either in the Synagogues, or any other place of the City. And though this was plauſibly pretended by them, yet were they never able to make it good. As for the charge of *Hereſie*, that he was a *ring-leader of the Sect of the Nazarenes*, he ingenuouſly acknowledged, that after the way which they counted *Hereſie*, ſo he worſhipped God, the ſame way in ſubſtance wherein all the *Patriarchs* of the *Jewiſh* Nation had worſhipped God before him, taking nothing into his *Creed*, but what the Authentick writings of the *Jews* themſelves did own and juſtifie: That he firmly believed, what the better of themſelves were ready to grant, another Life, and a future Reſurrection: In he hope and expectation whereof he was careful to live unblameable, and conſcientiouſly to do his duty both to God and men. As for the third part of the Charge,

his *Prophaning of the Temple*, he ſhews how little foundation there was for it, that the deſign of his coming to *Jeruſalem* was to bring charitable contributions to his diſtreſſed Brethren, that he was indeed in the Temple, but not as ſome *Aſiatick Jews* falſely ſuggeſted, either with tumult or with multitude, but only purifying himſelf according to the rites and cuſtoms of the *Moſaick* Law: And that if any would affirm the contrary, they ſhould come now into open Court, and make it good. Nay, that he appealed to thoſe of the *Sanhedrim* that were there preſent, whether he had not been acquitted by their own great Council at *Jeruſalem*, where nothing of moment had been laid to his charge, except by them of the *Sadducean* party, who quarrelled with him only for aſſerting the Doctrine of the Reſurrection. *Fælix* having thus heard both parties argue, refuſed to make any final determination in the caſe, till he had more fully adviſed about it, and ſpoken with *Lyſias*, Commander of the Garriſon, who was beſt able to give an account of the Sedition and the Tumult; commanding in the mean time that S. *Paul* ſhould be under guard, but yet in ſo free a cuſtody, that none of his friends ſhould be hindred from viſiting him, or performing any office of kindneſs and friendſhip to him.

3. IT was not long after this before his Wife *Druſilla* (a *Jeweſs*, Daughter of the elder *Herod*, and whom *Tacitus*, I fear by a miſtake for his former Wife *Druſilla*, Daughter to *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, makes Niece to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*) came to him to *Cæſarea*. Who being preſent, he ſent for S. *Paul* to appear before them, and gave him leave to diſcourſe concerning the doctrine of Chriſtianity. In his diſcourſe he took occaſion particularly to inſiſt upon the great obligation, which the Laws of Chriſt lay upon men to Juſtice and Righteouſneſs toward one another, to Sobriety and Chaſtity both towards themſelves and others, withall urging that ſevere and impartial account, that muſt be given in the Judgment of the other World, wherein men ſhall be arraigned for all the actions of their paſt life, and be eternally puniſhed or rewarded according to their works. A diſcourſe wiſely adapted by the Apoſtle to *Fælix* his ſtate and temper. But corroſives are very uneaſie to a guilty mind: Men naturally hate that which *brings their ſins to their remembrance*, and ſharpens the ſting of a violated conſcience. The Prince was ſo netled with the Apoſtles reaſonings, that he fell a trembling, and cauſed the Apoſtle to break off abruptly, telling him, he would hear the reſt at ſome other ſeaſon. And good reaſon there was that *Fælix* his conſcience ſhould be ſenſibly alarmed with theſe reflexions, being a man notoriouſly infamous for rapine and violence. **Tacitus* tells us of him, that he made his will the Law of his Government, practiſing all manner of cruelty and injuſtice. And then for incontinency, he was given over to luxury and debauchery, for the compaſſing whereof he ſcrupled not to violate all Laws both of God and Man. Whereof this very Wife *Druſilla* was a famous * inſtance. For being married by her Brother to *Aziz* King of the *Emiſenes*, *Fælix*, who had heard of her incomparable beauty, by the help of *Simon* the Magician, a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, raviſhed her from her Husbands bed, and in defiance of all law and right, kept her for his own Wife. To theſe qualities he had added bribery and covetouſneſs, and therefore frequently ſent for S. *Paul* to diſcourſe with him, expecting that he ſhould have given him a conſiderable ſumm for his releaſe; and the rather probably, becauſe he had heard that S. *Paul* had lately brought up great ſummes of money to *Jeruſalem*. But finding no offers made, either by the Apoſtle or his friends, he kept him priſoner for two years together, ſo long as himſelf continued *Procurator* of that Nation, when being diſplaced by *Nero*

Hiſtor. lib. 5. p. 538. vid. Annal. lib. 12. p. 234.

Joſeph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 5. p. 693.

he

he left *S. Paul* ſtill in Priſon, on purpoſe to gratifie the *Jews*, and engage them to ſpeak better of him after his departure from them.

4. TO him ſucceeded *Portius Feſtus* in the Procuratorſhip of the Province, at whoſe firſt coming to *Jeruſalem*, the High-Prieſt and *Sanhedrim* preſently began to prefer to him an Indictment againſt *S. Paul*, deſiring, that in order to his Trial, he might be ſent for up from *Cæſarea*, deſigning under this pretence that ſome Aſſaſſinates ſhould lie in the way to murder him. *Feſtus* told them, that he himſelf was going ſhortly for *Cæſarea*, and that if they had any thing againſt *S. Paul*, they ſhould come down thither and accuſe him. Accordingly being come to *Cæſarea*, and ſitting in open Judicature, the *Jews* began to renew the Charge which they had heretofore brought againſt *S. Paul*: Of all which he cleared himſelf, they not being able to make any proof againſt him. However *Feſtus* being willing to oblige the *Jews* in the entrance upon his Government, asked him, whether he would go up and be tried before him at *Jeruſalem?* The Apoſtle well underſtanding the conſequences of that propoſal, told him that he was a *Roman*, and therefore ought to be judged by their Laws, that he ſtood now at *Cæſar*'s own Judgment-ſeat (as indeed what was done by the Emperor's *Procurator* in any Province, the * Law reckoned as done by the Emperor himſelf) and though he ſhould ſubmit to the *Jewiſh* Tribunal, yet he himſelf ſaw, that they had nothing which they could prove againſt him; that if he had done any thing which really deſerved capital puniſhment, he was willing to undergo it; but if not, he ought not to be delivered over to his enemies, who were before-hand reſolved to take away his life. However as the ſafeſt courſe, he ſolemnly made his appeal to the *Roman* Emperor, who ſhould judge between them. Whereupon *Feſtus* adviſing with the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, received his appeal, and told him he ſhould go to *Cæſar*. This way of *appealing* was frequent amongſt the *Romans*, introduced to defend and ſecure the lives and fortunes of the populacy from the unjuſt incroachments, and over-rigorous ſeverities of the Magiſtrates, whereby it was lawful in caſes of oppreſſion to appeal to the People for redreſs and reſcue, a thing more than once and again ſettled by the Sanction of the *Valerian* Laws. Theſe * *appeals* were wont to be made in writing, by *Appellatory Libels* given in, wherein was contained an account of the Appellant, the perſon againſt whom, and from whoſe Sentence he did appeal. But where the caſe was done in open Court, it was enough for the Criminal verbally to declare, that he did appeal: In great and weighty caſes appeals were made to the Prince himſelf, and that not only at *Rome*, but in the Provinces of the Empire, all *Proconſuls* and Governours of Provinces being ſtrictly * forbidden to execute, ſcourge, bind, or put any badge of ſervility upon a Citizen, or any that had the priviledge of a Citizen of *Rome*, who had made his appeal, or any ways to hinder him from going thither, to obtain juſtice at the hands of the Emperor, who had as much regard to the liberty of his Subjects (ſays the Law it ſelf) as they could have of their good will and obedience to him. And this was exactly *S. Paul*'s caſe, who knowing that he ſhould have no fair and equitable dealing at the hands of the Governour, when once he came to be ſwayed by the *Jews*, his ſworn and inveterate enemies, appealed from him to the Emperour, the reaſon why *Feſtus* durſt not deny his demand, it being a priviledge ſo often, ſo plainly ſettled and confirmed by the *Roman* Laws.

Acts 25. 1

* *L. 1. ff. de offic. Procur. Cæſar. lib. 1. Tit.*

* *Leg. 1. Sect. ff. de appellat. lib. 49. Tit.*

Leg. 2. & 3. ibid.

* *Ibid. Leg. 1. & l. 7. ff. Leg. Jul. de public. lib. Tit. 6.*

5. SOME time after King *Agrippa*, who ſucceeded *Herod* in the Tetrarchate of *Galilee*, and his Siſter *Bernice* came to *Cæſarea*, to make a viſit to the new-come Governour. To him *Feſtus* gave an account of *S. Paul*, and the

the great ſtir and trouble that had been made about him, and how for his ſafety and vindication he had immediately appealed to *Cæſar*. *Agrippa* was very deſirous to ſee and hear him, and accordingly the next day the King and his Siſter accompanied with *Feſtus* the Governour, and other perſons of Quality, came into the Court with a pompous and magnificent retinue, where the Priſoner was brought forth before him. *Feſtus* having acquainted the King and the Aſſembly, how much he had been ſolicited by the *Jews* both at *Cæſarea* and *Jeruſalem*, concerning the Priſoner at the Bar, that as a notorious Malefactor he might be put to death, but that having found him guilty of no capital crime, and the Priſoner himſelf having appealed to *Cæſar*, he was reſolved to ſend him to *Rome*, but yet was willing to have his caſe again diſcuſſed before *Agrippa*, that ſo he might be furniſhed with ſome material inſtructions to ſend along with him, ſince it was very abſurd to ſend a Priſoner, without ſignifying what crimes were charged upon him.

Acts 26. 1. 6. HEREUPON *Agrippa* told the Apoſtle, he had liberty to make his own defence. To whom, after ſilence made, he particularly addreſſed his ſpeech; he tells him in the firſt place what a happineſs he had, that he was to plead before one ſo exactly verſed in all the rites and cuſtoms, the queſtions and the controverſies of the *Jewiſh* Law, that the *Jews* themſelves knew what had been the courſe and manner of his life, how he had been educated under the Inſtitutions of the *Phariſees*, the ſtricteſt Sect of the whole *Jewiſh* Religion, and had been particularly diſquieted and arraigned for what had been the conſtant belief of all their Fathers, what was ſufficiently credible in it ſelf, and plainly enough revealed in the Scripture, the Reſurrection of the dead. He next gave him an account with what a bitter and implacable zeal he had formerly perſecuted Chriſtianity, told him the whole ſtory and method of his converſion, and that in compliance with a particular Viſion from Heaven, he had preached repentance and reformation of life firſt to the *Jews*, and then after to the *Gentiles*: That it was for no other things than theſe that the *Jews* apprehended him in the Temple, and deſigned to murder him; but being reſcued and upheld by a Divine power, he continued in this teſtimony to this day, aſſerting nothing but what was perfectly agreeable to *Moſes* and the Prophets, who had plainly foretold that the *Meſſiah* ſhould both be put to death, and riſe again, and by his doctrine enlighten both the *Jewiſh* and the *Gentile* World. While he was thus diſcourſing, *Feſtus* openly cried out, that he talked like a mad-man, that his over-much ſtudy had put him beſides himſelf. The Apoſtle calmly replied, he was far from being tranſported with idle and diſtracted humours, that he ſpake nothing but what was moſt true and real in it ſelf, and what very well became that grave ſober Auditory. And then again addreſſing himſelf to *Agrippa*, told him, that theſe things having been open and publick, he could not but be acquainted with them, that he was confident that he believed the Prophets, and muſt needs therefore know that thoſe Prophecies were fulfilled in Chriſt. Hereat *Agrippa* replied, That he had in ſome degree perſwaded him to embrace the Chriſtian Faith. To which the Apoſtle returned, that he heartily prayed, that not only he, but the whole Auditory were, not only in ſome meaſure, but altogether, though not Priſoners, yet as much Chriſtians as he himſelf was. This done, the King and the Governour, and the reſt of the Council withdrew a-while, to confer privately about this matter. And finding by the accuſations brought againſt him, that he was not guilty by the *Roman* Laws of any capital offence, no nor of any that deſerved ſo much as impriſonment, *Agrippa* told *Feſtus*, that he might have been releaſed, if he had not appealed unto *Cæſar*. For the

Appeal

Appeal being once made, the Judge had then no power either to abſolve or condemn, the cauſe being intirely reſerved to the cognizance of that Superior, to whom the Criminal had appealed.

7. IT was now finally reſolved that *S. Paul* ſhould be ſent to *Rome*: in order whereunto he was, with ſome other Priſoners of remarque, committed to the charge of *Julius*, Commander of a Company belonging to the *Legion* of *Auguſtus*; accompanied in this Voyage by *S. Luke*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Trophimus*, and ſome others. In *September*, *Ann. Chr.* LVI. or as others, LVII. they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, and ſailed to *Sidon*, where the Captain civilly gave the Apoſtle leave to go a-ſhoar to viſit his Friends, and refreſh himſelf: Hence to *Cyprus*, till they came to the *Fair-Havens*, a place near *Myra*, a City of *Lyſia*. Here, Winter growing on, and S. *Paul* foreſeeing it would be a dangerous Voyage, perſwaded them to put in, and winter. But the Captain preferring the judgment of the Maſter of the Ship, and eſpecially becauſe of the incommodiouſneſs of the Harbour, reſolved, if poſſible, to reach *Phœnice*, a Port of *Crete*, and to winter there. But it was not long before they found themſelves diſappointed of their hopes: For the calm ſoutherly Gale that blew before, ſuddainly changed into a ſtormy and bluſtring *North-East Wind*, which ſo bore down all before it, that they were forced to let the Ship drive at the pleaſure of the Wind; but as much as might be, to prevent ſplitting, or running a-ground, they threw out a great part of their Lading, and the Tackle of the Ship. Fourteen Days they remained in this deſperate and uncomfortable condition, neither Sun nor Stars appearing for a great part of the time; the Apoſtle putting them in mind how ill-adviſed they were in not taking his counſel: Howbeit they ſhould be of good chear, for that that God whom he ſerved and worſhipped, had the laſt Night purpoſely ſent an Angel from Heaven, to let him know, that notwithſtanding the preſent danger they were in, yet that he ſhould be brought ſafe before *Nero*; that they ſhould be ſhipwrack'd indeed, and caſt upon an Iſland, but that for his ſake God had ſpared all in the Ship, not one whereof ſhould miſcarry, and that he did not doubt, but that it would accordingly come to paſs. On the Fourteenth Night upon ſounding they found themſelves nigh ſome Coaſt; and therefore to avoid Rocks, thought good to come to an Anchor, till the Morning might give them better information. In the mean time the Sea-men (who beſt underſtood the danger) were preparing to get into the Skiff, to ſave themſelves: which S. *Paul* eſpying, told the Captain, that unleſs they all ſtaid in the Ship, none could be ſafe: whereupon the Souldiers cut the Ropes, and let the Skiff fall off into the Sea. Between this and Day-break the Apoſtle adviſed them to eat and refreſh themſelves, having all this time kept no ordinary and regular Meals, aſſuring them they ſhould all eſcape. Himſelf firſt taking Bread, and having bleſſed God for it before them all, the reſt followed his example, and chearfully fell to their Meat: which done, they lightned the Ship of what remained, and endeavoured to put into a Creek, which they diſcovered not far off. But falling into a place where two Seas met, the fore-part of the Ship ran a-ground, while the hinder-part was beaten in pieces with the violence of the Waves. Awakened with the danger they were in, the Souldiers cried out to kill the Priſoners, to prevent their eſcape: which the Captain, deſirous to ſave *S. Paul*, and probably in confidence of what he had told them, refuſed to do; commanding, that every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf: the iſſue was, that part by ſwimming, part on planks, part on pieces of the broken Ship, they all, to the number of two hundred threeſcore and ſixteen (the whole number in the Ship) got ſafe to ſhore. Acts 27. 1.

8. THE

Acts 28. 1.

8. THE Iſland upon which they were caſt was *Melita* (now *Malta*) ſituate in the *Libyan* Sea between *Syracuſe* and *Africk*. Here they found civility among *Barbarians*, and the plain acknowledgments of a Divine juſtice written among the naked and untutored notions of Mens minds. The People treated them with great humanity, entertaining them with all neceſſary accommodations; but while *S. Paul* was throwing ſticks upon the Fire, a Viper diſlodged by the heat, came out of the Wood, and faſtned on his Hand. This the People no ſooner eſpyed, but preſently concluded, that ſurely he was ſome notorious Murderer, whom though the Divine vengeance had ſuffered to eſcape the Hue-and-Cry of the Sea, yet had it only reſerved him for a more publick and ſolemn execution. But when they ſaw him ſhake it off into the Fire, and not preſently ſwell, and drop down, they changed their opinions, and concluded him to be ſome God. So eaſily are light and credulous minds tranſported from one extreme to another. Not far off lived *Publius*, a Man of great Eſtate and Authority, and (as we may probably gueſs from an Inſcription found there, and ſet down by *Grotius*, wherein the ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ is reckoned amongſt the *Roman* Offices) Governor of the Iſland, by him they were courteouſly entertained three Days at his own charge, and his Father lying at that time ſick of a Feaver and a Dyſentery, *S. Paul* went in, and having prayed, and laid his hands upon him, healed him; as he did alſo many of the Inhabitants, who by this Miracle were encouraged to bring their diſeaſed to him: whereby great honours were heaped upon him, and both he and his company furniſhed with proviſions neceſſary for the reſt of their Voyage. Nay *Publius* himſelf is ſaid by * ſome to have been hereby converted to the Faith, and by *S. Paul* to have been conſtituted Biſhop of the Iſland, and that this was he that ſucceeded *S. Denys* the *Areopagite* in the See of *Athens*, and was afterwards crowned with Martyrdom.

Annot. in loc.

* *Bar. ad An.* LVIII. *n.* 173. *Vid. Adon. martyr. ad* xii. *Kal. Feb. Martyr. Rom. ad diem* 21. *Jan. Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 23. *p.* 143.

9. AFTER three Months ſtay in this Iſland, they went a-board the *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*. At *Syracuſe* they put in, and ſtaid three Days; thence ſailed to *Rhegium*, and ſo to *Puteoli*, where they landed, and finding ſome Chriſtians there, ſtaid a Week with them, and then ſet forward in their Journey to *Rome*. The Chriſtians at *Rome* having heard of their arrival, ſeveral of them came part of the way to meet them, ſome as far as the *Three Taverns*, a place thirty three Miles from *Rome*, others as far as *Appii Forum*, fifty one Miles diſtant thence. Great was their mutual ſalutation, and the encouragement which the Apoſtle received by it, glad no doubt to ſee that Chriſtians found ſo much liberty at *Rome*. By them he was conducted in a kind of triumph into the City, where when they were arrived, the reſt of the Priſoners were delivered over to the Captain of the Guard, and by him diſpoſed in the common Gaol, while *S. Paul* (probably at *Julius* his requeſt and recommendation) was permitted to ſtay in a private Houſe, only with a Souldier to ſecure and guard him.

SECT. VII.

S. *Paul's* Acts, from his coming to *Rome*, till his Martyrdom.

S. Paul's *summoning the chief of the* Jews *at* Rome, *and his discourse to them. Their refractoriness and infidelity. His first hearing before* Nero. *The success of his Preaching.* Poppæa Sabina Nero's *Concubine one of his Converts.* Tacitus *his character of her.* Onesimus *converted by S.* Paul *at* Rome, *and sent back with an Epistle to* Philemon *his Master. The great obligation which Christianity lays upon Servants to diligence and fidelity in their duty. The rigorous and arbitrary power of Masters over Servants by the* Roman *Laws. This mitigated by the Laws of the Gospel. S.* Paul's *Epistle to the* Philippians, *upon what occasion sent. His Epistle to the* Ephesians, *and another to the* Colossians. *His second Epistle to* Timothy *written (probably) at his first being at* Rome. *The Epistle to the* Hebrews *by whom written; and in what Language. The aim and design of it. S.* Paul's *Preaching the Gospel in the* West, *and in what parts of it. His return to* Rome, *when. His imprisonment under* Nero, *and why. His being beheaded. Milk instead of blood said to flow from his body. Different Accounts of the time of his suffering. His burial where, and the great Church erected to his memory.*

1. THE first thing *S. Paul* did after he came to *Rome*, was to summon the Heads of the *Jewish Consistory* there, whom he acquainted with the cause and manner of his coming, that though he had been guilty of no violation of the Law of their Religion, yet had he been delivered by the *Jews* into the hands of the *Roman* Governours, who would have acquitted him once and again as innocent of any capital offence, but by the perversness of the *Jews* he was forced, not with an intention to charge his own Nation (already sufficiently odious to the *Romans*) but only to vindicate and clear himself, to make his *Appeal* to *Cæsar*; that being come, he had sent for them, to let them know, that it was for his constant asserting the *Resurrection*, the hope of all true *Israelites*, that he was bound with that *Chain* which they saw upon him. The *Jews* replied, that they had received no advice concerning him, nor had any of the Nation that came from *Judæa*, brought any Charge against him: only for the Religion which he had espoused, they desired to be a little better informed about it, it being every where decried both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. Accordingly upon a day appointed he discoursed to them from morning to night concerning the Religion and Doctrine of the Holy *Jesus*, proving from the promises and predictions of the Old Testament, that he was the true *Messiah*. His discourse succeeded not with all alike, some being convinced, others persisted in their infidelity: And as they were departing in some discontent at each other, the Apostle told them, it was now too plain, God had accomplished upon them the Prophetical curse, of being left to their own wilful hardness and impenitency, to be blind at noonday, and to run themselves against all means and methods into irrecoverable ruine: That since the case was thus with them, they must expect, that henceforth he should turn his Preaching to the *Gentiles*, who would be most ready to entertain, what they had so scornfully rejected, the glad tidings of the Gospel.

2. IT

208 1.7 655

2. IT was not, probably, long after this, that he was brought to his first hearing before the Emperor, where thoſe friends, whom he moſt expected ſhould ſtand by him, plainly deſerted him, afraid it ſeems of appearing in ſo tickliſh a cauſe before ſo unreaſonable a Judge, who governed himſelf by no other meaſures, than the bruitiſh and extravagant pleaſure of his luſt or humour. But God ſtood by him, and encouraged him; as indeed Divine conſolations are many times then neareſt to us, when humane aſſiſtances are farthest from us. This cowardiſe of theirs the Apoſtle had a charity large enough to cover, heartily praying, that it might not be brought in againſt them in the Accounts of the great Day. Two Years he dwelt at *Rome* in an Houſe which he hired for his own uſe, wherein he conſtantly employed himſelf in preaching and writing for the good of the Church. He preached daily, without interruption, to all that came to him, and with good ſucceſs, yea, even upon ſome of the better rank and quality, and thoſe belonging to the Court it ſelf. Among which the *Roman* * *Martyrologie* reckons *Torpes*, an Officer of prime note in *Nero*'s Palace, and afterwards a Martyr for the Faith; and *Chryſoſtom* (if ‖ *Baronius* cite him right) tells us of *Nero*'s *Cupbearer*, and one of his Concubines, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been *Poppæa Sabina*, of whom * *Tacitus* gives this character, that ſhe wanted nothing to render her one of the moſt accompliſhed Ladies in the World, but a chaſt and a virtuous mind: And I know not how far it may ſeem to countenance her converſion, at leaſt inclination to a better Religion than that of Paganiſm, that ‖ *Joſephus* ſtiles her a pious Woman, and tells us that ſhe effectually ſolicited the cauſe of the *Jewes* with her Husband *Nero*; and what favours *Joſephus* himſelf received from her at *Rome*, he relates in his own life.

1 Tim. 4. 16.

Ad diem VII. *Maii* 308.
Ad An. 59. *n.* *vid. Chryſoſt.* *adv. vituper.* *it. monaſt. lib.* *c.* 4. *p.* 361. *tom.* iv.
* *Annal. l.* 13. 45. *p.* 263.
‖ *Antiq. Jud.* *l.* 20. *cap.* 7. 697.
De vit. ſua, 999.

3. AMONGST others of our Apoſtle's Converts at *Rome* was *Oneſimus*, who had formerly been ſervant to *Philemon*, a perſon of eminency in *Coloſſe*; but had run away from his Maſter, and taken things of ſome value with him. Having rambled as far as *Rome*, he was now converted by *S. Paul*, and by him returned with recommendatory Letters to *Philemon* his Maſter, to beg his pardon, and that he might be received into favour, being now of a much better temper, more faithful and diligent, and uſeful to his Maſter than he had been before: As indeed Chriſtianity where 'tis heartily entertained, makes men good in all relations, no Laws being ſo wiſely contrived for the peace and happineſs of the World, as the Laws of the Goſpel, as may appear by this particular caſe of ſervants; what admirable rules, what ſevere Laws does it lay upon them for the diſcharge of their duties! it commands them to *honour* their Maſters as their Superiors, and to take heed of making their authority light and cheap by familiar and contemptible thoughts and carriages, to *obey* them in all honeſt and lawful things, and that *not with eye-ſervice as men-pleaſers, but in ſingleneſs of heart as unto God*; that they be *faithful* to the truſt committed to them, and manage their Maſters intereſt with as much care and conſcience as if it were their own; that they entertain their reproofs, counſels, corrections with all *ſilence* and ſobriety, not returning any rude ſurly anſwers; and this carriage to be obſerved, not only to Maſters of a *mild* and gentle, but of a croſs and peeviſh diſpoſition; that *whatever they do, they do it heartily, not as to men only, but to the Lord; knowing that of the Lord they ſhall receive the reward of the inheritance, for that they ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* Imbued with theſe excellent principles, *Oneſimus* is again returned unto his Maſter; for Chriſtian Religion, though it improve mens tempers, does not cancel their relations, it teaches them to abide in their callings, and *not to deſpiſe their Maſters, becauſe they*

Brethren,

Brethren, but rather do them ſervice, becauſe they are faithful. And being thus improved *S. Paul* the more confidently begg'd his pardon. And indeed had not *Philemon* been a Chriſtian, and by the principles of his Religion both diſpoſed and obliged to mildneſs and mercy, there had been great reaſon why *S. Paul* ſhould be thus importunate with him for *Oneſimus* his pardon, the caſe of ſervants in thoſe days being very hard, for all Maſters were looked upon as having an unlimited power over their Servants, and that not only by the * *Roman*, but by the Laws of all Nations, whereby without asking the Magiſtrate's leave, or any publick and formal trial, they might adjudge and condemn them to what work or puniſhment they pleaſed, even to the taking away of life it ſelf. But the ſeverity and exorbitancy of this power was afterwards ſomewhat curb'd by the Laws of ſucceeding Emperors, eſpecially after the Empire ſubmitted it ſelf to Chriſtianity, which makes better proviſion for perſons in that capacity and relation, and in caſe of unjuſt and over-rigorous uſage, enables them to appeal to a more righteous and impartial Tribunal, where Maſter and Servant ſhall both ſtand upon even ground, *where he that doth wrong ſhall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no reſpect of perſons.*

* *L.* 1. & 2. *de his, qui ſ vel alieni ju ſunt, lib.* 1. T 6. *vid. Inſtit lib.* 1. *Tit.* 8

4. THE Chriſtians at *Philippi* having heard of *S. Paul's* impriſonment at *Rome*, and not knowing what ſtraits he might be reduced to, raiſed a contribution for him, and ſent it by *Epaphroditus* their Biſhop, who was now come to *Rome*, where he ſhortly after fell dangerouſly ſick: But being recovered, and upon the point to return, by him *S. Paul* ſent his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, wherein he gives them ſome account of the ſtate of affairs at *Rome*, gratefully acknowledges their kindneſs to him, and warns them of thoſe dangerous opinions, which the Judaizing Teachers began to vent among them. The Apoſtle had heretofore for ſome Years liv'd at *Epheſus*, and perfectly underſtood the ſtate and condition of that place; and therefore now by *Tychicus* writes his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, endeavouring to countermine the principles and practices both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to confirm them in the belief and obedience of the Chriſtian doctrine, to repreſent the infinite riches of the Divine goodneſs in admitting the *Gentile*-World to the unſearchable Treaſures of Chriſtianity, eſpecially preſſing them to expreſs the life and ſpirit of it in the general duties of Religion, and in the duties of their particular relations. Much about the ſame time, or a little after, he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, where he had never been, and ſent it by *Epaphras*, who for ſome time had been his fellow-priſoner at *Rome*. The deſign of it is for the greateſt part the ſame with that to the *Epheſians*, to ſettle and confirm them in the faith of the Goſpel, againſt the errors both of *Judaiſm*, and the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the Heathen World, ſome whereof had taken root amongſt them.

5. IT is not improbable but that about this, or rather ſome conſiderable time before, *S. Paul* wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*. I know *Euſebius*, and the Ancients, and moſt Moderns after them, will have it written a little before his Martyrdom, induced thereunto by that paſſage in it, that he was then *ready to be offered, and that the time of his departure was at hand.* But ſurely it's moſt reaſonable to think, that it was written at his firſt being at *Rome*, and that at his firſt coming thither, preſently after his Trial before *Nero*. Accordingly the paſſage before mentioned may import no more, than that he was in imminent danger of his life, and had received the ſentence of death in himſelf, not hoping to eſcape out of the paws of *Nero*: But that *God had delivered him out of the mouth of the Lion, i. e.* the great danger he was in at his coming thither: Which exactly agrees to his caſe

at his firſt being at *Rome*, but cannot be reconciled with his laſt coming thither; together with many more circumſtances in this Epiſtle, which render it next door to certain. In it he appoints *Timothy* ſhortly to come to him, who accordingly came, whoſe name is joyned together with his in the front of ſeveral Epiſtles, to the *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon*. The only thing that can be levelled againſt this is, that in this Epiſtle to *Timothy*, he tells him, that he had ſent *Tychicus* to *Epheſus*, by whom 'tis plain that the Epiſtles to the *Epheſians* and *Philippians* were diſpatched, and that therefore this to *Timothy* muſt be written after them. But I ſee no inconvenience to affirm, that *Tychicus* might come to *Rome* preſently after *S. Paul*'s arrival there, be by him immediately ſent back to *Epheſus* upon ſome emergent affair of that Church; and after his return to *Rome* be ſent with thoſe two *Epiſtles*. The deſign of the Epiſtle was to excite the holy man to a mighty zeal and diligence, care and fidelity in his office, and to antidote the People againſt thoſe poiſonous principles that in thoſe parts eſpecially began to debauch the minds of men.

Lib. 3. *c.* 3. 72.

6. AS for the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, 'tis very uncertain when, or whence, and (for ſome Ages doubted) by whom 'twas written. * *Euſebius* tells us, 'twas not received by many, becauſe rejected by the Church of *Rome*, as none of *S. Paul*'s genuine Epiſtles. ‖ *Origen* affirms the ſtyle and phraſe of it to be more fine and elegant, and to contain in it a richer vein of purer *Greek*, than is uſually found in *S. Paul*'s Epiſtles; as every one that is able to judge of a ſtyle, muſt needs confeſs: That the ſentences indeed are grave and weighty, and ſuch as breath the Spirit and Majeſty of an *Apoſtle*: That therefore 'twas his judgment, that the matter contained in it had been dictated by ſome Apoſtle, but that it had been put into phraſe, form, and order by ſome other perſon that did attend upon him: That if any Church owned it for *S. Paul*'s, they were not to be condemned, it not being without reaſon by the Ancients aſcribed to him; though God only knew who was the true Author of it. He further tells us, that report had handed it down to his time, that it had been compoſed partly by *Clemens* of *Rome*, partly by *Luke* the *Evangeliſt*. * *Tertullian* adds, that it was writ by *Barnabas*. What ſeems moſt likely in ſuch variety of opinions is, that *S. Paul* originally wrote it in *Hebrew*, it being to be ſent to the *Jews* his Countrymen, and by ſome other perſon, probably *S. Luke*, or *Clemens Romanus* tranſlated into *Greek*: Eſpecially ſince both ‖ *Euſebius* and * *S. Hierom* obſerved of old ſuch a great affinity both in ſtyle and ſence between this and *Clement*'s Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, as thence poſitively to conclude him to be the Tranſlator of it. 'Twas written, as we may conjecture, a little after he was reſtored to his liberty, and probably while he was yet in ſome parts of *Italy*, whence he dates his ſalutations. The main deſign of it is to magnifie *Chriſt* and the Religion of the Goſpel, above *Moſes* and the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy and Miniſtration, that by this means he might the better eſtabliſh and confirm the Convert-*Jews* in the firm belief and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, notwithſtanding thoſe ſufferings and perſecutions that came upon them, endeavouring throughout to arm and fortifie them againſt Apoſtaſie from that noble and excellent Religion, wherein they had ſo happily engaged themſelves. And great need there was for the Apoſtle ſeverely to urge them to it, heavy perſecutions both from *Jews* and *Gentiles* preſſing in upon them on every ſide, beſides thoſe trains of ſpecious and plauſible inſinuations that were laid to reduce them to their Ancient Inſtitutions. Hence the Apoſtle calls Apoſtaſie *the ſin which did ſo eaſily beſet them*, to which there were ſuch frequent temptations, and into which they were ſo prone to be betrayed

Apud. Euſeb. l. 6. *c.* 25. 227.

De Pudic. c. 20. *p.* 582. *Id. Clem. Alex. lib. Hypot. apud Euſeb. l.* 6. *c.* 14. *p* 215. *Euſeb. lib.* 3. 38. *p.* 110. *Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Clem.*

Heb. 4. *p.* 13. 24.

Heb. 12. 1.

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in thoſe ſuffering times. And the more to deter them from it, he once and again ſets before them the dreadful ſtate and condition of Apoſtates, thoſe who having been *once enlightned*, and baptized into the Chriſtian Faith, *taſted* the promiſes of the Goſpel, and been *made partakers* of the miraculous gifts of the *Holy Ghoſt*, thoſe *powers* which in the *world to come*, or this new ſtate of things were to be conferred upon the Church, if after all this *theſe men fall away*, and renounce Chriſtianity, it's very hard, and even *impoſſible to renew them again unto repentance*. For by this means *they trod under foot*, and *crucified the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame*, prophaned *the bloud of the Covenant*, and *did deſpite to the Spirit of Grace*. So that *to ſin* thus *wilfully after they had received the knowledge of the truth*, *there* could *remain* for them *no more ſacrifice for ſins*, nothing *but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which ſhould devour* theſe *adverſaries*. And *a fearful thing it was* in ſuch circumſtances *to fall into the hands of the living God*, who had particularly ſaid of this ſort of ſinners, *that if any man drew back, his ſoul ſhould have no pleaſure in him*. Hence it is, that every where in this Epiſtle he mixes exhortations to this purpoſe, that *they would give earneſt heed to the things which they had heard, leſt at any time they ſhould let them ſlip*, that *they would hold faſt the confidence, and the rejoycing of the hope firm unto the end*, and *beware leſt by an evil heart of unbelief they departed from the living God*; that they would *labour to enter into his reſt, leſt any man fall after the example of unbelief*; that *leaving the* firſt *principles of the doctrine of Chriſt, they would go on to perfection, ſhewing diligence to the full aſſurance of hope unto the end, not being ſlothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promiſes*; that they would *hold faſt the profeſſion of the faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſembling of themſelves together (as the manner of ſome was)* nor *caſt away their confidence, which had great recompence of reward*; that *they had need of patience, that after they had done the will of God, they might receive the promiſe*; that they *would not be of them who drew back unto perdition, but of them that believed to the ſaving of the Soul*; that *being encompaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes*, who with the moſt unconquerable conſtancy and reſolution had all holden on in the way to Heaven, *they would lay aſide every weight, and the ſin which did ſo eaſily beſet them, and run with patience the race that was ſet before them*, eſpecially *looking unto Jeſus the author and finiſher of their faith, who endured the croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame*, that therefore *they ſhould conſider him that endured ſuch contradiction of ſinners againſt himſelf, leſt they ſhould be wearied and faint in their minds*, for that *they had not yet reſiſted unto blood, ſtriving againſt ſin; looking diligently leſt any man ſhould fail of the grace of God, leſt any root of bitterneſs ſpringing up ſhould trouble them, and thereby many be defiled*. By all which, and much more that might be obſerved to this purpoſe, it is evident, what our Apoſtles great deſign was in this excellent Epiſtle.

Cap. 6. v. 4, 5. C. 10. v. 26, 28, 29.

7. OUR Apoſtle being now after two Years cuſtody perfectly reſtored to liberty, remembred that he was *the Apoſtle of the Gentiles*, and had therefore a larger Dioceſe than *Rome*, and accordingly prepared himſelf for a greater Circuit, though which way he directed his courſe, is not abſolutely certain. By ſome he is ſaid to have returned back into *Greece*, and the parts of *Aſia*, upon no other ground that I know of, than a few intimations in ſome of his Epiſtles that he intended to do ſo. By others he is thought to have preached both in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* parts, which is not inconſiſtent with the time he had after his departure from *Rome*. But of the latter we have better evidence. Sure I am an Author beyond all exception,

S. *Paul*'s contemporary and *Fellow-labourer*, I mean * *Clemens*, in his famous Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* expreſly tells us, that being a Preacher both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, he taught righteouſneſs to the whole world, & went to *the utmoſt bounds of the Weſt*. Which makes me the more wonder at the confidence of ‖ One (otherwiſe a Man of great parts and learning) who ſo peremptorily denies that ever our Apoſtle preached in the *Weſt*, merely becauſe there are no Monuments left in Primitive Antiquity of any particular Churches there founded by him. As if all the particular paſſages of his life, done at ſo vaſt a diſtance muſt needs have been recorded, or thoſe records have come down to us, when it is ſo notoriouſly known, that almoſt all the Writings and Monuments of thoſe firſt Ages of Chriſtianity are long ſince periſhed: or as if we were not ſufficiently aſſured of the thing in general, though not of what particularly he did there. Probable it is, that he went into *Spain*, a thing which himſelf tells us he had formerly once and again reſolved on. Rom. 15. 24--28.

Certain it is that the * Ancients do generally aſſert it, without ſeeming in the leaſt to doubt of it. *Theodoret* and others tell us, that he preached not only in *Spain*, but that he went to other Nations, and brought the Goſpel into the *Iſles of the Sea*, by which he undoubtedly means *Britain*, and therefore elſewhere reckons the *Gauls* and *Britains* among the Nations, which the Apoſtles, and particularly the *Tent-maker* perſwaded to embrace the Law of *Chriſt*. Nor is he the only Man that has ſaid it, ‖ others having given in their teſtimony and ſuffrage in this caſe.

8. TO what other parts of the World *S. Paul* preached the Goſpel, we find no certain foot-ſteps in Antiquity, nor any further mention of him, till his return to *Rome*, which probably was about the Eighth or Ninth Year of *Nero*'s Reign. Here he met with *Peter*, and was together with him thrown into Priſon, no doubt in the general Perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, under the pretence that they had fir'd the City. Beſides the general, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe there were particular cauſes of his Impriſonment Some of the Ancients make him engaged with *Peter* in procuring the fall of *Simon Magus*, and that that derived the Emperor's fury and rage upon him. * *S. Chryſoſtome* gives us this account; that having converted one of *Nero*'s Concubines, a Woman of whom he was infinitely fond, and reduced her to a life of great ſtrictneſs and chaſtity, ſo that now ſhe wholly refuſed to comply with his wanton and impure embraces; the Emperor ſtormed hereat, calling the Apoſtle a Villain and Impoſtor, a wretched perverter and debaucher of others, giving order that he ſhould be caſt into Priſon, and when he ſtill perſiſted to perſwade the Lady to continue her chaſt and pious reſolutions, commanding him to be put to death.

9. HOW long he remained in Priſon is not certainly known; at laſt his Execution was reſolved on; what his preparatory treatment was, whether ſcourged as Malefactors were wont to be in order to their death, we find not. As a *Roman* Citizen by the *Valerian* and the *Porcian* Law he was exempted from it: Though by the Law of the XII. *Tables* notorious Malefactors, condemned by the *Centuriate* Aſſemblies, were firſt to be ſcourged, and then put to death: and *Baronius* tells us that in the Church of *S. Mary beyond the Bridge in Rome*, the Pillars are yet extant, to which both *Peter* and *Paul* are ſaid to have been bound and ſcourged. As he was led to Execution,

* Κῆρυξ γινόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών. *Ep. ad Corinth. p.* 8.

‖ *L. Cappell. Append. ad Hiſt. App. p.* 53.

Rom. 15. 24--28.

* *Epiphan. Hæreſ.* 27. *p.* 51. *Chryſoſt. de Laud. Paul. p.* 536. *T.* 5. *Cyrill. Catech.* 17. *p.* 457. *Theod. in* 2 *Tim.* 4. 16. & *in Pſalm.* 116. *id. de Curr. Græc. Affect. Serm.* 9. *p.* 125.

‖ *Sophron. Serm. de natali. App.* Tranſit & Oceanum, vel quà facit inſula portum, Quaſq; Britannus habet terras atq; ultima Thule. Venant. Fortun. *de vit. Martin. lib.* 3. *non procul à fin.*

Adv. vit. Monaſt. vitupérat. lib. 1. *c.* 4. 361. *Tom.* 4.

Ad An. 69. *n.* 8.

ecution, he is said to have converted three of the Souldiers that were sent to conduct and guard him, who within few days after by the Emperours command became Martyrs for the Faith. Being come to the place, which was the *Aquæ Salviæ*, three Miles from *Rome*, after some solemn preparation, he chearfully gave his Neck to the fatal stroke. As a *Roman* he might not be put upon the *Cross*, too infamous a Death for any but the worst of Slaves and Malefactors, and therefore was beheaded, accounted a more noble kind of Death among the *Romans*, fit for Persons of better Quality, and more ingenuous Education: And from this Instrument of his Execution the custom, no doubt, first arose, that in all Pictures and Images of this Apostle, he is constantly represented with a Sword in his right hand. Tradition reports (justified herein by the suffrage of many of the * Fathers) that when he was beheaded, a Liquor more like Milk than Bloud flowed from his Veins, and spirted upon the Clothes of his Executioner; and had I list or leisure for such things, I might entertain the *Reader* with the little glosses that are made upon it. *S. Chrysostom* adds, that it became a means of converting his Executioner, and many more to the Faith; and that the Apostle suffered in the sixty eighth Year of his Age. Some question there is whether he suffered at the same time with *Peter*; many of the * Ancients positively affirm, that both suffered on the same day, and Year: but ‖ others though allowing the same Day, tell us that *S. Paul* suffered not till the Year after; nay some interpose the distance of several Years. A Manuscript * writer of the Lives and Travels of *Peter* and *Paul*, brought amongst other venerable Monuments of Antiquity out of *Greece*, will have *Paul* to have suffered no less than five Years after *Peter*, which he justifies by the authority of no less than *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus*. But what credit is to be given to this nameless Author, I see not, and therefore lay no weight upon it, nor think it fit to be put into the balance with the testimonies of the Ancients. Certainly if he suffered not at the very same time with *Peter*, it could not be long after, not above a Year at most. The best is, which of them soever started first, they both came at last to the same end of the race, to those Palms and Crowns, which are reserved for all good Men in Heaven, but most eminently for the Martyrs of the Christian Faith.

* *Ambr. de* Petr. & Pa *Serm.* 68. p. 294. T. 3. *Chrys. Serm.* Petr. & Pa *Tom.* 6. p. 2

* *Dion. Corinth. ap. Euseb. l.* 2. *c.* 25. *p.* *Ambr. ib. Serm.* 66. *p.* 291. *Max. Taur. Hom. de Petr. & Paul. p.* 231.

‖ *Prudent. Peristeph. in Pass.* Petr. & Pa *Hymn.* 12. *p.* 518. *Arat. Act. App. lib.* 2. *in fin.* 700. *Aug. de Sanct. Serm.* 28. *Tom.* 10. *col.* 12 *Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. lib.* 1. *c.* 29. *p.* 35.

* Λέγουσι δέ τινες προλαβεῖν τὴν Πέτρον ἑ αὐτὸν ἕνα, καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐκεῖνο δέξασθαι καὶ ἀποτικὸν πάθος, τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτ προθέμενον. ἀκολουθῆσαι δὲ τούτῳ, τὴν μέγαν Ἀ στολον Παῦλον, ὡς Ἰουστῖνος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος φασ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι πέντε· Καίγε τούτοις ἔγω πεί μαι μᾶλλον. *Apud. P. Jun. not. in Clem. Ep. Cor. ad p.* 8. *forsan. ex S. Metaphr. qui totid verbis eadem habet ap Sur. ad* 29. *Jun. n.* *p.* 357.

10. HE was buried in the *Via Ostiensis*, about two Miles from *Rome*, over whose Grave about the Year CCCXVIII. * *Constantine the Great*, at the instance of Pope *Sylvester*, built a stately Church, within a Farm which *Lucina* a noble Christian Matron of *Rome* had long before settled upon that Church. He adorned it with an hundred of the best Marble columns, and beautified it with the most exquisit workmanship; the many rich gifts and endowments which he bestowed upon it being particularly set down in the Life of *Sylvester*. This Church as too narrow and little for the honour of so great an Apostle, *Valentinian*, or rather *Theodosius* the Emperor (the one but finishing what the other began) by a * *Rescript* directed to *Sallustius Præfect* of the City, caused to be taken down, and a larger and more noble Church to be built in the room of it: Further beautified (as appears from an ancient ‖ Inscription) by *Placidia* the Empress, at the perswasion of *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*. What other additions of Wealth, Honour, or stateliness it has received since, concerns not me to enquire.

* *Damas. Po tif. in vit. S vest.* 1. *vid. nuphr. de* 7. *Urb. Basil. p.* 8

* *Apud. Ba ad An.* 386. *p.* 527. *ex Co Vatic.*

‖ *Ibid. in A dend. ad Tom* 4. *p.* 12.

SECT. VIII.

The Deſcription of his *Perſon* and *Temper*, together with an Account of his *Writings*.

The Perſon of S. Paul *deſcribed. His infirm conſtitution. His natural endowments. His ingenuous Education, and admirable skill in humane Learning and Sciences. The Divine temper of his mind. His ſingular humility and condeſcenſion. His temperance and ſobriety, and contempt of the World. Whether he lived a married or a ſingle life. His great kindneſs and compaſſion. His charity to mens Bodies and Souls. His mighty Zeal for Religion. His admirable induſtry and diligence in his Office. His unconquerable Patience: The many great troubles he underwent. His conſtancy and fidelity in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity. His Writings. His ſtyle and way of Writing, what. S.* Hierom's *bold cenſure of it. The perplexedneſs and obſcurity of his Diſcourſes, whence. The account given of it by the Ancients. The Order of his Epiſtles, what. Placed not according to the time when, but the dignity of Perſons or Places to which they were written. The Subſcriptions at the end of them, of wat value. The writings fathered upon S.* Paul. *His* Goſpel. *A third Epiſtle to the* Corinthians. *The Epiſtle to the* Laodiceans. *His* Apocalypſe. *His* Acts. *The Epiſtles between him and* Seneca.

1. THOUGH we have drawn S. *Paul* at large, in the account we have given of his Life, yet may it be of uſe, to repreſent him in little, in a brief account of his Perſon, Parts, and thoſe Graces and Virtues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his Perſon, we find it thus * deſcribed. He was low and little of ſtature, and ſomewhat ſtooping, his complexion fair, his countenance grave, his head ſmall, his eyes carrying a kind of beauty and ſweetneſs in them, his eye-brows a little hanging over, his noſe long, but gracefully bending, his beard thick, and like the hair on his head, mixed with grey hairs. Somewhat of this deſcription may be learnt from ‖ *Lucian*, when in the perſon of *Trypho*, one of S. *Paul*'s diſciples, he calls him by way of deriſion, *the high-noſed bald-pated Galilean*, that was caught up through the Air unto the *third Heaven*, where he learnt great and excellent things. That he was very low, himſelf plainly intimates, when he tells us, they were wont to ſay of him, that *his bodily preſence was weak, and his ſpeech contemptible*; in which reſpect he is ſtyled by * *Chryſoſtom*, ὁ τριπηχυς ἄνθρωπος, a man *three cubits* [or a little more than four foot] high, and yet tall enough to reach Heaven. He ſeems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletick conſtitution, being often ſubject to diſtempers; ‖ S. *Hierom* particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been *the thorn in the fleſh, the meſſenger of Satan ſent to buffet him*, and that probably he intended ſome ſuch thing by *the temptation in his fleſh*, which he elſewhere ſpeaks of: Which however it may in general ſignifie thoſe afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote thoſe diſeaſes and infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

* *Niceph. H. l. lib. 2. c. p. 196.*

‖ *Philopatr. tom. 2. p. 999.*

2 Cor. 10. 10.

* *Chrom. in Petr. & Paul. p. 265 n. 6.*

‖ *Hieron. in Gal. c. 182. Tom. 9*

2 Cor. 12. 7.

2. BUT

2. BUT how mean soever the Cabinet was, there was a treasure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we survey the accomplishments of his mind. For as to his natural abilities and endowments, he seems to have had a clear and solid judgment, quick invention, a prompt and ready memory; all which were abundantly improved by Art, and the advantages of a more liberal Education. The Schools of *Tarsus* had sharpned his discursive faculty by *Logick*, and the Arts of reasoning, instructed him in the Institutions of Philosophy, and enriched him with the furniture of all kinds of humane Learning. This gave him great advantage above others, and ever raised him to a mighty reputation for Parts and Learning; insomuch that * S. *Chrysostom* tells us of a dispute between a *Christian* and a *Heathen*, wherein the Christian endeavoured to prove against the *Gentile*, that S. *Paul* was more Learned and Eloquent than *Plato* himself. How well he was versed, not only in the Law of *Moses*, and the writings of the Prophets, but even in Classick and Foreign writers, he has left us sufficient ground to conclude, from those excellent sayings, which here and there he quotes out of Heathen Authors. Which as at once it shews, that 'tis not unlawful to bring the spoils of *Egypt* into the service of the *Sanctuary*, and to make use of the advantages of Foreign studies and humane literature to Divine and excellent purposes, so does it argue his being greatly conversant in the paths of humane Learning, which upon every occasion he could so readily command. Indeed he seemed to have been furnished out on purpose to be the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, to contend with, and confute the grave and the wise, the acute and the subtil, the sage and the learned of the Heathen World, and to wound them (as *Julian*'s word was) with arrows drawn out of their own Quiver. Though we do not find, that in his disputes with the *Gentiles* he made much use of Learning and Philosophy; it being more agreeable to the designs of the Gospel, to confound the wisdom and learning of the World by the plain doctrine of the *Cross*.

* *In 1 ad C. c. 1. Hom. 3 p. 349.*

Ὁρᾷς ὅπω κἂν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων προφέταις δίδωσι τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται πρός τε οἰκοδομὴν, καὶ πρὸς ἐντροπὴν διαλεγόμενος τινων, Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγρῆσι ποιήμασι. *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 299.*

3. THESE were great accomplishments, and yet but a shadow to that Divine temper of mind that was in him, which discovered it self through the whole course and method of his life. He was humble to the lowest step of abasure and condescension, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himself. And though when he had to deal with envious and malicious adversaries, who by vilifying his person, sought to obstruct his Ministry, he knew how to *magnifie his office*, and to let them know, tha the was *no whit inferiour to the very chiefest Apostles*; yet out of this case he constantly declared to all the World, that he looked upon himself as an *Abortive*, and an untimely Birth, as *the least of the Apostles, not meet to be called an Apostle*; and as if this were not enough, he makes a word on purpose to express his humility, stiling himself ἐλαχιστότερον, *less than the least of all Saints*, yea, *the very chief of sinners*. How freely, and that at every turn does he confess what he was before his conversion, a *Blasphemer*, a *Persecutor*, and *Injurious* both to God and Men? Though honoured with peculiar Acts of the highest grace and favour, taken up to an immediate converse with God in Heaven, yet did not this swell him with a supercilious loftiness over the rest of his brethren: Intrusted he was with great power and authority in the Church, but never affected *dominion over men's Faith*, nor any other place, than to be an *helper of their joy*, nor ever made use of his power, but to the *edification*, not *destruction* of any. How studiously did he decline all honours and commendations that were heaped upon him? When some in the Church of *Corinth* cried him up beyond all measures, and under the patronage of his name began to set up for a party, he severely rebuked them, told

told them, that it was *Chriſt*, not he, that was crucified for them, that they had *not been baptized into his name*, which he was ſo far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them, and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, leſt a foundation might have been laid for that ſuſpicion; that this *Paul*, whom they ſo much extolled, was no more than a *miniſter of Chriſt*, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his Church.

4. GREAT was his temperance and ſobriety, ſo far from going beyond the bounds of regularity, that he abridged himſelf of the conveniences of lawful and neceſſary accommodations; frequent his hungrings and thirſtings, not conſtrained only, but voluntary; it's probably thought that he very rarely drank any Wine; certain, that by abſtinence and mortification he *kept under and ſubdued his body*, reducing the extravagancy of the ſenſual appetites to a perfect ſubjection to the laws of Reaſon. By this means he eaſily got above the World, and its charms and frowns, had his mind continually converſant in Heaven, his thoughts were fixed there, his deſires always aſcending thither, what he taught others, he practiſed himſelf, his *converſation was in Heaven*, and his *deſires were to depart, and to be with Chriſt*; this World did neither arreſt his affections, nor diſturb his fears, he was not taken with its applauſe, nor frighted with its threatnings; he *ſtudied not to pleaſe men*, nor valued the cenſures and judgments which they paſſed upon him; he was not greedy of a great eſtate, or titles of honour, or rich preſents from men, not *ſeeking theirs, but them*; food and raiment was *his* bill of fare, and more than this he never cared for; accounting, *that the leſs he* was clogged with theſe things, the lighter he ſhould march to Heaven, eſpecially travelling through a World over-run with troubles and perſecutions. Upon this account it's probable he kept himſelf always within a ſingle life, though there want not ſome of the Ancients who expreſly reckon him in the number of the married Apoſtles, as * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ‖ *Ignatius*, and ſome others. 'Tis true that paſſage is not to be found in the genuine Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, but yet is extant in all thoſe that are owned and publiſhed by the Church of *Rome*, though they have not been wanting to baniſh it out of the World, having expunged S. *Paul*'s name out of ſome ancient Manuſcripts, as the learned Biſhop * *Uſher* has to their ſhame ſufficiently diſcovered to the World. But for the main of the queſtion we can readily grant it, the Scripture ſeeming moſt to favour it, that though he aſſerted his power and liberty to marry as well as the reſt, yet that he lived always a ſingle life.

Clem. Alex. rom. l. 3. 448. Ignat. Ep. ad hiladelph. in ibl. Pp. Gr. L. 1. p. 23. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 30. Uſſer. Not. in nat. Epiſt. ad hiladelph. id. James his *orrupt.* of the *aith. Part.* II. *g.* 57.

5. HIS kindneſs and charity was truly admirable, he had a compaſſionate tenderneſs for the poor, and a quick ſenſe of the wants of others: To what Church ſoever he came, it was one of his firſt cares, to make proviſion for the poor, and to ſtir up the bounty of the rich and the wealthy, nay, himſelf worked often with his own hands, not only to maintain himſelf, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his charity to the Souls of men, fearing no dangers, refuſing no labours, going through good and evil report, that he might gain men over to the knowledge of the truth, reduce them out of the crooked paths of vice and idolatry, and ſet them in the right way to eternal life. Nay, ſo inſatiable his thirſt after the good of Souls, that he affirms, that rather than his Country-men the *Jews* ſhould miſcarry by not believing and entertaining the Goſpel, he could be content, nay wiſhed, that *himſelf might be accurſed from Chriſt for their ſake, i. e.* that he might be anathematized and cut off from the Church of Chriſt, and not only loſe the honour of the Apoſtolate, but be reckoned in the number of the abject and execrable perſons, ſuch as thoſe are who are ſeparated from the communion

communion of the Church. An instance of so large and passionate a charity, that lest it might not find room in mens belief, he ushered it in with this solemn appeal and attestation, that *he said the truth in Christ, and lied not, his conscience bearing him witness in the Holy Ghost.* And as he was infinitely solicitous to gain men over to the best Religion in the World, so was he not less careful to keep them from being seduced from it, ready to suspect every thing that might *corrupt their minds from the simplicity that is in Christ. I am jealous over you with a godly jealousie,* as he told the Church of *Corinth*: An affection of all others the most active and vigilant, and which is wont to inspire men with the most passionate care and concernment for the good of those, for whom we have the highest measures of love and kindness. Nor was his charity to men greater than his zeal for God, endeavouring with all his might to promote the honour of his Master. Indeed zeal seems to have had a deep foundation in the natural forwardness of his temper. How exceedingly zealous was he, while in the *Jews* Religion, of the Traditions of his Fathers, how earnest to vindicate and assert the Divinity of the *Mosaick* dispensation, and to persecute all of a contrary way, even to rage and madness. And when afterwards turned into a right chanel, it ran with as swift a current; carrying him out against all opposition to ruine the kingdom and the powers of darkness, to beat down idolatry, and to plant the World with right apprehensions of God, and the true notions of Religion. When at *Athens* he saw them so much over-grown with the grossest superstition and idolatry, giving the honour that was alone due to God to Statues and Images, his zeal began to ferment, and to boil up into *Paroxysms* of indignation, and he could not but let them know the resentments of his mind, and how much herein they dishonoured God, the great Parent and Maker of the World.

2 Cor. 11. 2.
Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ', ὃ πολλῷ τ[...] σφοδρότερον ἦν, τίθησι. ζηλότυποι γάρ εἰσιν ψυχαὶ αἱ σφόδρα τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀντεχόμεν[...] καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τεχθείη ζηλοτυπία, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀπὸ σ[...]δρᾶς φιλίας. Chrysost. *Homil.* 23. *in* 2. *ad Corinth.* p. 899.

6. THIS zeal must needs put him upon a mighty diligence and industry in the execution of his office, warning, reproving, entreating, perswading, *preaching in season, and out of season,* by night, and by day, by Sea and Land; no pains too much to be taken, no dangers too great to be overcome. For five and thirty years after his Conversion, he seldom staid long in one place, from *Jerusalem,* through *Arabia, Asia, Greece,* round about to *Illyricum,* to *Rome,* and even to the utmost bounds of the *Western*-world, *fully preaching the Gospel of Christ*: Running (says S. *Hierom*) from Ocean to Ocean, like the Sun in the Heavens, of which 'tis said, *His going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it*; sooner wanting ground to tread on, than a desire to propagate the Faith of *Christ.* * *Nicephorus* compares him to a Bird in the Air, that in a few years flew round the World: *Isidore* the * *Pelusiot* to a winged husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the World with the most excellent rules and institutions of life. And while the other Apostles did as 'twere chuse this or that particular Province, as the main sphere of their ministry, S. *Paul* over-ran the whole World to its utmost bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the Divine doctrines of the Gospel. Nor in this course was he tired out with the dangers and difficulties that he met with, the troubles and oppositions that were raised against him. All which did but reflect the greater lustre upon his patience, whereof indeed (as * *Clement* observes) he became μέγιστος ὑπογραμμὸς, a most eminent

* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 1. p. 223.

* Ἕκαστος μὲν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖ[ν] μίαν ἀπολαβὼν χώραν, ταύτην ἐρύθμισεν. ὁ δ[ὲ] Παῦλος ὥσπερ ὑπόπτερος γεωργὸς, πᾶσαν σχεδ[ὸν] ἐπέδραμε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς ἐφοίτησε [τῆς] γῆς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀνηκόους ῥυθμίζων, κ[αὶ] τοῖς ἀνηκόοις ἐνσπείρων τὸ θεῖον κήρυγμα. *Lib.* 3. *Epist.* 176. *ad Isid. Diac.* p. 285.

* *Epist. ad Cor.* p. 8.

nent

nent pattern and exemplar, enduring the biggest troubles and persecutions with a patience triumphant and unconquerable. As will easily appear, if we take but a survey of what trials and sufferings he underwent, some part whereof are briefly summed up by himself: *In labours abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons frequent, in deaths oft; thrice beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice suffered shipwrack, a night and a day in the deep: In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own Country-men, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the City, in perils in the Wilderness, in perils in the Sea, in perils among false Brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst; in fastings often, in cold and nakedness: And besides these things that were without, that which daily came upon him, the care of all the Churches.* An account, though very great, yet far short of what he endured, and wherein, as * *Chrysostom* observes, he does σφόδρα μετριάζειν, modestly keep himself within his measures; for had he taken the liberty fully to have enlarged himself, he might have filled hundreds of *Martyrologies* with his sufferings. A thousand times was his life at stake, in every suffering he was a Martyr, and what fell but in parcels upon others, came all upon him, while they skirmished only with single parties, he had the whole Army of sufferings to contend with. All which he generously underwent with a Soul as calm and serene as the morning-Sun, no spite or rage, no fury or storms could ruffle and discompose his spirit: Nay, those sufferings, which would have broken the back of an ordinary patience, did but make him rise up with the greater eagerness and resolution for the doing of his duty.

Cor. 11. 23. sequ.

* Ἐκεῖνον αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς μυριάκις καταφρονοῦν-
δόντες· ὁ μάρτυς ἅπαξ ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ μα-
ρτυρος ἐκεῖνος ἑνὶ σώματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ τοσού-
τοις κινδύνοις ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ἀδαμάντινον ἱκανοὺς
ἐνεγκεῖσθαι ψυχήν. καὶ ἅπερ ἅπαντες ἐν τοσούτοις
ἔτεσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἔπαθον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐν ἑνὶ πάν-
τα ἤνεγκε, καθάπερ εἰς στάδιον τὴν οἰκουμένην εἰσελ-
ήλυθεν, καὶ πάντα ἀποδυσάμενος, οὕτως ἵσταται γενναί-
ως —— καὶ τὸ δὴ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι τοσαῦτα πά-
θων, καὶ ποιῶν, σφόδρα μετριάζειν ἤδει. —— καὶ
γε μυρίας βίβλους ἐνέπλησεν ἄν, εἰ τῶν εἰρη-
μένων ἕκαστον ἐξαπλῶσαι, &c. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠθέλησε.
Chrysost. *Homil.* 25. *in* 2 *ad Cor.* p. 921.

7. HIS patience will yet further appear from the consideration of another, the last of those virtues we shall take notice of in him, his constancy and fidelity in the discharge of his place, and in the profession of Religion. Could the powers and policies of Men and Devils, spite and oppositions, torments and threatnings have been able to baffle him out of that Religion wherein he had engaged himself, he must have sunk under them, and left his station. But his Soul was steel'd with a courage and resolution that was impenetrable, and which no temptation either from hopes or fears could make any more impression upon, than an arrow can, that's shot against a wall of marble. He wanted not solicitation on either hand, both from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and questionless might in some degree have made his own terms, would he have been false to his trust, and have quitted that way, that was then every-where spoken against. But alas! these things weighed little with our Apostle, who *counted not his life to be dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus.* And therefore when under the sentence of death in his own apprehension, could triumphingly say, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith:* and so indeed he did, kept it inviolably, undauntedly to the last minute of his life. The summ is, He was a man, in whom the Divine life did eminently manifest and display it self; he lived piously and devoutly, soberly and temperately, justly and righteously, carefull *alway to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and Man.* This he tells us was his support under suffering, this the foundation of his confidence towards God, and his firm hopes of happiness in another World; *This is our rejoycing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity we have had our conversation in the World.*

Cor. 1. 12.

8. Yet

8. IT is not the leaſt inſtance of his care and fidelity in his office, that he did not only preach and plant Chriſtianity in all places whither he came, but what he could not perſonally do, he ſupplied by writing. XIV Epiſtles he left upon record, by which he was not only inſtrumental in propagating Chriſtian Religion at firſt, but has been uſeful to the World ever ſince in all Ages of the Church. We have all along in the Hiſtory of his Life taken particular notice of them in their due place and order: We ſhall here only make ſome general obſervations and remarks upon them, and that as to the ſtile and way wherein they are written, their Order, and the Subſcriptions that are added to them. For the Apoſtle's ſtile and manner of writing it is plain and ſimple, and though not ſet off with the elaborate artifices, and affected additionals of humane eloquence, yet grave and majeſtical, and that by the confeſſion of his very enemies, *his Letters* (ſay they) *are weighty and powerful.* Nor are there wanting in them ſome ſtrains of Rhetorick, which ſufficiently teſtifie his ability that way, had he made it any part of his ſtudy and deſign. Indeed * S. *Hierom* is ſometimes too rude and bold in his cenſures of S. *Paul*'s ſtile and character. He tells us, that being an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, and admirably skill'd in the Language of his Nation, he was greatly defective in the *Greek* Tongue, (though a late great ‖ *Critick* is of another mind, affirming him to have been as well, or better skill'd in *Greek*, than in *Hebrew*, or in *Syriack*) wherein he could not ſufficiently expreſs his conceptions in a way becoming the majeſty of his ſence and the matter he delivered, nor tranſmit the elegancy of his Native Tongue into another Language: that hence he became obſcure and intricate in his expreſſions, guilty many times of *ſoleciſms*, and ſcarce tolerable *ſyntax*, and that therefore 'twas not his humility, but the truth of the thing that made him ſay, that *he came not with the excellency of ſpeech, but in the power of God.* A cenſure from any other than S. *Hierom* that would have been juſtly wondred at; but we know the liberty that he takes to cenſure any, though the reverence due to ſo great an Apoſtle might, one would think, have challenged a more modeſt cenſure at his hands. However * elſewhere he cries him up as a great Maſter of compoſition, that as oft as he heard him, he ſeemed to hear not *words*, but *thunder*, that in all his citations he made uſe of the moſt prudent artifices, uſing ſimple words, and which ſeemed to carry nothing but plainneſs along with them, but which way ſoever a Man turned, breathed force and thunder: He ſeems entangled in his cauſe, but catches all that comes near him; turns his back, as if intending to fly, when 'tis only that he may overcome.

2 Cor. 10. 10.

* *Ad Algaſ. Quæſt.* 11. *p.* 169. T. 2.

Quæſt. 11. *ad Hedib. p.* 151.

‖ *ibid. in Eph.* 3. *Tom* 9. *p.* 216. *com. in Gal.* 3. *p.* 170. *ibid.* ‖ *Salmaſ de Helleniſt. Part.* 1. *Quæſt.* 6.

* *Apol. adv. Jovin. T.* 2. *p.* 166.

9. SAINT *Peter* long ſince obſerved, that in *Paul*'s Epiſtles there were δυσνόητά τινα, *ſome things hard to be underſtood*; which ſurely is not altogether owing to the profoundneſs of his ſence, and the myſteriouſneſs of the ſubject that he treats of, but in ſome degree to his manner of expreſſion; his frequent *Hebraiſms*, (common to him with all the Holy Writers of the New Teſtament) his peculiar forms and ways of ſpeech, his often inſerting *Jewiſh* Opinions, and yet but tacitly touching them, his uſing ſome words in a new and uncommon ſence; but above all, his frequent and abrupt tranſitions, ſuddenly ſtarting aſide from one thing to another, whereby his Reader is left at a loſs, not knowing which way to follow him, not a little contributing to the perplex'd obſcurity of his diſcourſes. * *Irenæus* took notice of old, that S. *Paul* makes frequent uſe of theſe *Hyperbata*, by reaſon of the ſwiftneſs of his arguings, and the great fervour and *impetus* that was in him, leaving many times the deſigned frame and texture of his diſcourſe, not bringing in what ſhould have immediately connected the ſence and order,

2 Pet. 3. 16.

* *Adv. Hær. lib.* 3. *c.* 7. *p.* 248.

der, till ſome diſtance after: which indeed to Men of a more nice and delicate temper, and who will not give themſelves leave patiently to trace out his reaſonings, muſt needs create ſome obſcurity. *Origen* and S. *Hierom* ſometimes obſerve, that beſides this he uſes many of his Native phraſes of the *Cilician* dialect, which being in a great meaſure foreign and exotick to the ordinary *Greek*, introduces a kind of ſtrangeneſs into his diſcourſe, and renders it leſs intelligible. ‖ *Epiphanius* tells us, that by theſe methods he acted like a skilful Archer, hitting the mark, before his adverſaries were aware of it; by words miſplaced making the frame of his diſcourſe ſeem obſcure and entangled, while in it ſelf it was not only moſt true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be underſtood; that to careleſs and trifling Readers it might ſometimes ſeem diſſonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their reaſon along with them, it would appear full of truth, and to be diſpoſed with great care and order.

Hæreſ. 64. n. 39.

10. AS for the *order* of theſe Epiſtles, we have already given a particular account of the times when, and the places whence they were written. That which is here conſiderable, is the Order according to which they are diſpoſed in the ſacred *Canon*. Certain it is that they are not plac'd according to the juſt order of time, wherein they were written, the two Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians* being on all hands agreed to have been firſt written, though ſet almoſt laſt in order. Moſt probable therefore it is, that they were plac'd according to the dignity of thoſe to whom they were ſent: the reaſon, why thoſe to whole Churches have the precedency of thoſe to particular perſons: and among thoſe to Churches, that to the *Romans* had the firſt place and rank aſſigned to it, becauſe of the majeſty of the Imperial City, and the eminency and honourable reſpect which that Church derived thence: and whether the ſame reaſon do not hold in others, though I will not poſitively aſſert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The laſt enquiry concerns the *ſubſcriptions* added to the end of theſe Epiſtles; which, were they authentick, would determine ſome doubts concerning the time and place of their writing. But alas, they are of no juſt value and authority, not the ſame in all Copies, different in the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Verſions, nay wholly wanting in ſome ancient *Greek* Copies of the New Teſtament; and were doubtleſs at firſt added at beſt upon probable conjectures. When at any time they truly repreſent the place whence, or the Perſon by whom the Epiſtle was ſent, 'tis not that they are to be relied upon in it, but becauſe the thing is either intimated or expreſſed in the body of the Epiſtle. I ſhall add no more but this obſervation, that S. *Paul* was wont to ſubſcribe every Epiſtle with his own hand, *which is my token in every Epiſtle; ſo I write.* Which was done (ſays * *one* of the *Ancients*) to prevent impoſtures, that his Epiſtles might not be interpolated and corrupted, and that if any vented Epiſtles under his name, the cheat might be diſcovered by the Apoſtles own hand not being to them: and this brings me to the laſt conſideration that ſhall conclude this Chapter.

2 Theſſ. 3. 17.

Ambr. in loc. t. 5. p. 397.

11. THAT there were ſome even in the moſt early Ages of Chriſtianity, who took upon them (for what ends I ſtand not now to enquire) to write Books, and publiſh them under the name of ſome Apoſtle, is notoriouſly known to any, though but never ſo little converſant in Church-Antiquities. Herein S. *Paul* had his part and ſhare, ſeveral ſuppoſititious Writings being fathered and thruſt upon him. We find a *Goſpel* aſcribed by ſome of the Ancients to him, which ſurely aroſe from no other cauſe, than that in ſome of his Epiſtles he makes mention of *my Goſpel.* Which as * S. *Hierom* obſerves, can be meant of no other than the Goſpel of S. *Luke*, his

De Script. eccl. in Luc.

his conſtant Attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his intelligence. If he wrote another Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, precedent to thoſe two extant at this Day, as he ſeems to imply in a paſſage in his firſt Epiſtle. *I have wrote unto you in an Epiſtle, not to keep company, &c.* a paſſage not conveniently appliable to any part either in that or the other Epiſtle, nay a Verſe or two after the firſt Epiſtle is directly oppoſed to it; all that can be ſaid in the caſe is, that it long ſince periſhed, the Divine providence not ſeeing it neceſſary to be preſerved for the ſervice of the Church. Frequent mention there is alſo of an Epiſtle of his to the *Laodiceans*, grounded upon a miſtaken paſſage in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians:* but beſides that the Apoſtle does not there ſpeak of an Epiſtle written to the *Laodiceans*, but of one from them, * *Tertullian* tells us, that by the Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans* is meant that to the *Epheſians*, and that *Marcion* the Heretick was the firſt that changed the title, and therefore in his enumeration of S. *Paul*'s Epiſtles he omits that to the *Epheſians*, for no other reaſon doubtleſs but that according to *Marcion*'s opinion he had reckoned it up under the title of that to the *Laodiceans*. Which yet is more clear, if we conſider that ‖ *Epiphanius* citing a place quoted by *Marcion* out of the Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, it is in the very ſame words found in that to the *Epheſians* at this Day. However ſuch an Epiſtle is ſtill extant, forged no doubt before S. *Hierom*'s time, * who tells us, that it was read by ſome, but yet exploded and rejected by all. Beſides theſe there was his ‖ *Revelation*, call'd alſo Ἀναβαλικὸν or his *Aſcenſion*, grounded on his ecſtaſie or rapture into Heaven, firſt forged by the *Cainian* Hereticks, and in great uſe and eſtimation among the *Gnoſticks*. * *Sozomen* tells us, that this *Apocalypſe* was owned by none of the Ancients, though much commended by ſome Monks in his time: and he further adds, that in the time of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, it was ſaid to have been found in an underground Cheſt of Marble in S. *Paul*'s houſe at *Tarſus*, and that by a particular revelation. A ſtory which upon enquiry he found to be as falſe, as the Book it ſelf was forged and ſpurious. The *Acts* of S. *Paul* are mentioned both by ‖ *Origen* and * *Euſebius*, but not as Writings of approved and unqueſtionable credit and authority. The Epiſtles that are ſaid to have paſſed between S. *Paul* and *Seneca*, how early ſoever they ſtarted in the Church, yet the falſhood and fabulouſneſs of them is now too notoriouſly known, to need any further account or deſcription of them.

1 Cor. 5. 9.

Ver. 11.

Col. 4. 16.

* *Adv. Marc. l. 5. c. 11. p. 47. ib. c. 17. p. 48.*

‖ *Hæreſ. 42. adv. Marcion. p. 142.*

* *De Script. Eccl. in Paulo*

‖ *Epiph. Hæreſ. 38. p. 124. Auguſt. in Joan. Tract. 98. col. 488.*

* *H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19. p. 735.*

‖ *Orig. περὶ Ἀρχ. l. 1. c. 2. fol. 114 p. 2.*

* *Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.*

SECT. IX.

The principal *Controverſies* that exerciſed the Church in his time.

Simon Magus *the Father of Hereticks. The wretched principles and practices of him and his followers. Their aſſerting Angel-worſhip; and how countermin'd by* S. Paul. *Their holding it lawful to ſacrifice to* Idols, *and abjure the Faith in times of perſecution, diſcovered and oppoſed by* S. Paul. *Their maintaining an univerſal licence to ſin. Their manners and opinions herein deſcribed by* S. Paul *in his Epiſtles. The great controverſie of thoſe times about the obligation of the* Law *of* Moſes *upon the* Gentile *Converts. The Original of it, whence. The mighty veneration which the* Jews *had for the Law of* Moſes. *The true ſtate of the Controverſie, what. The Determination made in it by the* Apoſtolick *Synod at* Jeruſalem. Meats offered to Idols, *what.* Abſtinence from Bloud, *why enjoyned of old.* Things ſtrangled, *why forbidden.* Fornication *commonly practiſed and accounted lawful among the* Gentiles. *The* hire of the Harlot, *what. How dedicated to their Deities among the Heathens. The main paſſages in* S. Paul's *Epiſtles concerning* Juſtification *and* Salvation *ſhewed to have reſpect to this Controverſie. What meant by* Law, *and what by* Faith *in* S. Paul's *Epiſtles. The Perſons whom he has to deal with in this Controverſie, who. The* Jew's *ſtrange doting upon Circumciſion. The way and manner of the Apoſtles Reaſoning in this Controverſie conſidered. His chief Arguments ſhewed immediately to reſpect the caſe of the* Jewiſh *and* Gentile *Converts. No other controverſie in thoſe times, which his diſcourſes could refer to. Two Conſectaries from this Diſcourſe.* I. *That works of Evangelical Obedience are not oppoſed to Faith in Juſtification. What meant by works of Evangelical Obedience. This method of Juſtification excludes boaſting, and entirely gives the glory to God.* II. *That the doctrines of* S. Paul *and* S. James *about Juſtification are fairly conſiſtent with each other. Theſe two Apoſtles ſhewed to purſue the ſame deſign.* S. James *his excellent Reaſonings to that purpoſe.*

1. THOUGH our Lord and his Apoſtles delivered the Chriſtian Religion, eſpecially as to the main and eſſential parts of it, in words as plain as words could expreſs it, yet were there men of perverſe and *corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the Faith,* who from different cauſes, ſome ignorantly or wilfully miſtaking the doctrines of Chriſtianity, others to ſerve ill purpoſes and deſigns, began to introduce errors and unſound opinions into the Church, and to debauch the minds of men from the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, hereby diſquieting the thoughts, and alienating the affections of men, and diſturbing the peace and order of the Church. The firſt Ringleader of this Heretical crue was *Simon Magus*, who not being able to attain his ends of the Apoſtles, by getting a power to confer miraculous gifts, whereby he deſigned to greaten and enrich himſelf, reſolved to be revenged of them, ſcattering the moſt poiſonous *tares* among the *good wheat* that they had ſown, bringing in the moſt pernicious principles, and as the natural conſequent of that, patronizing the moſt debauched villainous practices,

and

and this under a pretence of ſtill being Chriſtians. To enumerate the ſeveral *Dogmata* and damnable Hereſies, firſt broached by *Simon*, and then vented and propagated by his diſciples and followers, who though paſſing under different Titles, yet all centred at laſt in the name of *Gnoſticks*, (a term which we ſhall ſometimes uſe for conveniency, though it took not place till after S. *Paul*'s time) were as endleſs, as 'tis alien to my purpoſe. I ſhall only take notice of a few of more ſignal remark, and ſuch as S. *Paul* in his Epiſtles does eminently reflect upon.

2. AMONGST the opinions and principles of *Simon* and his followers this was * one, That God did not create the World, that it was made by *Angels*, that Divine honours were due to them, and they to be adored as ſubordinate mediators between God and us. This our Apoſtle ſaw growing up apace, and ſtruck betimes at the root, in that early caution he gave to the *Coloſſians*, to *let no man beguile them in a voluntary humility, and worſhipping of Angels, intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puft up by his fleſhly mind; and not holding the head, i. e.* hereby diſclaiming Chriſt, the head of the Church. But notwithſtanding this warning, this error ſtill continued and ſpread it ſelf in thoſe parts for ſeveral Ages, till expreſly condemned by the * *Laodicean* Council. Nay, ‖ *Theodoret* tells us, that in his time there were ſtill *Oratories* erected to the *Archangel Michael* in thoſe places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to Angels. Another *Gnoſtick* principle was, * that men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in ſacrifice to *Idols*, yea, ſacrifice to the *Idol* it ſelf, it being lawful confidently to abjure the Faith in time of perſecution. The firſt part whereof S. *Paul* does largely and frequently diſcuſs up and down his Epiſtles; the latter, wherein the ſting and poiſon was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to thoſe times of ſuffering, and greedily ſwallowed by many, hereby drawn into Apoſtaſie. Againſt this our Apoſtle antidotes the Chriſtians, eſpecially the *Jewiſh* Converts, among whom the *Gnoſticks* had mixed themſelves, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be drawn aſide by *an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God:* That notwithſtanding ſufferings and perſecutions they would *hold faſt the profeſſion of the Faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſembling of themſelves together, as the manner of ſome is* (the *Gnoſtick* Hereticks) remembring how ſeverely God has threatned Apoſtates, that *if any man draw back, his ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him*, and *what a fearful thing it is thus to fall into the hands of the living God.*

* *Iren. l. 1. c. 20. Epiph. Hær. 21. Theod. de Præſcr. Hær. c. 33. p. 214, & c. 46. p. 21. Aug. de Hær. Hær. XXX.* Col. 2. 18.

* *Can. 35.*

‖ *Theod. comment. in Col.*

* *Orig. adv. Celſ. lib. 6. p. 282. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 7. p. 12[illegible].*

Heb. 3. 12.

Heb. 10. 23, 25, 31, 38.

3. BUT beſides this, *Simon* and his followers made the gate yet wider, maintaining an univerſal licence to ſin, * that men were free to do whatever they had a mind to, that to preſs the obſervance of good works was a bondage inconſiſtent with the liberty of the Goſpel; that ſo men did but believe in him, and his dear *Helen*, they had no reaſon to regard Law or Prophets, but might do what they pleaſed, they ſhould be ſaved by his grace, and not according to good works. *Irenæus* adds (what a man would eaſily have inferred, had he never been told it) that they lived in all luſt and filthineſs; as indeed whoever will take the pains to peruſe the account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the moſt horrible and unheard of beſtialities. Theſe perſons S. *Paul* does as particularly deſcribe, as if he had named them, having once and again with tears warned the *Philippians* of them, that *they were enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt, whoſe end is deſtruction, whoſe God is their belly, and whoſe glory is in their ſhame, who mind earthly things.* And elſewhere to the ſame effect, that they would *mark them that cauſed diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned,*

* *Iren. adv. Hær. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 116.*

Phil. 3. 17, 18.

Rom. 16. 17, 18.

and avoid them; for they that were ſuch, ſerved not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly, by good words and fair ſpeeches deceiving the hearts of the ſimple. This I doubt not he had in his eye, when he gave thoſe Caveats to the *Ephe-*
h 5.3.4. *ſians*, that *fornication, and all uncleanneſs, and inordinate deſires ſhould not be once named amongſt them, as became Saints, nor filthineſs, nor unclean talking*; being aſſured by the Chriſtian doctrine, that *no whoremonger, nor unclean perſon*, &c. could be ſaved: that therefore *they ſhould let no man deceive them with vain words; theſe being the very things for which the wrath of God came upon the children of diſobedience*, and accordingly it concerned them *not to be partakers with them.* Plainly intimating, that this impure *Gnoſtick*-crue (whoſe doctrines and practices he does here no leſs truly than lively repreſent) had begun by crafty and inſinuative arts to ſcrew it ſelf into the Church of *Epheſus*, cheating the people with ſubtil and flattering inſinuations, probably perſwading them that theſe things were but indifferent, and a part of that *Chriſtian* liberty, wherein the Goſpel had inſtated them. By theſe and ſuch like principles and practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the Faith of Chriſtians, diſtracted the peace of the Church, ſtained and defiled the honour and purity of the beſt Religion in the World.

4. BUT the greateſt and moſt famous Controverſie that of all others in thoſe times exerciſed the Chriſtian Church, was concerning the obligation that Chriſtians were under to obſerve the Law of *Moſes* as neceſſary to their Juſtification and Salvation. Which becauſe a matter of ſo much importance, and which takes up ſo great a part of S. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great light upon them, we ſhall conſider more at large: In order whereunto three things eſpecially are to be enquired after, the true ſtate of the Controverſie, what the Apoſtles determined in this matter, and what reſpect the moſt material paſſages in S. *Paul*'s Epiſtles about Juſtification and Salvation bear to this Controverſie. Firſt we ſhall enquire into the true ſtate and nature of the Controverſie; and for this we are to know, that when Chriſtianity was publiſhed to the World, it mainly prevailed among the *Jews*, they being generally the firſt Converts to the Faith. But having been brought up in a mighty reverence and veneration for the *Moſaick* Inſtitutions, and looking upon that *Oeconomy* as immediately contrived by God himſelf, delivered by Angels, ſettled by their great Maſter *Moſes*, received with the moſt ſolemn and ſenſible appearances of Divine power and majeſty, ratified by miracles, and entertained by all their forefathers as the peculiar prerogative of that Nation for ſo many Ages and Generations, they could not eaſily be brought off from it, or behold the Goſpel but with an evil eye, as an enemy that came to ſupplant and undermine this ancient and excellent Inſtitution. Nay, thoſe of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive power and evidence of the Goſpel, to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, yet could not get over the prejudice of education, but muſt ſtill continue their obſervance of thoſe legal rites and cuſtoms, wherein they had been brought up. And not content with this, they began magiſterially to impoſe them upon others, even all the *Gentile* Converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another World. This controverſie was firſt ſtarted at *Antioch*, a place not more remarkable for its own greatneſs, than the vaſt
Joſeph. de Bell. numbers of *Jews* that dwelt there, enjoying great immunities granted them
d. l. 7. c. 23. by the Kings of *Syria*. For after that *Antiochus Epiphanes* had deſtroyed *Je-*
73. *ruſalem*, and laid waſte the Temple, the *Jews* generally flocked hither, where they were courteouſly entertained by his ſucceſſors, the ſpoils of the Temple reſtored to them for the enriching and adorning of their Synagogue,

and

and they made equally with the *Greeks* free-men of that City. By which means their numbers encreaſed daily, partly by the reſort of others from *Judæa*, partly by a numerous converſion of *Proſelytes*, whom they gained over to their Religion. Accordingly Chriſtianity at its firſt ſetting out found a very ſucceſsful entertainment in this place. And hither it was that ſome of the *Jewiſh* Converts being come down from *Jeruſalem*, taught the Chriſtians, that unleſs they obſerved Circumciſion, and the whole Law of *Moſes*, they could not be ſaved. *Paul* and *Barnabas* then at *Antioch*, obſerving the *ill influence* that this had upon the minds of men (diſturbing many at preſent, and cauſing the Apoſtaſie of ſome afterwards) began vigorouſly to oppoſe this growing error; but not able to conjure down this Spirit, that had been raiſed up, they were diſpatched by the Church at *Antioch* to conſult the Apoſtles and Governours at *Jeruſalem* about this matter: Whither being come, they found the quarrel eſpouſed among others by ſome Converts of the Sect of the *Phariſees* (of all others the moſt zealous aſſertors of the *Moſaick* rites) ſtifly maintaining, that beſides the Goſpel or the Chriſtian Religion, it was neceſſary for all Converts, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, to keep to Circumciſion, and the Law of *Moſes*. So that the ſtate of the controverſie between the Orthodox, and theſe *Judaizing* Chriſtians was plainly this, Acts 15.1.

Whether Circumciſion and the obſervation of the Moſaick Law, or, only the belief and practice of Chriſtianity be neceſſary to Salvation?

The latter part of the queſtion was maintained by the Apoſtles, the former aſſerted by the *Judaizing* Zelots, making the Law of *Moſes* equally neceſſary with the Law of *Chriſt*; and no doubt pretending that whatever theſe men might preach at *Antioch*, yet the Apoſtles were of another mind; whoſe ſentence and reſolution it was therefore thought neceſſary ſhould be immediately known.

5. WE are then next to conſider what determination the *Apoſtolick Synod* at *Jeruſalem* made of this matter. For a Council of the Apoſtles and Rulers being immediately convened, and the queſtion by *Paul* and *Barnabas* brought before them, the caſe was canvaſſed and debated on all hands, and at laſt it was reſolved upon by their unanimous ſentence and ſuffrage, that the *Gentile* Converts were under no obligation to the *Jewiſh* Law, that God had abundantly declared his acceptance of them, though ſtrangers to the *Moſaical* Oeconomy, that they were ſufficiently ſecured of their happineſs and ſalvation by the grace of the Goſpel, wherein they might be juſtified and ſaved without Circumciſion or legal Ceremonies, a yoke from which *Chriſt* had now ſet us free. But becauſe the Apoſtles did not think it prudent in theſe circumſtances, too much to ſtir the exaſperated humour of the *Jews* (leſt by ſtraining the ſtring too high at firſt, they ſhould endanger their revolting from the Faith) therefore they thought of ſome indulgence in the caſe. S. *James* then Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and probably Preſident of the Council, propounding this expedient, that for the preſent the *Gentile* Converts ſhould ſo far only comply with the humour of the *Jews*, as to *abſtain from meats offered to Idols, from bloud, from things ſtrangled, and from fornication.* Let us a little more diſtinctly ſurvey the ingredients of this impoſition. *Meats offered to Idols*, or as S. *James* in his diſcourſe ſtiles them ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδώλων, *the pollution of Idols*, the word ἀλισγήματα properly denoting the meats that were polluted by being conſecrated to the Idol. Thus we read of לחם מגאל ἄρτοι ἠλισγημένοι (as the LXX render it) *polluted bread upon God's Altar, i. e.* ſuch probably as had been before offered to Idols. So that theſe meats offered to the *Idols* were parts of thoſe Sacrifices which Mal. 1. 7.

the Heathens offered to their Gods, of the remaining portions whereof they usually made a Feast in the *Idol-Temple*, inviting their friends thither, and sometimes their Christian friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the *Jews* by the Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt worship no other God: lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and go a whoring after their Gods, and do sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.* And the not observing this prohibition cost the *Jews* dear, when invited by the *Moabites* to the Sacrifices of their Gods, *they did eat with them, and bowed down to their Gods.* Sometimes these remaining portions were sold for common use in the Shambles, and bought by Christians. Both which gave great offence to the zealous *Jews*, who looked upon it as a participation in the Idolatries of the Heathen: Of both which our Apostle discourses elsewhere at large, pressing Christians to *abstain from Idolatry*, both as to the Idol-feasts, and the remainders of the Sacrifice: From the former as more immediately unlawful, from the latter, the Sacrificial meats sold in the Shambles, as giving offence to weak and undiscerning Christians. For though in it self *an Idol was nothing in the world*, and consequently no honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it, yet was it more prudent and reasonable to abstain, partly because flesh-meats have no peculiar excellency in them to commend us to God; partly because all men were not alike instructed in the knowledge of their liberty, their minds easily puzled, and their consciences entangled, the *Gentiles* by this means hardned in their idolatrous practices, weak brethren offended; besides, though these things were in their own nature indifferent, and in a mans own power to do, or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our liberty a snare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. *From bloud*: This God forbad of old, and that some time before the giving of the Law by *Moses*, that *they should not eat the flesh with the bloud, which was the life thereof.* The mystery of which prohibition was, to instruct men in the duties of mercy and tenderness even to brute beasts, but (as appears from what follows after) primarily designed by God as a solemn fence and bar against murther, and the effusion of humane bloud. A Law afterwards renewed upon the *Jews*, and inserted into the body of the *Mosaick* precepts. *From things strangled*: that is, that they should abstain from eating of those Beasts that died without letting bloud, where the bloud was not throughly drained from them; a prohibition grounded upon the reason of the former, and indeed was greatly abominable to the *Jews*, being so expresly forbidden in their Law. But it was not more offensive to the *Jews*, than acceptable to the * *Gentiles*, who were wont with great art and care to strangle living Creatures, that they might stew or dress them with their bloud in them, as a point of curious and exquisite delicacy. This and the foregoing prohibition, abstinence from bloud, died not with the Apostles, nor were buried with other *Jewish* rites, but were inviolably observed for several Ages in the Christian Church, as we have || elsewhere observed from the Writers of those times, Lastly, *From Fornication*: This was a thing commonly practised in the Heathen World, who generally beheld *simple* Fornication as no * sin, and that it was lawful for persons, not engaged in wedlock, to make use of women that exposed themselves. A custom justly offensive to the *Jews*, and therefore to cure two evils at once, the Apostles here

[Margin notes:]
d.34.14,
m.25.2.24.
.9.4.
.17.10, 12,&c.
Athen. Deip. lib 2.c.24. ubi vid. Cas.aub. in loc.

|| *Prim.Christ. Part.3.c.1.p.230.*

* *Vid. Cicer. pro Cælio Orat. 34. p. 503. Tom. 2. Terent Adelph. Ac.1. Sc.2 p.166.*

δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὗρες ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων.
γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον,
μοτικὸν ὦ Ζεῦ πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον.
ὶ μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἁρμοστὸν Σόλων,
σὴν ὁρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων.
τους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν,
μαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
ῆσαι πριάμενόν τι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
νὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
ᾶσι γυμναί, &c. *Philem.Comic. in Delph. Athen.lib.13.c.3.p.569. Vid. Leg. Attic. l.6. .5.p.41.& Petit.Comment p.474.*

here ſolemnly declare againſt it. Not that they thought it a thing indifferent, as the reſt of the prohibited rites were, for it is forbidded by the natural Law (as contrary to that chaſtneſs and modeſty, that order and comelineſs which God has planted in the minds of men) but they joyned it in the ſame *Claſs* with them, becauſe the *Gentiles* looked upon it as a thing lawful and indifferent. It had been expreſly forbidden by the *Moſaick* Law, *There ſhall be no Whore of the daughters of Iſrael*; and becauſe the Heathens had generally thrown down this fence and bar ſet by the Law of nature, it was here again repaired by the firſt planters of Chriſtianity, as by S. *Paul* elſewhere; *Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jeſus; for this is the will of God, even your Sanctification, that you ſhould abſtain from fornication: That every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in ſanctification and honour, not in the luſt of concupiſcence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.* Though after all I muſt confeſs my ſelf inclinable to embrace *Heinſius* his ingenious conjecture, that by πορνεία, *fornication*, we are here to underſtand πόρνης μίσθωμα, *the harlots hire*, or the πορνικὴ θυσία, the offering which thoſe perſons were wont to make. For among the *Gentiles* nothing was more uſual, than for the common women, that proſtituted themſelves to lewd embraces (thoſe eſpecially that attended at the Temples of *Venus*) to dedicate ſome part of their gain, and preſent it to the Gods. * *Athanaſius* has a paſſage very expreſs to this purpoſe. Γυναῖκες γὲν ἐν εἰδωλείοις τ Φοινίκης πάλαι προεκαθέζοντο, ἀπαχόμεναι τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑαυτῶν τ τὸ σώματος μισθαρνίαν, νομίζουσαι τῇ πορνείᾳ τ θεὸν ἑαυτῶν ἱλάσκεσθαι, καὶ εἰς εὐμένειαν ἄγειν αὐτὴν διὰ τέτων. *The women of old were wont to ſit in the Idol-Temples of Phœnicia, and to dedicate the gain which they got by the proſtitution of their bodies as a kind of firſt-fruits to the Deities of the place; ſuppoſing that by fornication they ſhould paciſie their Goddeſs, and by this means render her favourable and propitious to them.* Where 'tis plain he uſes πορνεία, or *fornication*, in this very ſence, for that gain or reward of it, which they conſecrated to their Gods. Some ſuch thing *Solomon* had in his eye, when he brings in the Harlot thus courting the young man, *I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my Vows.* Theſe preſents were either made in *ſpecie*, the very money thus unrighteouſly gotten, or in Sacrifices bought with it, and offered at the Temple, the remainders whereof were taken and ſold among the ordinary ſacrificial portions. This as it holds the neareſt correſpondence with the reſt of the rites here forbidden, ſo could it not chuſe but be a mighty ſcandal to the *Jews*, it being ſo particularly prohibited in their Law, *Thou ſhalt not bring the hire of an Whore into the houſe of the Lord thy God for any Vow, for it is an abomination to the Lord.*

Deut. 23. 17

1 Theſſ. 4. 2. 4, 5.

* *Orat. adv. Gent. pag. 27 Tom. 1.*

Prov. 7. 14.

Deut. 23. 18.

6. THESE prohibitions here laid upon the *Gentiles*, were by the Apoſtles intended only for a temporary compliance with the *Jewiſh* Converts, till they could by degrees be brought off from their ſtiffneſs and obſtinacy, and then the reaſon of the thing ceaſing, the obligation to it muſt needs ceaſe and fail. Nay, we may obſerve that even while the Apoſtolical decree laſted in its greateſt force and power, in thoſe places where there were few or no *Jewiſh* Converts, the Apoſtle did not ſtick to give leave, that except in caſe of ſcandal, any kind of meats, even the portions of the Idol-ſacrifices might be indifferently bought and taken by Chriſtians as well as Heathens. Theſe were all which in order to the ſatisfaction of the *Jews*, and for the preſent peace of the Church the Apoſtles thought neceſſary to require of the Converted *Gentiles*, but that for all the reſt they were perfectly free from legal obſervances, obliged only to the commands of Chriſtianity. So that the Apoſtolical deciſion that was made of this matter was this,

That

That (beſides the temporary obſervation of thoſe few indifferent rites before mentioned) the belief and practice of the Chriſtian Religion was perfectly ſufficient to Salvation, without Circumciſion, and the obſervation of the Moſaick Law.

This *Synodical* determination allayed the controverſie for a while, being joyfully received by the *Gentile*-Chriſtians. But alas, the *Jewiſh* zeal began again to ferment and ſpread it ſelf, they could not with any patience endure to ſee their beloved *Moſes* deſerted, and thoſe venerable Inſtitutions trodden down, and therefore laboured to keep up their credit, and ſtill to aſſert them as neceſſary to Salvation. Than which nothing created *S. Paul* greater trouble at every turn, being forced to contend againſt theſe *Judaizing* teachers almoſt in every Church where he came, as appears by that great part that they bear in all his Epiſtles, eſpecially that to the *Romans*, and *Galatians*, where this leaven had moſt diffuſed it ſelf, whom the better to undeceive, he diſcourſes at large of the nature and inſtitution, the end and deſign, the antiquating and aboliſhing of that *Moſaick* Covenant, which theſe men laid ſo much ſtreſs and weight upon.

7. HENCE then we paſs to the third thing conſiderable for the clearing of this matter, which is to ſhew, that the main paſſages in *S. Paul's* Epiſtles, concerning Juſtification and Salvation, have an immediate reference to this controverſie. But before we enter upon that, ſomething muſt neceſſarily be premiſed for the explicating ſome terms and phraſes frequently uſed by our Apoſtle in this queſtion, theſe two eſpecially, what he means by *Law*, and what by *Faith*. By *Law* then 'tis plain he uſually underſtands the *Jewiſh* Law, which was a complex body of Laws, containing *Moral*, *Ceremonial* and *Judicial* precepts, each of which had its uſe and office as a great inſtrument of duty: The *Judicial* Laws being peculiar Statutes accommodated to the ſtate of the *Jew's* Commonwealth, as all civil conſtitutions, reſtrained men from the external acts of ſin: The *Ceremonial* Laws came ſomewhat nearer, and beſides their *Typical* relation to the *Evangelical* ſtate, by external and ſymbolical repreſentments ſignified and exhibited that ſpiritual impurity, from which men were to abſtain: The *Moral* Laws, founded in the natural notions of mens minds concerning good and evil, directly urged men to duty, and prohibited their prevarications. Theſe three made up the intire *Code* and *Pandects* of the *Jewiſh* Statutes; all which our Apoſtle comprehends under the general notion of *the Law*, and not the moral Law ſingly and ſeparately conſidered, in which ſence it never appears that the *Jews* expected juſtification and ſalvation by it, nay rather, that they looked for it meerly from the obſervance of the ritual and ceremonial Law: ſo that the moral Law is no further conſidered by him in this queſtion, than as it made up a part of the *Moſaical* conſtitution, of that National and *Political* Covenant, which God made with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai*. Hence the Apoſtle all along in his diſcourſes conſtantly oppoſes the *Law* and the *Goſpel*, and the obſervation of the one to the belief and practice of the other, which ſurely he would not have done, had he ſimply intended the moral Law, it being more expreſly incorporated into the Goſpel, than ever it was into the Law of *Moſes*. And that the Apoſtle does thus oppoſe the Law and Goſpel, might be made evident from the continued ſeries of his diſcourſes; but a few places ſhall ſuffice. *By what Law* (ſays the Apoſtle) *is boaſting excluded? by the Law of works*: i. e. by the *Moſaic* Law, in whoſe peculiar priviledges and prerogatives the *Jews* did ſtrangely flatter and pride themſelves? *Nay, but by the Law of Faith*: i. e. by the Goſpel, or the Evangelical way of God's dealing with us. And elſewhere giving an account of this very controverſie between

Rom. 3. 27.

Gal. 2. 15, 16.

between the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Converts, he firſt oppoſes their Perſons, *Jews by nature*, and *ſinners of the Gentiles*, and then infers, *that a man is not juſtified by the works of the Law*, by thoſe legal obſervances, whereby the *Jewes* expected to be juſtified, *but by the faith of Chriſt*, by a hearty belief of, and compliance with that way, which *Chriſt* has introduced, *for by the works of the Law*, by legal obedience, *no fleſh*, neither *Jew*, nor *Gentile*, *ſhall* now *be juſtified. Fain would I learn, whether you received the ſpirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of Faith?* that is, whether you became partakers of the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghoſt, while you continued under the legal diſpenſation, or ſince you embraced the Goſpel, and the faith of *Chriſt*: and ſpeaking afterwards of the ſtate of the *Jews* before the revelation of the Goſpel, ſays he, *before faith came, we were kept under the Law*, i. e. before the Goſpel came, we were kept under the Diſcipline of the legal Oeconomy, *ſhut up unto the faith*, reſerved for the diſcovery of the Evangelical diſpenſation, *which ſhould afterwards* [in its due time] *be revealed* to the World. This in the following Chapter he diſcourſes more at large. *Tell me ye that deſire to be under the Law*, i. e. Ye *Jews* that ſo fondly dote upon the legal ſtate, *Do ye not hear the Law?* i. e. Underſtand what your own Law does ſo clearly intimate? and then goes on to unriddle what was wrapt up in the famous *Allegory* of *Abraham*'s two Sons by his two Wives. The one, *Iſhmael*, born of *Hagar*, the Bond-woman, who denoted the *Jewiſh* Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, which according to the repreſentation of her condition was a ſervile ſtate: The other *Iſaac*, born of *Sarah*, the Free-woman, was the Son of the promiſe, denoting *Jeruſalem that is above, and is free, the mother of us all*; i. e. The ſtate and covenant of the Goſpel, whereby all Chriſtians, as the ſpiritual children of *Abraham*, are ſet free from the bondage of the *Moſaic* diſpenſation. By all which it is evident, that by Law and the works of the Law, in this controverſie, the Apoſtle underſtands the Law of *Moſes*, and that obedience which the legal diſpenſation required at their hands.

Gal. 3. 2-5. v. 23. Gal. 4. 21. & ſeq.

8. WE are ſecondly to enquire, what the Apoſtle means by *Faith*; and he commonly uſes it two ways. 1. More generally for the *Goſpel*, or that Evangelical way of juſtification and ſalvation, which Chriſt has brought in, in oppoſition to Circumciſion, and the obſervation of thoſe Rites, by which the *Jews* expected to be juſtified: and this is plain from the preceding oppoſition, where *Faith*, as denoting the Goſpel, is frequently oppoſed to the *Law* of *Moſes*. 2. Faith is taken more particularly for a practical belief, or ſuch an aſſent to the *Evangelical* revelation as produces a ſincere obedience to the Laws of it, and indeed as concerned in this matter is uſually taken not for this or that ſingle virtue, but for the intire condition of the New Covenant, as comprehending all that duty that it requires of us: than which nothing can be more plain and evident; *In Chriſt Jeſus*, i. e. under the Goſpel, *neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion*; 'tis all one to Juſtification whether a Man be circumciſed or no; What then? *but Faith, which worketh by love*; which afterwards he explains thus, *In Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature*, a renewed and divine temper of mind, and a new courſe and ſtate of life. And leſt all this ſhould not be thought plain enough, he elſewhere tells us, that *circumciſion is nothing, and uncircumciſion is nothing*; *but the keeping the Commandments of God*. From which places there needs no skill to infer, that that Faith whereby we are juſtified, contains in it a new diſpoſition and ſtate both of heart and life, and an obſervation of the Laws of Chriſt; in which reſpect the Apoſtle does in the very ſame Verſe expound *believing*, by *obeying of the Goſpel*. Such he aſſures us was that very Faith by which *Abraham*

Gal. 5. 6. Gal. 6. 15. 1 Cor. 7. 19. Rom. 10. 16

was

was juſtified, who againſt all probabilities of reaſon believed in God's promiſe, *he ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God through unbelief, but was ſtrong, &c.* that is, he ſo firmly believed what God had promiſed, that he gave him the glory of his truth and faithfulneſs, his infinite power and ability to do all things. And how did he that? by acting ſuitably in a way of intire reſignation, and ſincere obedience to the divine will and pleaſure: ſo the Apoſtle elſewhere more expreſly, *by Faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Faith (he tells us) *was imputed to Abraham for righteouſneſs*, that is, God by vertue of the New Covenant made in *Chriſt* was graciouſly pleaſed to look upon this obedience (though in it ſelf imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a juſt and a righteous Man. And upon this account we find *Abraham*'s faith oppoſed to a perfect and unſinning obedience, for thus the Apoſtle tells us, that *Abraham* was juſtified by faith, in oppoſition to his being juſtified by ſuch an abſolute and compleat obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the reward by the ſtrict Laws of Juſtice: whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the way of a mean and imperfect obedience, it could not claim impunity, much leſs a reward, but muſt be intirely owing to the Divine grace and favour.

eb. 11. 8.
om. 4. 22.
om. 4. 2, 3, c.

9. HAVING thus cleared our way, by reſtoring theſe words to their genuine and native ſence, we come to ſhew, how the Apoſtle in his diſcourſes does all along refer to the Original controverſie between the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile*-Converts, whether Juſtification was by the obſervation of the *Moſaic* Law, or by the belief and practice of the Goſpel: and this will appear, if we conſider the perſons that he has to deal with, the way and manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other controverſie on foot, to which theſe paſſages could refer. The Perſons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two ſorts, pure *Jews*, and *Jewiſh* Converts. Pure *Jews* were thoſe that kept themſelves wholly to the Legal Oeconomy, and expected to be juſtified and ſaved in no other way, than the obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*. Indeed they laid a more peculiar ſtreſs upon *Circumciſion*, becauſe this having been added as the Seal of that Covenant which God made with *Abraham*, and the diſcriminating badge whereby they were to be diſtinguiſhed from all other Nations, they looked upon it as having a ſpecial efficacy in it to recommend them to the Divine acceptance. Accordingly we find in their Writings that they make this the main Baſis and Foundation of their hope and confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the Precept of Circumciſion is greater than all the reſt, and equivalent to the whole Law, that the reaſon why God hears the Prayers of the *Iſraelites*, but not הגוים of the *Gentiles* or *Chriſtians*, is המילה בזכות for the vertue and merit of Circumciſion; yea that *ſo great is the power and efficacy of the Law of Circumciſion, that no man that is circumciſed ſhall go to* Hell.* Nay, according to the idle and trifling humour of theſe ‖ Men, they fetch down *Abraham* from the Seat of the Bleſſed, and place him as Porter at the Gates of Hell, upon no other errand than to keep circumciſed Perſons from entring into that miſerable place. However nothing is more evident, than that Circumciſion was the Fort and Sanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their ſecurity, and accordingly we find *S. Paul* frequently diſputing againſt Circumciſion, as virtually comprizing, in their notion, the keeping of the whole *Jewiſh* Law. Beſides, to theſe literal impoſitions of the Law of *Moſes*, the *Phariſees* had added many vain *Traditions* and ſeveral ſuperſtitious uſages of their own contrivance, in the obſervance whereof the People plac'd not a little confidence, as to that righteouſneſs upon which they hoped to

גדול כח מצות מיל שכל מי שהוא מהול אי יורד לגהנם
Tad. Hakkem. Buxtorf. Lex. ad Syn. id. Synag. Jud. 4. p. 87.

ſtand

ſtand clear with Heaven. Againſt all theſe our Apoſtle argues, and ſometimes by arguments peculiar to them alone. *Jewiſh* Converts were thoſe, who having embraced the Chriſtian Religion, did yet out of a veneration to their ancient Rites, make the obſervance of them equally neceſſary with the belief and practice of Chriſtianity both to themſelves and others. Theſe laſt were the Perſons, who as they firſt ſtarted the controverſie, ſo were thoſe againſt whom the Apoſtle mainly oppoſed himſelf, endeavouring to diſmount their pretences, and to beat down their Opinions level with the ground.

10. THIS will yet further appear from the way and manner of the Apoſtles arguing, which plainly reſpects this controverſie, and will be beſt ſeen in ſome particular inſtances of his reaſonings. And firſt, he argues, that this way of juſtification urged by *Jews* and *Jewiſh* Converts was inconſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, and his univerſal kindneſs to Mankind, being ſo narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greateſt part of the World. Thus in the three firſt Chapters of his Epiſtle to the *Romans* having proved at large that *the whole World*, both *Jew* and *Gentile were under a ſtate of guilt*, and conſequently liable to the Divine ſentence and condemnation, he comes next to enquire by what means they may be delivered from this ſtate of vengeance, and ſhews that it could not be by legal obſervances, but that now there was a way of righteouſneſs or juſtification declared by *Chriſt* in the Goſpel (intimated alſo in the Old Teſtament) extending to all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, whereby God with reſpect to the ſatisfaction and expiation of Chriſt is ready freely to pardon and juſtifie all penitent believers: That therefore there was a way revealed in the Goſpel, whereby a man might be juſtified, without being beholden to the rites of the *Jewiſh* Law, otherwiſe it would argue that God had very little care of the greateſt part of men. *Is he God of the Jews only? Is he not alſo of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles alſo: Seeing it is one God, which ſhall juſtifie the Circumciſion by Faith, and the uncircumciſion through Faith,* Jew and *Gentile* in the ſame Evangelical way. The force of which argument lies in this, That that cannot be neceſſary to our Juſtification, which excludes the greateſt part of Mankind from all poſſibility of being juſtified (and this juſtification by the *Moſaick* Law plainly does) a thing by no means conſiſtent with God's univerſal love and kindneſs to his Creatures. Hence the Apoſtle magnifies the grace of the Goſpel, that it has broken down the partition-wall, and made way for all Nations to come in, that *now there is neither Greek nor Jew, Circumciſion nor uncircumciſion, Barbarian nor Scythian*, no difference in this reſpect, but *all one in Chriſt Jeſus*, all equally admitted to terms of pardon and juſtification, *in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs being accepted with him.*

Rom. 3. 20, 21, &c.

Gal. 3. 28. Col. 3. 11.

Act. 10. 35.

11. SECONDLY, He argues, that this *Jewiſh* way of Juſtification could not be indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in that it had not been the conſtant way whereby good men in all Ages had been juſtified and accepted with Heaven. This he eminently proves from the inſtance of *Abraham*, whom the Scripture ſets forth as *the Father of the faithful*, and the great Exemplar of that way, wherein all his ſpiritual ſeed, all true Believers were to be juſtified. Now of him 'tis evident, that he was juſtified and accepted with God upon his practical belief of God's power and promiſe, before ever Circumciſion, and much more before the reſt of the *Moſaick* Inſtitution was in being. *Cometh this bleſſedneſs then upon the Circumciſion only, or upon the uncircumciſion alſo? For we ſay that Faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteouſneſs. How was it then reckoned, when he was in Circumciſion, or in uncircumciſion? Not in Circumciſion, but in uncircumciſion. And he received the ſign of Circumciſion,*

Rom. 4. 9, 10, 11, &c.

a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of the faith, which he had being yet uncircumciſed, &c. The meaning whereof is plainly this, That pardon of ſin cannot be entailed upon the way of the *Moſaick* Law, it being evident, that *Abraham* was juſtified and approved of God, before he was Circumciſed, which was only added as a ſeal of the Covenant between God and him, and a teſtimony of that acceptance with God, which he had obtained before. And this way of God's dealing with *Abraham*, and in him with all his ſpiritual children, the legal Inſtitution could not make void, it being impoſſible that that diſpenſation which came ſo long after ſhould diſannul the Covenant which God had
Gal. 3. 17. made with *Abraham* and his ſpiritual ſeed CCCCXXX. Years before. Upon this account, as the Apoſtle obſerves, the Scripture ſets forth *Abraham* as
Rom. 4. 11, 12. the great type and pattern of Juſtification, as *the Father of all them that believe, though they be not Circumciſed, that righteouſneſs might be imputed to them alſo, and the father of Circumciſion, to them who are not of the Circumciſion*
Gal. 3. 7, 8, 9. *only, but alſo walk in the ſteps of that Faith of our Father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumciſed. They therefore that are of Faith, the ſame are the children of Abraham:* And *the Scripture foreſeeing that God would juſtifie the Heathen through Faith, preached before the Goſpel* (this Evangelical way of juſtifying) *unto Abraham, ſaying, In thee ſhall all Nations be bleſſed, So then they which be of Faith,* who believe and obey, as *Abraham* did, *ſhall be bleſſed,* pardoned and ſaved, *with faithful Abraham.* It might further be demonſtrated that this has ever been God's method of dealing with Mankind, our Apoſtle in the eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*, proving all along by particular inſtances, that it was by ſuch a Faith as this, without any relation to the Law of *Moſes*, that good men were juſtified and accepted with God in all Ages of the World.

12. THIRDLY, He argues againſt this *Jewiſh* way of Juſtification from the deficiency and imperfection of the *Moſaick* Oeconomy, not able to juſtifie and ſave ſinners. Deficient, as not able to aſſiſt thoſe that were under
Rom. 8. 3, 4. it with ſufficient aids to perform what it required of them, *This the Law could not do, for that it was weak through the fleſh,* till *God ſent his own Son in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh,* to enable us, *that the righteouſneſs of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the Spirit.* And in-
Gal. 3. 21. deed *could the Law have given life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the Law:* But alas! the Scripture having concluded all Mankind, *Jew* and *Gentile*, under ſin, and conſequently incapable of being juſtified upon terms of perfect and intire obedience, there is now no other way but this, That *the promiſe by the Faith of Chriſt be given to all them that believe, i. e.* this Evangelical method of juſtifying ſincere believers. Beſides, the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy was deficient in pardoning ſin, and procuring the grace and favour of God, it could only awaken the knowledge of ſin, not remove the guilt of it: *It was not poſſible that the blood of Bulls and Goats ſhould take away ſin*; all the
Heb. 10. 4. ſacrifices of the *Moſaick* Law were no further available for the pardon of ſin, than merely as they were founded in, and had reſpect to that great ſacrifice and expiation, which was to be made for the ſins of Mankind by the death
Ibid. v. 11, 12. of the Son of God. *The Prieſts, though they daily miniſtred, and oftentimes offered the ſame ſacrifices, yet could they never take away ſins:* No, that was reſerved for a better and a higher ſacrifice, even that of our Lord himſelf, who *after he had offered one ſacrifice for ſins, for ever ſat down on the right hand of God,* having completed that, which the repeated ſacrifices of the Law could never effect. So that all Men being under guilt, and no juſtification, where there was no remiſſion, the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy being in it ſelf unable to pardon, was incapable to juſtifie. This *S. Paul* elſewhere declared

clared in an open Aſſembly before *Jews* and *Gentiles*; *Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man* [Chriſt Jeſus] *is preached unto you forgiveneſs of ſins: And by him all that believe are juſtified from all things, from which ye could not be juſtified by the Law of Moſes.* Act. 13. 38

13. FOURTHLY, He proves that Juſtification by the *Moſaick* Law could not ſtand with the death of *Chriſt*, the neceſſity of whoſe death and ſufferings it did plainly evacuate and take away. For if righteouſneſs come by the Law, then *Chriſt* is dead in vain: If the *Moſaical* performances be ſtill neceſſary to our Juſtification, then certainly it was to very little purpoſe, and altogether unbecoming the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, to ſend his own Son into the World, to do ſo much for us, and to ſuffer ſuch exquiſite pains and tortures. Nay, he tells them, that while they perſiſted in this fond obſtinate opinion, all that *Chriſt* had done and ſuffered could be of no advantage to them. *Stand faſt in the liberty, wherewith Chriſt has made us free, and be not again intangled in the yoke of bondage*, the bondage and ſervitude of the *Moſaick* rites; *Behold I Paul* ſolemnly *ſay unto you, That if you be Circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: For I teſtifie again to every man that is Circumciſed, that he is a debtor to do the whole Law; Chriſt is become of none effect to you; whoſoever of you are juſtified by the Law, ye are fallen from grace.* The ſum of which argument is, That whoever lay the ſtreſs of their Juſtification upon Circumciſion, and the obſervances of the Law, do thereby declare themſelves to be under an obligation of perfect obedience to all that the Law requires of them, and accordingly ſuperſede the vertue and efficacy of *Chriſt*'s death, and diſclaim all right and title to the grace and favour of the Goſpel. For ſince *Chriſt*'s death is abundantly ſufficient to attain its ends, whoever takes in another, plainly renounces that, and reſts upon that of his own chuſing. By theſe ways of reaſoning 'tis evident what the Apoſtle drives at in all his diſcourſes about this matter. More might have been obſerved, had I not thought, that theſe are ſufficient to render his deſign, eſpecially to the unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough. Gal. 2. 21. Gal. 5. 1, 2,

14. LASTLY, That *S. Paul*'s diſcourſes about Juſtification and Salvation do immediately refer to the controverſie between the *Orthodox* and *Judaizing* Chriſtians, appears hence, that there was no other controverſie then on foot, but concerning the way of Juſtification, whether it was by the obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*, or only of the Goſpel and the Law of *Chriſt*. For we muſt needs ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtle wrote with a primary reſpect to the preſent ſtate of things, and ſo as they whom he had to deal with, might, and could not but underſtand him: Which yet would have been impoſſible for them to have done, had he intended them for the controverſies which have ſince been bandied with ſo much zeal and fierceneſs, and to give countenance to thoſe many nice and ſubtil propoſitions, thoſe curious and elaborate ſchemes which ſome Men in theſe later Ages have drawn of theſe matters.

15. FROM the whole diſcourſe two *Conſectaries* eſpecially plainly follow. I. *Conſect. That works of Evangelical obedience are not oppoſed to Faith in Juſtification.* By works of *Evangelical obedience*, I mean ſuch Chriſtian duties, as are the fruits, not of our own power and ſtrength, but God's Spirit, done by the aſſiſtance of his grace. And that theſe are not oppoſed to *Faith*, is undeniably evident, in that (as we obſerved before) Faith as including the new nature, and the keeping God's commands, is made the uſual condition of Juſtification. Nor can it be otherwiſe, when other graces and virtues of the Chriſtian life are made the terms of pardon and ac-

ceptance with Heaven, and of our title to the merits of *Christ*'s death, and the great promiſe of eternal life. Thus Repentance, which is not ſo much a ſingle Act, as a complex body of Chriſtian duties, *Repent and be baptized*
s 2. 38. *in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the*
s 3. 17. *Holy Ghoſt*; *Repent and be converted, that your ſins may be blotted out.* So
rk 11. 25. Charity and forgiveneſs of others, *Forgive, if ye have ought againſt any, that your Father alſo which is in Heaven may forgive you your treſpaſſes: For if ye for-*
tth. 6. 14. *give men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father alſo will forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their treſpaſſes, neither will your Father forgive yours.* Sometimes
s 10. 34. Evangelical obedience in general; *God is no reſpecter of perſons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs is accepted with him. If*
oh. 1. 7. *we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowſhip one with another, and the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſes us from all ſin.* What priviledge then has Faith above other graces in this matter? are we juſtified by Faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God upon our repentance, charity, and other acts of Evangelical obedience. Is Faith oppoſed to the works of the *Moſaick* Law in Juſtification? ſo are works of Evangelical obedience; *Cir-*
Cor. 7. 19. *cumciſion is nothing, and uncircumciſion is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God.* Does Faith give glory to God, and ſet the crown upon his head? Works of Evangelical obedience are equally the effects of Divine grace, both preventing and aſſiſting of us, and indeed are not ſo much our works, as his: So that the glory of all muſt needs be intirely reſolved into the grace of God, nor can any man in ſuch circumſtances with the leaſt pretence of reaſon lay claim to merit, or boaſt of his own atchievments. Hence the Apoſtle magnifies the Evangelical method of Juſtification above that of the Law, that it wholly excludes all proud reflections upon our ſelves;
om. 3. 27. *Where is boaſting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith.* The *Moſaical* Oeconomy foſtered men up in proud and high thoughts of themſelves, they looked upon themſelves as a peculiar People, honoured above all other Nations of the World, the ſeed of *Abraham*, inveſted with mighty priviledges, *&c.* whereas the Goſpel proceeding upon other principles, takes away all foundations of pride, by acknowledging our acceptance with God, and the power whereby we are enabled to make good the terms and conditions of it, to be the mere reſult of the Divine grace and mercy, and that the whole *ſcheme* of our Salvation, as it was the contrivance of the Divine wiſdom, ſo is the purchaſe of the merit and ſatisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is Faith it ſelf leſs than other graces an act of Evangelical obedience, and if ſeparated from them, is of no
Cor. 13. 2. moment or value in the accounts of Heaven: *Though I have all Faith, and have no Charity, I am nothing. All Faith*, be it of what kind ſoever. To this may be added, that no tolerable account can be given, why that which is on all hands granted to be the condition of our Salvation (ſuch is Evangelical obedience) ſhould not be the condition of our Juſtification: And at the great Day Chriſtians ſhall be acquitted or condemned according as in this World they have fulfilled or neglected the conditions of the Goſpel: The decretory ſentence of abſolution that ſhall then be paſſed upon good men, ſhall be nothing but a publick and ſolemn declaration of that private ſentence of Juſtification that was paſſed upon them in this World; ſo that upon the ſame terms that they are juſtified now, they ſhall be juſtified and acquitted then, and upon the ſame terms that they ſhall then be judged and acquitted, they are juſtified now, *viz.* an hearty belief, and a ſincere obedience to the Goſpel. From all which, I hope, 'tis evident, that when S. *Paul* denies men to be juſtified by the works of the Law; by works he either means works

done

done before converſion, and by the ſtrength of Mens natural powers, ſuch as enabled them to pride and boaſt themſelves, and lay claim to merit, or (which moſt-what includes the other) the works of the *Moſaick* Law. And indeed though the controverſies on foot in thoſe times did not plainly determine his reaſonings that way, yet the conſiderations which we have now ſuggeſted, ſufficiently ſhew that they could not be meant of any other ſence.

16. *CONSECT.* II. *That the doctrines of* S. Paul *and* S. James *about Juſtification are fairly conſiſtent with each other.* For ſeeing *S. Paul*'s deſign in excluding works from Juſtification, was only to deny the works of the *Jewiſh* Law, or thoſe that were meritorious, as being wrought by our own ſtrength, and in aſſerting that, in oppoſition to ſuch works we are *juſtified by Faith*, he meant no more than that either we are juſtified in an Evangelical way, or more particularly by Faith intended a practical belief, including Evangelical obedience: And ſeeing on the other hand *S. James* in affirming *that we are juſtified by Works, and not by Faith only*; by works, means no more than Evangelical obedience, in oppoſition to a naked and an empty Faith; theſe two are ſo far from quarrelling, that they mutually embrace each other, and both in the main purſue the ſame deſign. And indeed if any diſagreement ſeem between them, 'tis moſt reaſonable that *S. Paul* ſhould be expounded by *S. James*, not only becauſe his propoſitions are ſo expreſs and poſitive, and not juſtly liable to ambiguity, but becauſe he wrote ſome competent time after the other, and conſequently as he perfectly underſtood his meaning, ſo he was capable to countermine thoſe ill principles, which ſome men had built upon *S. Paul*'s aſſertions. For 'tis evident from ſeveral paſſages in *S. Paul*'s Epiſtles, that even then many began to miſtake his doctrine, and from his aſſertions about Juſtification by Faith, and not by works, to infer propoſitions that might ſerve the purpoſes of a bad life; *They ſlanderouſly reported him to ſay, that we might do evil, that good might come*; Rom. 3. 8. *that we might continue in ſin, that the grace of the Goſpel might the more abound*: Rom. 6. 1. They thought that ſo long as they did but believe the Goſpel in the naked notion and ſpeculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the favour of God, and to ſerve all the purpoſes of Juſtification and Salvation, however they ſhaped and ſteered their lives. Againſt theſe men 'tis beyond all queſtion plain, that *S. James* levels his Epiſtle, to batter down the growing doctrines of Libertiniſm and Prophaneneſs, to ſhew the inſufficiency of a naked Faith, and an empty profeſſion of Religion, that 'tis not enough to recommend us to the Divine acceptance, and to juſtifie us in the ſight of Heaven, barely to believe the Goſpel, unleſs we really obey and practiſe it; that a Faith deſtitute of this Evangelical obedience is fruitleſs and unprofitable to Salvation; that 'tis by theſe works that Faith muſt appear to be vital and ſincere; that not only *Rahab*, but *Abraham* the Father of the faithful, was juſtified not by a bare belief of God's promiſe, but an hearty obedience to God's command, in the ready offer of his Son, whereby it appears that his Faith and Obedience did co-operate and conſpire together, to render him capable of God's favour and approbation, and that *herein the Scripture was fulfilled, which ſaith, That Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs*, (whence by the way nothing can be clearer, than that both theſe Apoſtles intend the ſame thing by *Faith* in the caſe of *Abraham*'s Juſtification, and its being *imputed to him for righteouſneſs, viz.* a practical belief and obedience to the commands of God) that it follows hence, that Faith is not of it ſelf ſufficient to juſtifie and make us acceptable to God, unleſs a proportionable Obedience be joyned with it; without *Vid.* Chap. v. 14, 15, & ſeqq.

which Faith ſerves no more to theſe ends and purpoſes, than a Body deſtitute of the Soul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exerciſe the functions and offices of the natural life. His meaning in ſhort being nothing elſe, than that good works, or Evangelical obedience is, according to the Divine appointment, the condition of the Goſpel-Covenant, without which 'tis in vain for any to hope for that pardon which *Chriſt* hath purchaſed, and the favour of God, which is neceſſary to Eternal Life.

The End of S. Paul's *Life.*

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE LIFE OF S. ANDREW.

He was fastened to a Cross (since distinguished by his name) by ye Proconsul at Patræ a City of Achaia, from which he preached severall dayes to ye Spectators. *S. Hierom. Baron. Nov: 29.*

Matth. 23. 34. *Behold I send unto you prophets and wise men, and scribes, & some of them ye shall kill and crucifie, & some of them shall ye scurge in your synagogues, and persecute them from City to City.*

The Sacred History sparing in the Acts of the succeeding Apostles, and why. S. Andrew's *Birth-place, Kindred, and way of Life.* John *the* Baptist's *Ministry and Discipline. S.* Andrew *educated under his Institution. His coming to* Christ, *and Call to be a Disciple. His Election to the Apostolate. The Province assigned for his Ministry. In what places he chiefly preached. His barbarous usage at* Sinope. *His planting Christianity at* Byzantium, *and ordaining* Stachys *Bishop there. His travels in* Greece, *and preaching at* Patræ *in* Achaia. *His Arraignment before the* Proconsul, *and resolute defence of the Christian Religion. The* Proconsul's *displeasure against him, whence. An account of his Martyrdom. His preparatory Sufferings, and Crucifixion. On what kind of Cross he suffered. The Miracles reported to be done*

by his Body. Its translation to Constantinople. *The great* Encomium *given of him by one of the Ancients.*

1. THE Sacred Story, which has hitherto been very large and copious in describing the Acts of the two first Apostles, is henceforward very sparing in its accounts, giving us only now and then a few oblique and accidental remarks concerning the rest, and some of them no further mentioned, than the mere recording of their Names. For what reasons it pleased the Divine wisdom and providence, that no more of their Acts should be consigned to Writing by the Pen-men of the Holy story, is to us unknown. Probably, it might be thought convenient, that no more account should be given of the first plantations of Christianity in the World, than what concerned *Judæa*, and the Neighbour-countries, at least the most eminent places of the *Roman* Empire, that so the truth of the Prophetical Predictions might appear, which had foretold, that the *Law* of the Messiah *should come forth from Sion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* Besides, that a particular relation of the Acts of so many Apostles, done in so many several Countries, might have swell'd the Holy Volumes into too great a bulk, and rendred them less serviceable and accommodate to the ordinary use of Christians. Among the Apostles that succeed we first take notice of S. *Andrew.* He was born at *Bethsaida*, a City of *Galilee*, standing upon the banks of the Lake of *Gennesareth*, Son to *John* or *Jonas* a Fisherman of that Town; Brother he was to *Simon Peter*, but whether Elder or Younger, the Ancients do not clearly decide, though the major part intimate him to have been the younger Brother, there being only the single authority of *Epiphanius* on the other side, as we have formerly noted. He was brought up to his Father's Trade, whereat he laboured, till our Lord called him from catching *Fish*, to be a *Fisher of men*, for which he was fitted by some preparatory Institutions, even before his coming unto *Christ*.

2. *JOHN* the *Baptist* was lately risen in the *Jewish* Church, a Person whom for the efficacy and impartiality of his Doctrine, and the extraordinary strictness and austerities of his Life, the *Jews* generally had in great veneration. He trained up his *Proselytes* under the Discipline of Repentance, and by urging upon them a severe change and reformation of life, prepared them to entertain the Doctrine of the *Messiah*, whose approach, he told them, was now near at hand, representing to them the greatness of his Person, and the importance of the design that he was come upon. Beside the multitudes that promiscuously flock'd to the *Baptists* discourses, he had according to the manner of the *Jewish* Masters some peculiar and select Disciples, who more constantly attended upon his Lectures, and for the most part waited upon his Person. In the number of these was our Apostle, who was then with him about *Jordan*, when our Saviour, who some time since had been baptized, came that way: upon whose approach the *Baptist* told them, that this was the *Messiah*, the great Person whom he had so often spoken of, to usher in whose appearing his whole Ministry was but subservient, that this was *the Lamb of God*, the true Sacrifice that was to expiate the sins of Mankind. Upon this testimony *Andrew* and another Disciple (probably S. *John*) follow our Saviour to the place of his abode. Upon which account he is generally by the Fathers and ancient Writers stiled πρωτόκλητος, or the *first called* Disciple; though in a strict sence he was not so; for though he was the first of the Disciples that came to *Christ*, yet was he not called

[margin note:] πρωτό-ου πάντων μαθητῶν. ... τόπλω τοῦ ... καὶ ... Ἀνδρέα ... πολε, κατ' ... πρωτούμενος. *Menæa Græcor.* ἡμέρ. λ'. Νοεμβρ. *sub lit.* σ'.

till

till afterwards. After ſome converſe with him, *Andrew* goes to acquaint his Brother *Simon*, and both together came to *Chriſt*. Long they ſtayed not with him, but returned to their own home, and to the exerciſe of their calling, wherein they were employed, when ſomewhat more than a Year after our Lord paſſing through *Galilee*, found them fiſhing upon the Sea of *Tiberias*, where he fully ſatisfied them of the Greatneſs and Divinity of his Perſon by the convictive evidence of that miraculous draught of Fiſhes, which they took at his command. And now he told them he had other work for them to do, that they ſhould no longer deal in *Fiſh*, but with *Men*, whom they ſhould catch with the efficacy and influence of that Doctrine, that he was come to deliver to the World; commanding them to follow him, as his immediate Diſciples and Attendants, who accordingly left all and followed him. Shortly after S. *Andrew* together with the reſt was called to the Office and Honour of the Apoſtolate, made choice of to be one of thoſe that were to be *Chriſt*'s immediate Vicegerents for planting and propagating the Chriſtian Church. Little elſe is particularly recorded of him in the Sacred ſtory, being comprehended in the general account of the reſt of the Apoſtles.

3. AFTER our Lord's Aſcenſion into Heaven, and that the Holy Ghoſt had in its miraculous powers been plentifully ſhed upon the Apoſtles, to fit them for the great errand they were to go upon, to root out prophaneneſs and idolatry, and to ſubdue the World to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, it is generally affirmed by the Ancients, that the Apoſtles agreed among themſelves (by lot, ſay * ſome) probably not without the ſpecial guidance and direction of the Holy Ghoſt, what parts of the World they ſhould ſeverally take. In this diviſion S. *Andrew* had *Scythia*, and the Neighbouring Conntries primarily allotted him for his ‖ Province. Firſt theu he travelled through *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, and inſtructed them in the Faith of *Chriſt*, paſſing all along the *Euxine* Sea (formerly called * *Axenus*, from the barbarous and inhoſpitable temper of the People thereabouts, who were wont to ſacrifice ſtrangers, aud of their skulls to make Cups to drink in at their Feaſts and Banquets) and ſo into the ſolitudes of *Scythia*. An ancient ‖ Author (though whence deriving his intelligence I know not) gives us a more particular account of his travels and tranſactions in theſe parts. He tells us, that he firſt came to *Amynſus*, where being entertained by a *Jew*, he went into the Synagogue; diſcourſed to them concerning *Chriſt*, and from the prophecies of the Old Teſtament proved him to be the *Meſſiah*, and the Saviour of the World. Having here converted and baptized many, ordered their publick Meeting, and ordained them Prieſts, he went next to *Trapezus*, a maritime City upon the *Euxine* Sea, whence after many other places he came to *Nice*, where he ſtaid two Years, Preaching and working Miracles with great ſucceſs: thence to *Nicomedia*, and ſo to *Chalcedon*, whence ſailing through the *Propontis* he came by the *Euxine* Sea to *Heraclea*, and from thence to *Amaſtris*: in all which places he met with great difficulties and diſcouragements, but overcame all with an invincible patience and reſolution. He next came to *Sinope*, a City ſituate upon the ſame Sea, a place famous both for the birth and burial of the great King *Mithridates*; here, as my Author reports from the *Ancients* (ὡς φασὶ λόγοι παλαιοὶ) he met with his Brother *Peter*, with whom he ſtaid a conſiderable time at this place: as a Monument whereof he tells us, that the Chairs made of white ſtone wherein they were wont to ſit while they taught the People, were ſtill extant, and commonly ſhewed in his time. The Inhabitants of this City were moſt *Jews*, who partly through zeal for their Religion, partly through the barbarouſneſs of their manners, were quickly exaſperated againſt the Apoſtle,

* *Socr. H. Ec. l.1.c.19.p.5*

‖ *Orig. in Gen. l.3.ap. Euſeb. l.3.c.1.p.71. Niceph. H. Eccl.l.2. c.3. p.199.*

* *Strab. Geo. l.7.p.206.*

‖ *Commenta. de S. Andr. poſt. & πρωτ. κλήτῳ, extat Græc. in Me. næis Græcor. λ'. τῷ Νοεμ. ſub lit. π'.*

Apostle, and contriving together attempted to burn the House, wherein he sojourned: however they treated him with all the instances of savage cruelty, throwing him to the ground, stamping upon him with their Feet, pulling and dragging him from place to place, some beating him with Clubs, others pelting him with stones, and some the better to satisfie their revenge, biting off his Flesh with their Teeth; till apprehending they had fully dispatched him, they cast him out of the City. But he miraculously recovered, and publickly returned into the City, whereby and by some other Miracles, which he wrought amongst them, he reduced many to a better mind, converting them to the Faith. Departing hence, he went again to *Amynsus*, and then to *Trapezus*, thence to *Neocæsarea*; and to *Samosata* (the birth-place of the witty but impious *Lucian*) where having baffled the acute and wise Philosophers, he purposed to return to *Jerusalem*. Whence after some time he betook himself to his former Provinces, travelling to the Country of the *Abasgi*, where at *Sebastople*, situate upon the *Eastern* shore of the *Euxine* Sea, between the influx of the Rivers *Phasis* and *Apsarus*, he successfully Preached the Gospel to the Inhabitants of that City. Hence he removed into the Country of the *Zecchi*, and the *Bosphorani*, part of the *Asiatick Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, but finding the Inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he staid not long among them, only at *Cherson*, or *Chersonesus*, a great and populous City within the *Bosphorus*, he continued some time, instructing and confirming them in the Faith. Hence taking Ship he sailed cross the Sea to *Sinope*, to encourage and confirm the Churches which he had lately planted in those parts, and here he ordained *Philologus*, formerly one of S. *Paul*'s Disciples, Bishop of that City.

4. HENCE he came to *Byzantium* (since called *Constantinople*) where he instructed them in the knowledge of the Christian Religion, founded a Church for Divine worship, and ordained *Stachys* (whom S. *Paul* calls *his beloved Stachys*) first Bishop of that place. * *Baronius* indeed is unwilling to believe this, desirous to engross the honour of it to S. *Peter*, whom he will have to have been the first Planter of Christianity in these parts. But besides that *Baronius* his authority is very slight and insignificant in this case (as we have before noted in S. *Peter*'s Life) this matter is expresly asserted not only by *Nicephorus* ‖ *Callistus*, but by another * *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and who therefore may be presumed knowing in his Predecessors in that *See*. Banished out of the City by him, who at that time usurped the Government, he fled to *Argyropolis*, a place near at hand, where he preached the Gospel for two Years together with good success, converting great Numbers to the Faith. After this he travelled over *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*: ‖ *Nazianzen* adds *Epyrus*, in all which places for many Years he preached and propagated Christianity, and confirmed the Doctrine that he taught with great signs and miracles: at last he came to *Patræ* a City of *Achaia*, where he gave his last and great testimony to it, I mean, laid down his own Life to ratifie and ensure it, in describing whose Martyrdom, we shall for the main follow the account that is given us in the *Acts of his* * *Passion*, pretended to have been written by the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of *Achaia*, present at his Martyrdom; which, though I dare not with some assert to be the genuine work of those persons, yet can it not be denied to be of considerable antiquity, being mentioned by ‖ *Philastrius*, who flourished *Ann.* 380. and were no doubt written long before his time. The summ of it is this.

Ad An. 44. 31, *vid. ad* 314. *n.* 94, &c.

H. Eccl. l. 2. *c.* 39. *l.* 5. *c.* 6. *p.* 540.

* Ἀνδρέας ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν λόγον ...ύξας εὐκτήριον οἶκον πέραν ἐν Ἀργυροπόλει ...μάμενος χειροτονεῖ ἐπίσκοπον τῆς αὐτῆς πόλε... Στάχυν, ὃν μέμνηται Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς ...ομαίους ἐπιστολῇ. *Niceph. C. P. in Chronogr. ...cal. edit. p.* 309. *vid. etiam Mæn. Græc. ubi ...r.*

...rat. 25. ...38.

Extant apud ...ur. ad diem ...Novemb. ...653.

De Hæres. ...89.

5. ÆGEAS,

5. *ÆGEAS Proconſul* of *Achaia*, came at this time to *Patræ*, where obſerving that multitudes were fallen off from Paganiſm, and had embraced Chriſtianity, he endeavoured by all arts both of favour and cruelty to reduce the people to their old Idolatries. To him the Apoſtle reſolutely makes his addreſs, calmly puts him in mind, that he being but a judge of men ſhould own and revere him, who was the ſupreme and impartial Judge of all, that he ſhould give him that Divine honour that was due to him, and leave off the impieties of his falſe Heathen-worſhip. The *Proconſul* derided him as an Innovator in Religion, a propagator of that ſuperſtition, whoſe Author the *Jews* had infamouſly put to death upon a Croſs. Hereat the Apoſtle took occaſion to diſcourſe to him of the infinite love and kindneſs of our Lord, who came into the World to purchaſe the Salvation of mankind, and for that end did not diſdain to die upon the Croſs. To whom the *Proconſul* anſwered, that he might perſwade them ſo, that would believe him; for his part, if he did not comply with him in doing ſacrifice to the Gods, he would cauſe him to ſuffer upon that Croſs, which he had ſo much extolled and magnified. S. *Andrew* replied, That he did ſacrifice every day to God, the only true and omnipotent Being, not with fumes and bloudy offerings, but in the ſacrifice of the immaculate Lamb of God. The iſſue was, the Apoſtle was committed to priſon, whereat the people were ſo enraged, that it had broken out into a mutiny, had not the Apoſtle reſtrained them, perſwading them to imitate the mildneſs and patience of our meek humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that crown of Martyrdom that now waited for him.

6. THE next day he was again brought before the *Proconſul*, who perſwaded him that he would not fooliſhly deſtroy himſelf, but live and enjoy with him the pleaſures of this life. The Apoſtle told him, that he ſhould have with him eternal joys, if renouncing his execrable idolatries, he would heartily entertain Chriſtianity, which he had hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully preached amongſt them. That, anſwered the *Proconſul*, is the very reaſon, why I am ſo earneſt with you to ſacrifice to the Gods, that thoſe whom you have every where ſeduced, may by your example be brought to return back to that ancient Religion, which they have forſaken: Otherwiſe I'le cauſe you with exquiſite tortures to be crucified. The Apoſtle replied, That now he ſaw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a perſon incapable of ſober counſels, and hardned in his own blindneſs and folly; that as for himſelf, he might do his worſt, and if he had one torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: The greater conſtancy he ſhewed in his ſufferings for *Chriſt*, the more acceptable he ſhould be to his Lord and Maſter. *Ægeas* could now hold no longer, but paſſed the ſentence of death upon him; and * *Nicephorus* gives us ſome more particular account of the *Proconſul*'s diſpleaſure and rage againſt him, which was, that amongſt others he had converted his wife *Maximilla*, and his brother *Stratocles* to the Chriſtian Faith, having cured them of deſperate diſtempers that had ſeized upon them.

* *Lib. 2. c. 39. p. 200. vid. Menæa Græc. ad diem 30. Novemb. ubi eadem habent.*

7. THE *Proconſul* firſt commanded him to be ſcourged, ſeven *Lictors* ſucceſſively whipping his naked body; and ſeeing his invincible patience and conſtancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be faſtned to the Croſs with Nails, but Cords, that ſo his death might be more lingring and tedious. As he was led to execution, to which he went with a chearful and compoſed mind, the people cried out, that he was an innocent and good man, and unjuſtly condemned to die. Being come within ſight of the Croſs,

Bern. Serm. 2 de S. Andr. p. 327.

Croſs, he ſaluted it with this kind of addreſs, That he had long deſired and expected this happy hour, that the Croſs had been conſecrated by the body of *Chriſt* hanging on it, and adorned with his members as with ſo many ineſtimable Jewels, that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a diſciple and follower of him, who once hung upon it, and be the means to carry him ſafe unto his Maſter, having been the inſtrument upon which his Maſter had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the people to conſtancy and perſeverance in that Religion which he had delivered to them, he was faſtned to the Croſs, whereon he hung two days, teaching and inſtructing the people all the time, and when great importunities in the mean while were uſed to the *Proconſul* to ſpare his life, he earneſtly begged of our Lord, that he might at this time depart and ſeal the truth of his Religion with his bloud. God heard his prayer, and he immediately expired on the laſt of *November*, though in what year no certain account can be recovered.

8. THERE ſeems to have been ſomething peculiar in that *Croſs* that was the inſtrument of his Martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a *Croſs decuſſate*, two pieces of Timber croſſing each other in the middle, in the form of the letter X, hence uſually known by the name of S. *Andrew's Croſs*; though there want not * thoſe, who affirm him to have been crucified upon an Olive Tree. His body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by *Maximilla*, a Lady of great quality and eſtate, and whom *Nicephorus*, I know not upon what ground, makes wife to the *Proconſul*. As for that report of ‖ *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, that on the Anniverſary day of his Martyrdom, there was wont to flow from S. *Andrew's* Tomb a moſt fragrant and precious Oil, which according to its quantity denoted the ſcarceneſs or plenty of the following year; and that the ſick being anointed with this Oil, were reſtored to their former health, I leave to the Readers diſcretion, to believe what he pleaſe of it. For my part, if any ground of truth in the ſtory, I believe it no more, than that it was an exhalation and ſweating forth at ſome times of thoſe rich coſtly perfumes and ointments, wherewith his Body was embalmed after his crucifixion. Though I muſt confeſs this conjecture to be impoſſible, if it be true what my *Author* adds, that ſome years the Oil burſt out in ſuch plenty, that the ſtream aroſe to the middle of the Church. His Body was afterwards, by *Conſtantine* the * Great, ſolemnly removed to *Conſtantinople*, and buried in the great Church, which he had built to the honour of the Apoſtles: Which being taken down ſome hundred years after by ‖ *Juſtinian* the Emperor, in order to its reparation, the Body was found in a wooden-Coffin, and again repoſed in its proper place.

Chryſoſt. in Andr. Serm. 3. p. 120.
Hippol. Comment. MS. Gr.
Bar. Not. in Martyr. ad 30. Novemb.
De Glor. Martyr. lib. 1. 31. pag. 37.
Hieron. adv. Vigil. p. 122. 2.
Procop. de Aif. Juſtin. lib. 1.

9. I SHALL conclude the Hiſtory of this Apoſtle with that Encomiaſtick Character, which one of the * Ancients gives of him. " S. *Andrew* " was the firſt-born of the Apoſtolick Quire, the main and prime pillar of " the Church, a rock before the rock (ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πέτρος) the foundation of " that foundation, the firſt-fruits of the beginning, a caller of others before " he was called himſelf; he preached that Goſpel that was not yet believed " or entertained, revealed and made known that life to his brother, which " he had not yet perfectly learn'd himſelf. So great treaſures did that one " queſtion bring him, *Maſter where dwelleſt thou?* which he ſoon perceived " by the anſwer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, " *Come and ſee.* How art thou become a Prophet? whence thus Divinely " skilful? what is it that thou thus foundeſt in *Peter's* ears? [*We have* " *found*

Heſych. Presb. Hieroſolym. apud Phot. Cod. CCLXIX. Col. 1488.

" *found him*, &c.] why doſt thou attempt to compaſs him, whom thou " canſt not comprehend? how can he be found, who is Omnipreſent? But " he knew well what he ſaid: We have found him, whom *Adam* loſt, " whom *Eve* injured, whom the clouds of ſin have hidden from us, and " whom our tranſgreſſions had hitherto made a ſtranger to us, *&c.* So that of all our Lord's Apoſtles S. *Andrew* had thus far the honour to be the firſt Preacher of the Goſpel.

The End of S. Andrew's *Life.*

BRIT. MUS.

THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Great.

He being the Son of Zebedee was at the Command of Herod beheaded at Hierusalem. Act. 12.2

Act. 12. 1, 2. *About that time Herod the King ſtreched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of Iohn with y^e ſword.*

S. James, *why ſurnamed the* Great. *His Country and Kindred. His alliance to Chriſt. His Trade and way of Life. Our Lord brought up to a Manual Trade. The quick reparteé of a Chriſtian Schoolmaſter to* Libanius. *His being called to be a Diſciple, and great readineſs to follow* Chriſt. *His election to the Apoſtolick Office, and peculiar favours from* Chriſt. *Why our Lord choſe ſome few of the Apoſtles to be witneſſes of the more private paſſages of his life. The impoſition of a new name at his election to the Apoſtleſhip. He and his Brother ſtiled* Boanerges, *and why. The zeal and activity of their temper. Their ambition to ſit on* Chriſt's *right and left hand in his Kingdom, and confident promiſe of ſuffering. This ill reſented by the reſt. Our Lord's diſcourſe concerning the nature of the Evangelical ſtate. Where he preached after* Chriſt's *Aſcenſion. The ſtory of his going into* Spain *exploded.* Herod

Agrippa *in favour with the* Roman *Emperors. The character of his temper. His Zeal for the Law of* Moses. *His condemning S.* James *to death. The sudden conversion of his Accuser, as he was led to Martyrdom. Their being beheaded. The Divine Justice that pursued* Herod. *His grandeur and arrogance at* Cæsarea. *His miserable death. The story of the Translation of S.* James *his Corps to* Compostella *in* Spain, *and the Miracles said to be done there.*

1. SAINT *James* surnamed the *Great*; either because of his Age, being much elder than the other, or for some peculiar honours and favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by Country a *Galilean*, born, probably, either at *Capernaum*, or *Bethsaida*, being one of *Simon Peter*'s Partners in the Trade of Fishing. He was the Son of *Zebdai*, or *Zebedee*, (and probably the same whom the *Jews* mention in their *Talmud*, רבי יעקוב בר זבדי *Rabbi James, or Jacob the Son of Zebedee*) a Fisherman, and the many servants which he kept for that employment (a circumstance not taken notice of in any other) speak him a man of some more considerable note in that Trade and way of life; ἐπίσημος τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ μετοικούντων ἀνδρῶν, as *Nicephorus* notes. His Mother's name was *Mary*, surnamed *Salome*, called first *Taviphilja*, says an ancient *Arabick* * writer, the Daughter, as is most probable, not Wife of *Cleopas*, Sister to *Mary* the Mother of our Lord; not her own Sister properly so called (the Blessed Virgin being in all likelihood an only Daughter) but Cousin-german, stiled her Sister, according to the mode and custom of the *Jews*, who were wont to call all such near relations by the names of *Brothers* and *Sisters*; and in this respect he had the honour of a near relation to our Lord himself. His education was in the Trade of Fishing; no employment is base, that's honest and industrious, nor can it be thought mean and dishonourable to him, when it is remembred, that our Lord himself, the Son of God, stoop'd so low, as not only to become the [reputed] Son of a *Carpenter*, but during the retirements of his private life, to work himself at his Father's Trade, not devoting himself merely to contemplations, nor withdrawing from all useful society with the World, and hiding himself in the solitudes of an *Anchoret*, but busying himself in an active course of life, working at the Trade of a Carpenter, and particularly (as one of the * Ancients tells us) making *Ploughs* and *Yokes*. And this the sacred History does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally asserted by the Ancient writers of the ‖ Church: A thing so notorious, that the Heathens used to object it as a reproach to Christianity. Thence that smart and acute * *reparteé* which a Christian School-master made to *Libanius* the famous Orator at *Antioch*, when upon *Julian*'s expedition into *Persia* (where he was killed) he asked in scorn, *what the Carpenters Son was now a doing*. The Christian replied with salt enough, That the great *Artificer* of the World, whom he scoffingly called the *Carpenter's Son*, was making a *Coffin* for his Master *Julian*; the news of whose death was brought soon after. But this only by the way.

k 1.20.

Eccl. lib. 2. p 135.

pud Kir- de vit. t. Evangel.

n 19.25.

k 6. 3. th. 13.55. έκτων νο- ίμενος. τα γὰρ τὰ ονικὰ ἔργα ιζετο ἐν ώποις ὤν, τα καὶ ζύ- διὰ τούτων ὁ τῆς δικαιο- ς σύμβο- διδάσκων, εργῆ βίον. Mart. dial. Tryph. 6.

ατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτασσόμενος, ἅπαντα πόνον σωματικὸν πρᾴως καὶ εὐπειθῶς συνδιέφερεν. Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ὄντες δίκαιοι μὲν καὶ εὐσεβεῖς, πένητες δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ εὔποροι, &c. πάντως καὶ τῷ συνδιαφέρειν τοὺς τὴν εὐπείθειαν ἐπιδείκνυτο. *Bas. Constit. Monast. c. 4. p. 764. Tom. 2. vid. Hilar. in Matth. Can. 4. Theod. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 18. p. 105.*

2. S. *JAMES* applied himself to his Father's Trade, not discouraged with the meanness, not sinking under the difficulties of it; and, as usually the

the bleſſings of Heaven meet men in the way of an honeſt and induſtrious diligence, it was in the exerciſe of this calling, when our Saviour paſſing by the Sea of *Galilee*, ſaw him and his brother in the Ship, and called them to be his Diſciples. A Divine power went along with the word, which they no ſooner heard, but chearfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not ſtay to diſpute his commands, to argue the probability of his promiſe, ſolicitouſly to enquire into the minute conſequences of the undertaking, what troubles and hazards might attend this new employment, but readily delivered up themſelves to whatever ſervices he ſhould appoint them. And the chearfulneſs of their obedience is yet further conſiderable, that they left their aged Father in the Ship behind them. Luk. 9. 59. For elſewhere we find others excuſing themſelves from an immediate attendance upon Chriſt, upon pretence that they muſt go bury their Father, or take their leave of their kindred at home. No ſuch ſlight and trivial pretences could ſtop the reſolution of our Apoſtles, who broke through theſe conſiderations, and quitted their preſent intereſts and relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them to deſert their Father, an aged perſon, and in ſome meaſure unable to help himſelf. For, beſides that they left ſervants with him to attend him, it is not cruelty to our Earthly, but obedience to our Heavenly Father, to leave the one, that we may comply with the call and ſummons of the other. It was the triumph of *Abraham*'s Faith, when God called him to leave his kindred and his Father's houſe, *to go out*, and ſojourn in a foreign Country, *not knowing whither he went*. Nor can we doubt but that *Zebedee* himſelf would have gone along with them, had not his Age given him a *Superſedeas* from ſuch an active and ambulatory courſe of life. But though they left him at this time, it's very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they took care to inſtruct him in the doctrine of the *Meſſiah*, and to acquaint him with the glad tidings of Salvation, eſpecially ſince we find their Mother *Salome* ſo hearty a friend to, ſo conſtant a follower of our Saviour: But this (if we may believe the account which one gives of it) was after her Husbands deceaſe, who probably lived not long after, dying before the time of our Saviour's Paſſion. *Zachar. Chryſopol. Comm. Concord. Evang. p.* 11

3. IT was not long after this, that he was called from the ſtation of an ordinary Diſciple, to the Apoſtolical Office, and not only ſo, but honoured with ſome peculiar acts of favour beyond moſt of the Apoſtles, being one of the three, whom our Lord uſually made choice of to admit to the more intimate tranſactions of his life, from which the others were excluded. Thus with *Peter* and his Brother *John* he was taken to the miraculous raiſing of *Jairus* his Daughter; admitted to *Chriſt*'s glorious transfiguration upon the Mount, and the diſcourſes that there paſſed between him and the two great Miniſters of Heaven; taken along with him into the Garden, to be a Spectator of thoſe bitter Agonies, which the Holy *Jeſus* was to undergo as the preparatory ſufferings to his Paſſion. What were the reaſons of our Lord's admitting theſe three Apoſtles to theſe more ſpecial acts of favour than the reſt, is not eaſie to determine: though ſurely our Lord, who governed all his actions by Principles of the higheſt prudence and reaſon, did it for wiſe and proper ends; whether it was that he deſigned theſe three to be more ſolemn and peculiar witneſſes of ſome particular paſſages of his life, than the other Apoſtles, or that they would be more eminently uſeful and ſerviceable in ſome parts of the Apoſtolick Office, or that hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them againſt ſuffering, as intending them for ſome more eminent kinds of Martyrdom or ſuffering, than the reſt were to undergo.

4. NOR was it the leaſt inſtance of that particular honour which our Lord conferr'd upon theſe three Apoſtles, that at his calling them to the *Apoſtolate* he gave them the addition of a new Name and Title. A thing not unuſual of old, for God to impoſe a new Name upon Perſons, when deſigning them for ſome great and peculiar ſervices and employments; thus he did to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. Nay, the thing was cuſtomary among the *Gentiles*, as had we no other inſtances, might appear from thoſe which the Scripture gives us, of *Pharaoh*'s giving a new name to *Joſeph*, when advancing him to be *Vice-Roy* of *Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, &c. Thus did our Lord in the Election of theſe three Apoſtles, *Simon he ſirnamed Peter, James the Son of Zebedee, and John his Brother he ſirnamed Boanerges*, which is, *the Sons of Thunder*. What our Lord particularly intended in this Title, is eaſier to conjecture, than certainly to determine; ſome think it was given them upon the account of their being preſent in the Mount, when a voice came out of the Cloud, and ſaid, *This is my beloved Son, &c.* The like whereto when the People heard at another time, they cried out, *that it Thundred*. But beſides that this account is in it ſelf very ſlender and inconſiderable, if ſo, then the title muſt equally have belonged to *Peter*, who was then preſent with them. Others think it was upon the account of their loud, bold and reſolute preaching Chriſtianity to the World, fearing no threatnings, dauntED with no oppoſitions, but going on to *thunder* in the Ears of the ſecure ſleepy World, rouzing and awakening the conſciences of Men with the earneſtneſs and vehemency of their Preaching, as Thunder, which is called *God's Voice*, powerfully ſhakes the natural World, and breaks in pieces the *Cedars* of *Lebanon*: Or, if it relate to the Doctrines they delivered, it may ſignifie their teaching the great myſteries and ſpeculations of the Goſpel in a profounder ſtrain than the reſt; υἱὸς ὃ βροντῆς ὀνομάζει τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογικωτάτους, as *Theophylact* notes; which how true it might be of our S. *James*, the Scripture is wholly ſilent; but was certainly verified of his Brother *John*, whoſe Goſpel is ſo full of the more ſublime notions and myſteries of the Goſpel, concerning *Chriſt*'s Deity, eternal pre-exiſtence, *&c.* that he is generally affirmED by the Ancients, not ſo much to *ſpeak*, as *thunder*. Probably the expreſſion may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent Miniſters in this new ſcene and ſtate of things, the introducing of the Goſpel or Evangelical diſpenſation, being called *a Voice ſhaking the Heavens and the Earth*, and ſo is exactly correſpondent to the native importance of the Word, ſignifying *an Earth-quake*, or a vehement commotion that makes a noiſe like to Thunder.

rk 3.16,17. ron. Comm. Marc. c. 3. 2. T. 9. Gaut. Brix. ect. 1. de Lect. ang. ſeu, in line, 8. tth. 17.5. hn 12.29.

Filios Zebedæi Boanerges, *hoc eſt, filios tonitrui erat, ſiquidem divina eorum prædicatio magnum endam & illuſtrem ſonitum per terrarum Orbem ura erat.* Vict. Antioch. *comment. in Marc.* p. 2.

mment. in Marc. 3. p. 205.

eb. 12.26. agg. 2.7. *ubi* מרעש *emere faciam.* בני רעש *ilii commotionis ſeu magna oncuſſionis.*

5. HOWEVER it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had reſpect to the furious and reſolute diſpoſition of thoſe two Brothers, who ſeem to have been of a more fierce and fiery temper than the reſt of the Apoſtles: whereof we have this memorable inſtance. Our Lord being reſolved upon his Journy to *Jeruſalem*, ſent ſome of his Diſciples as Harbingers to prepare his way, who coming to a Village of *Samaria*, were uncivilly rejected, and refuſed entertainment; probably, becauſe of that old and inveterate quarrel that was between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, and more eſpecially at this time, becauſe that our Saviour ſeemed to ſlight Mount *Gerizim* (where was their ſtaple and ſolemn place of worſhip) by paſſing it by, to go worſhip at *Jeruſalem*; the reaſon in all likelihood why they denied him thoſe common courteſies and conveniences due to all Travellers. This piece of rudeneſs and inhumanity was preſently ſo deeply reſented by S. *James*, and his Brother, that they

they came to their Maſter to know, whether as *Elias* did of old, they might Luke 9.54.
not pray down Fire from Heaven to conſume theſe barbarous and inhoſpitable People. So apt are Men for every trifle to call upon Heaven, to Miniſter to the extravagances of their own impotent and unreaſonable paſſions. But our Lord rebukes their zeal, tells them they quite miſtook the caſe, that this was not the frame and temper of his Diſciples and Followers, the nature and deſign of that Evangelical diſpenſation, that he was come to ſet on foot in the World, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle Inſtitution, than what was under the Old Teſtament in the times of *Moſes* and *Elias*, *the Son of Man being come not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.*

6. THE Holy *Jeſus* not long after ſet forwards in his Journy to *Jeruſalem* in order to his crucifixion, and the better to prepare the minds of his Apoſtles for his death and departure from them, he told them what he was to ſuffer, and yet that after all he ſhould riſe again. They, whoſe minds were yet big with expectations of a temporal power and monarchy, underſtood not well the meaning of his diſcourſes to them. However S. *James* and his Brother ſuppoſing the Reſurrection that he ſpoke of, would be the time, when his Power and Greatneſs would commence, prompted their Mother *Salome* to put Matth. 20.
up a Petition for them. She, preſuming probably on her relation to *Chriſt*, and knowing that our Saviour had promiſed his Apoſtles, *that when he was come into his Kingdom, they ſhould ſit upon twelve Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of Iſrael*; and that he had already honoured her two Sons with an intimate familiarity, after leave modeſtly asked for her addreſs, begg'd of him, that when he took poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, her two Sons *James* and *John* might have the principal places of honour and dignity next his own Perſon, the one ſitting on his *right hand*, and the *other* on his *left*, as the Heads of *Judah* and *Joſeph* had the firſt places among the *Rulers* of the *Tribes* in the *Jewiſh* Nation. Our Lord directing his diſcourſe to the two Apoſtles, at whoſe ſuggeſtion he knew their Mother had made this addreſs, told them, they quite miſtook the nature of his Kingdom, which conſiſted not in external grandeur and ſoveraignty, but in an inward life and power, wherein the higheſt place would be to take the greateſt pains, and to undergo the heavieſt troubles and ſufferings; that they ſhould do well to conſider, whether they were able to endure, what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter *Cup* which he was to drink of, and to go through that *Baptiſm*, wherein he was ſhortly to be baptized in his own bloud. Our Apoſtles were not yet cured of their ambitious humour, but either not underſtanding the force of our Saviour's reaſonings, or too confidently preſuming upon their own ſtrength, anſwered, that they could do all this. But he, the goodneſs of whoſe nature ever made him put the beſt and moſt candid interpretation upon mens words and actions, yea even thoſe of his greateſt enemies, did not take the advantage of their haſty and inconſiderate reply, to treat them with ſharp and quick reproofs, but mildly owning their forwardneſs to ſuffer, told them, that as for ſufferings, they ſhould indeed ſuffer as well as he (and ſo we accordingly find they did, S. *James* after all dying a violent death, S. *John* enduring great miſeries and torments, and might we believe *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact*, Martyrdom it ſelf, though others nearer to thoſe times aſſure us, he died a natural death) but for any peculiar honour or dignity he would not by an abſolute and peremptory favour of his own diſpoſe it any otherwiſe, than according to thoſe rules and inſtructions which he had received of his Father. The reſt of the Apoſtles were offended with this ambitious requeſt of *the Sons of Zebedee*; but our Lord to calm their paſſions, diſcourſed to them of the nature

of the Evangelick ſtate, that it was not here, as in the Kingdoms and *ſeignories* of this World, where the great ones receive homage and fealty from thoſe that are under them, but that in his ſervice humility was the way to honour, that who ever took moſt pains, and did moſt good, would be the greateſt Perſon, pre-eminence being here to be meaſured by induſtry and diligence, and a ready condeſcenſion to the meaneſt offices that might be ſubſervient to the Souls of Men, and that this was no more than what he ſufficiently taught them by his own Example, being come into the World, not to be ſerved himſelf with any pompous circumſtances of ſtate and ſplendor, but to ſerve others, and to lay down his life for the redemption of Mankind. With which diſcourſe the ſtorm blew over, and their exorbitant paſſions began on all hands to be allayed and pacified.

7. WHAT became of S. *James* after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, we have no certain account either from Sacred, or Eccleſiaſtick ſtories. * *Sophronius* tells us, that he preached to the diſperſed *Jews*, which ſurely he means of that *diſperſion* that was made of the *Jewiſh* Converts after the death of *Stephen*. The *Spaniſh* writers generally contend, that having preached the Goſpel up and down *Judæa* and *Samaria*, after the death of *Stephen* he came to theſe *Weſtern* parts, and particularly into *Spain* (ſome add *Britain* and * *Ireland*) where he planted Chriſtianity, and appointed ſome ſelect Diſciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to *Jeruſalem*. Of this there are no footſteps in any Ancient Writers, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church, when 'tis mentioned by * *Iſidore*, the *Breviary of* ‖ *Toledo*, an *Arabick* Book of * *Anaſtaſius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, concerning the *Paſſions* of the *Martyrs*, and ſome others after them. Nay, ‖ *Baronius* himſelf, though endeavouring to render the account as ſmooth and plauſible as he could, and to remove what objections lay againſt it; yet after all confeſſes, he did it only to ſhew, that the thing was not impoſſible, nor to be accounted ſuch a monſtrous and extravagant Fable, as ſome men made it to be, as indeed elſewhere he plainly and peremptorily both denies and diſproves it. He could not but ſee, that the ſhortneſs of this Apoſtle's Life, the Apoſtles continuing all in one entire body at *Jeruſalem*, even after the diſperſing of the other Chriſtians, probably not going out of the bounds of *Judæa* for many years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, could not comport with ſo tedious and difficult a voyage, and the time which he muſt neceſſarily ſpend in thoſe parts: And therefore 'tis ſafeſt to confine his miniſtry to *Judæa*, and the parts thereabouts, and to ſeek for him at *Jeruſalem*, where we are ſure to find him.

pud Hieron. ſcript. Ec- . in Jacob.

ſeudo- xtr. Chro- Vincent. ovac. Spec. ſtorial. l. 8.

* *De vit. & obit. SS. utriuſque Teſt. c. 72.*
Brev. Tol. Inſtit. S. Iſidori.

Apud Marian. de adv. Fac. in Hiſpan. c. 4. . ſed ex fide aliorum.

In Not. ad Martyrol. ad 25. Jul p. 452. vid. t. Roder. Archiep. Tol. in Not. G. Loayſ. ad decret. nd. Tom. 4. Concil. p. 548, 549.

d Ann. CCXVI. n. 69, 70. n. 9.

8. *HEROD Agrippa*, ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, and Grandchild of *Herod* the *Great* (under whom *Chriſt* was born) had been in great favour with the late Emperor *Caligula*, but much more with his ſucceſſor *Claudius*, who confirmed his predeceſſors grant, with the addition of *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Abylene*, the remaining portions of his Grandfathers dominions. *Claudius* being ſettled in the Empire, over comes *Herod* from *Rome* to take poſſeſſion, and to manage the affairs of his new acquired Kingdom. A Prince noble and generous, prudent and politick, throughly verſed in all the arts of Courtſhip, able to oblige enemies, and to mollifie or decline the diſpleaſure of the Emperor, (witneſs his ſubtil and cunning inſinuations to *Caligula*, when he commanded the *Jews* to account him a * God) he was one that knew, let the wind blow which way it would, how to gain the point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable demeanour, but withal

d Epiſt. ejus Caium Imp. Phil. de Le- ad Caium, 031. & ſeqq.

ta

τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ‖ ἐτήρει, a mighty zealot for the *Jewiſh* Religion, and a moſt acurate obſerver of the *Moſaick* Law, keeping himſelf free from all legal impurities, and ſuffering no day to paſs over his head, in which he himſelf was not preſent at ſacrifice. Being deſirous in the entrance upon his ſoveraignty to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the populacy, and led no leſs by his own zealous inclination, he ſaw no better way, than to fall heavy upon the *Chriſtians*, a ſort of men, whom he knew the *Jews* infinitely hated, as a novel and an upſtart Sect, whoſe Religion proclaimed open defiance to the *Moſaick* Inſtitutions. Hereupon he began to raiſe a perſecution, but alas, the commonalty were too mean a ſacrifice to fall as the only victim to his zeal and popular deſigns, he muſt have a fatter and more honourable ſacrifice. It was not long before S. *James* his ſtirring and active temper, his bold reproving of the *Jews*, and vigorous contending for the truth and excellency of the Chriſtian Religion, rendred him a fit object for his turn. Him he commands to be apprehended, caſt into priſon, and ſentence of death to be paſſed upon him. As he was led forth to the place of * Martyrdom, the *Souldier* or Officer that had guarded him to the Tribunal, or rather his *Accuſer* (and ſo ‖ *Suidas* expreſly tells us it was) having been convinced by that mighty courage and conſtancy which S. *James* ſhewed at the time of his trial, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the Apoſtle's feet, and heartily begged pardon for what he ſaid againſt him. The holy man, after a little ſurpriſe at the thing, raiſed him up, embraced and kiſſed him, *Peace* (ſaid he) *my ſon, peace be to thee, and the pardon of thy faults.* Whereupon before them all he publickly profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſo both were beheaded at the ſame time. Thus fell S. *James*, the Apoſtolick *Proto-Martyr*, the firſt of that number that gained the Crown, chearfully taking that cup, which he had long ſince told his Lord he was moſt ready to drink of.

‖ *Joſeph. Antiquit. Jud. l.19.c.7.p.6*

* *Clem. Alex. Hypotyp lib. apud Euſeb. l.2.c.9.p.46*

‖ *Suid. in voc* Ἡρῴδης.

9. BUT the Divine vengeance, that never ſleeps, ſuffered not the death of this innocent and righteous man to paſs long unrevenged; of which, though S. *Luke* gives us but a ſhort account, yet * *Joſephus*, who might himſelf remember it, being a youth at that time of ſeven or eight years of age, ſets down the ſtory with its particular circumſtances, agreeing almoſt exactly with the Sacred Hiſtorian. Shortly after S. *James* his Martyrdom, *Herod* removed to *Cæſarea*, being reſolved to make war upon the neighbouring *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*: While he was here, he proclaimed ſolemn ſights and Feſtival entertainments to be held in honour of *Cæſar*, to which there flocked a great confluence of all the Nobility thereabouts. Early in the morning on the ſecond day he came with great ſtate into the *Theatre*, to make an Oration to the people, being clothed in a Robe all over curiouſly wrought with ſilver, which encountring with the beams of the riſing Sun, reflected ſuch a luſtre upon the eyes of the people (who make ſenſible appearances the only true meaſures of greatneſs) as begot an equal wonder and veneration in them, crying out (prompted no doubt by flatterers, who began the cry) that it was ſome *Deity* which they beheld, and that he who ſpake to them muſt be ſomething above the ordinary ſtandard of humanity. This impious applauſe *Herod* received without any token of diſlike, or ſenſe of that injury that was hereby done to the ſupreme Being of the World. But a ſudden accident changed the ſcene, and turned the *Comick* part into a black fatal *Tragedy*. Looking up, he eſpied an *Owle* ſitting upon a rope over his head (as probably alſo he did an *Angel*, for ſo

* *Antiquit. Jud. lib.19. cap.7.p.679.*

Hunc Joſephi locum laudat Euſebius, tota bubonis mente nem prætermittit, ejuſque loco ἄγγελον ſubſtituit: mente quidem pia, at mala fide.

S. *Luke*

S. *Luke* mentions it) which he presently beheld as the fatal messenger of his death, as heretofore it had been of his prosperity and success. An incurable melancholy immediately seized upon his mind, as exquisite torments did upon his bowels, caused without question by those *Worms* S. *Luke* speaks of, which immediately fed and preyed upon him. *Behold*, said he, turning to those about him, *the Deity you admired, and your selves evidently convinced of flattery and falshood; see me here by the Laws of Fate condemned to die, whom just now you stiled immortal.* Being removed into the Palace, his pains still encreased upon him, and though the people mourned and wept, fasted and prayed for his life and health, yet his acute torments got the upper hand, and after five days put a period to his life. But to return to S. *James*.

Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἤδη κατα- ...ειν ἐπι- ...ομαι τὸν ...ν. παραχρῆ- ...μα τῆς εἱ- ...μένης ταῖς ...μῦ κατε- ...σμένας ...ὰς ἐλεγ- ...της. ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν, ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. Joseph. ib.

...omment. de ...nslat. ...acob. Apost. ...Joan. à ...Biblioth. ...iac. Part. 183, &c.

10. BEING put to death, his Body is said to have taken a second voyage into *Spain*, where we are with confidence enough told it rests at this day. Indeed I meet with a very formal account of its translation thither, written (says the *Publisher*) above DC years since, by a Monk of the *Abby* of *La-Fleury* in * *France*: The summ whereof is this: The Apostles at *Jerusalem* designing *Ctesiphon* for *Spain*, ordained him Bishop, and others being joyned to his assistance, they took the Body of S. *James*, and went on board a Ship without Oars, without a Pilot, or any to steer and conduct their voyage, trusting only to the merits of that Apostle, whose remains they carried along with them. In seven days they arrived at a Port in *Spain*, where landing, the Corps was suddenly taken from them, and with great appearances of an extraordinary light from Heaven, conveyed they knew not whither, to the place of its interment. The men you may imagine were exceedingly troubled, that so great a treasure should be ravished from them; but upon their prayers and tears they were conducted by an Angel to the place where the Apostle was buried, twelve miles from the Sea. Here they addressed themselves to a rich Noble *Matron*, called *Luparia*, who had a great Estate in those parts, but a severe Idolatress, begging of her, that they might have leave to entomb the bones of the holy Apostle within her jurisdiction. She entertained them with contempt and scorn, with curses and execrations, bidding them go and ask leave of the King of the Country. They did so, but were by him treated with all the instances of rage and fury, and pursued by him, till himself perished in the attempt. They returned back to their *Gallæcian* Matron, whom by many miracles, and especially the destroying a *Dragon* that miserably infested those parts, they at last made Convert to the Faith, who thereupon commanded her Images to be broken, the Altars to be demolished, and her own *Idol-Temple*, being cleansed and purged, to be dedicated to the honour of S. *James*, by which means Christianity mightily prevailed, and triumphed over Idolatry in all those Countries. This is the summ of the Account, call it Romance or History, which I do not desire to impose any further upon the Readers faith, than he shall find himself disposed to believe it. I add no more, than that his Body was afterwards translated from *Iria Flavia* (the place of its first repose) to *Compostella*: Though a Learned * person will have it to have been but one and the same place, and that after the story of S. *James* had gotten some footing in the belief of men, it began to be called *ad Jacobum Apostolum*, thence in after-times *Giacomo Postolo*, which was at last

...f. Voss. Obser... ...t. in Pomp. ...Mel. lib. 3. ...p. 231.

laſt jumbled into *Compoſtella*; where it were to tire both the Reader and my ſelf, to tell him with what ſolemn veneration, and incredible miracles reported to be done here, this Apoſtle's reliques are worſhipped at this day: Whence * *Baronius* calls it the great ſtore-houſe of Miracles lying open to the whole World, and wiſely confeſſes it one of the beſt arguments to prove, that his Body was tranſlated thither. And I ſhould not ſcruple to be of his mind, could I be aſſured that ſuch Miracles were truly done there.

* *Ad Ann* 816. *Num.* 7

The End of the Life of S. James *the Great.*

THE LIFE OF S. JOHN.

S. IOHN Evangelist.

Having lived to a great age, he died at Ephe-ſus 68 years after our Lords Paſsion, and was Buried neere that City. *Baron.*

St. John put into a Cauldron of boyling oyl.

Joh. 21. 21, 22. *Peter ſaith Lord, what ſhall this man do? Jeſus ſaith unto him, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*
1 Pet. 4. 12. *Think it not ſtrange concerning y fiery trial that is to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing happned to you.*

His kindred and relations; whether eminent for Nobility. The peculiar favours conferred upon him by our Saviour. His lying in our Lord's Boſom. His attending at the crucifixion. Our Lord's committing the Bleſſed Virgin *to his care. The great intimacy between Him and* Peter. *How long he reſided at* Jeruſalem. Aſia *his Apoſtolical Province. His planting Chriſtianity there, and in other parts of the* Eaſt. *His being ſent priſoner to* Rome, *and being put into a Caldron of boiling* Oil *by the command of* Domitian. *His baniſhment into* Patmos. *Tranſportation, what kind of puniſhment.* Capitis Diminutio *what. His writing the* Apocalypſe *there. The tradition of his hand wherewith he wrote it, being ſtill kept there. His return to* Epheſus, *and governing the affairs of that Province. His great Age, and Death. The fancy of his being ſtill alive, whence derived by the Ancients. The Tradition of his*

his going alive into his Grave, and sleeping there. Several counterfeits pretending themselves to be S. John. *His Celibacy; whether he was ever married. His humility. His admirable love and charity, and hearty recommending it to the last. His charity to mens Souls. His endangering himself to reclaim a debauched young man. His singular vigilancy against Hereticks and Seducers. His publick disowning* Cerinthus *his company.* Cerinthus, *who, and what his principles. The Heresie of* Ebion, *what.* Nicolaitans, *who; whence their Original. An account of* Nicolas *the Deacon's separating from his Wife. The vile principles and practices of his pretended followers. S.* John's *writings. His* Revelation. Dionysius Alexandrinus *his judgment concerning it, and its Author. Asserted and proved to be S.* John's. *The ground of doubting, what. His* Gospel *when and where written. The solemn preparation, and causes moving him to undertake it. The subject of it sublime and mysterious. Admired and cited by Heathen Philosophers. Its Translation into* Hebrew. *His first* Epistle, *and the design of it. His two other* Epistles *to whom written, and why not admitted of old. His stile and way of writing considered. The great* Encomium *given of his writings by the ancient Fathers.*

1. SAINT *John* was a *Galilean*, the son of *Zebedee* and *Salome*, younger Brother to S. *James*, together with whom he was brought up in the Trade of Fishing. * *S. Hierom* makes him remarkable upon the account of his Nobility, whereby he became acquainted with the High-Priest, and resolutely ventured himself amongst the *Jews* at our Saviour's Trial, prevailed to introduce *Peter* into the Hall, was the only Apostle that attended our Lord at his Crucifixion, and afterwards durst own his Mother, and keep her at his own house. But the nobility of his Family, and especially that it should be such as to procure him so much respect from persons of the highest rank and quality, seems not reconcileable with the meanness of his Father's Trade, and the privacy of his fortunes. And for his acquaintance with the High-Priest, I should rather put it upon some other account, especially if it be true what * *Nicephorus* relates, That he had lately sold his Estate left by his Father in *Galilee* to *Annas* the High-Priest, and had therewith purchased a fair house at *Jerusalem*, about Mount *Sion*, whence he became acquainted with him. Before his coming to *Christ*, he seems for some time to have been Disciple to *John* the *Baptist*, being probably that *other disciple* that was with *Andrew*, when they left the *Baptist* to follow our Saviour, so particularly does he relate all circumstances of that transaction, though modestly, as in other parts of his Gospel, concealing his own name. He was at the same time with his Brother called by our Lord both to the Discipleship and Apostolate, by far the youngest of all the Apostles, as the Ancients generally affirm, and his great Age seems to evince, living near LXX years after our Saviour's suffering.

* *Propter generis nobilitatem notus erat Pontifici, & Judæorum insidias non timebat, in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in Atrium, & aret solus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque lvatoris in sua reciperet.* Hieron. *Epitaph. Marcell. p.* 119. *T.* 1.

H. Eccl. lib. c. 28. *p.* 104. *d. lib.* 2 *c.* 3. *t* 35. *ubi hæretatem hanc aiphæ vendim fuisse dit.*

2. THERE is not much said concerning him in the Sacred story, more than what is recorded of him in conjunction with his Brother *James*, which we have already remarked in his life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Master, being *the Disciple whom Jesus loved*, that is, treated with more freedom and familiarity than the rest. And indeed he was not only one of the Three, whom our Saviour made partakers of the private passages

paſſages of his life; but had ſome inſtances of a more particular kindneſs and favour conferred upon him. Witneſs his lying in our Saviour's *boſom* at the *Paſchal* Supper, it being the cuſtom of thoſe times to lie along at meals upon Couches, ſo that the ſecond lay with his head in the boſom of him that was before him; this honourable place was not given to any of the Aged, but reſerved for our Apoſtle: Nay, when *Peter* was deſirous to know, which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them ſhould betray him, and durſt not himſelf propound the queſtion, he made uſe of *S. John* (whoſe familiarity with him might beſt warrant ſuch an enquiry) to ask our Lord; who thereupon made them underſtand, 'twas *Judas* whom he deſigned by the *Traitor*. This favour our Apoſtle endeavoured in ſome meaſure to anſwer by returns of particular kindneſs and conſtancy to our Saviour, ſtaying with him, when the reſt deſerted him. Indeed upon our Lord's firſt apprehenſion he fled after the other Apoſtles, it not being without ſome probabilities of reaſon, that the Ancients conceive him to have been that *young man* that followed after *Chriſt*, having a linnen cloath caſt about his naked body, whom when the Officers laid hold upon, he left the linnen cloath, and fled naked from them. This in all likelihood was that garment that he had caſt about him at Supper (for they had peculiar Veſtments for that purpoſe) and being extremely affected with the Treaſon, and our Lord's approaching Paſſion, had forgot to put on his other garments, but followed him into the Garden in the ſame habit wherewith he aroſe from the Table, it being then night, and ſo leſs liable to be taken notice of either by himſelf or others. But though he fled at preſent to avoid that ſudden violence that was offered to him, yet he ſoon recovered himſelf, and returned back to ſeek his Maſter, confidently entred into the High-Prieſts Hall, and followed our Lord through the ſeveral paſſages of his Trial, and at laſt waited upon him (and for any thing we know, was the only Apoſtle that did ſo) at his Execution, owning him, as well as being own'd by him, in the midſt of arms and guards, and in the thickeſt crowds of his moſt inveterate enemies. Here it was that our Lord by his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament* made upon the Croſs, appointed him *Guardian* of his own Mother, the Bleſſed *Virgin*; *When he ſaw his Mother, and the Diſciple ſtanding by whom he loved, he ſaid unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son*, ſee, here is one that ſhall ſupply my place, and be to thee inſtead of a Son, to love and honour thee, to provide and take care for thee: *and to the Diſciple he ſaid, Behold thy Mother*; Her, whom thou ſhalt henceforth deal with, treat and obſerve with that duty and honourable regard, which the relation of an indulgent Mother challenges from a pious and obedient Son: whereupon *he took her into his own Houſe*, her Husband *Joſeph* being ſome time ſince dead, and made her a principal part of his charge and care. And certainly the Holy *Jeſus* could not have given a more honourable teſtimony of his particular reſpect and kindneſs to *S. John*, than to commit his own Mother, whom of all earthly Relations he held moſt dear and valuable, to his truſt and care, and to ſubſtitute him to ſupply that duty which he himſelf paid her while he was here below.

Mark 14.

Joh. 19. 26

3. AT the firſt news of our Lord's return from the dead, he, accompanied with *Peter*, preſently haſted to the Sepulchre. Indeed there ſeems to have been a mutual intimacy between theſe two Apoſtles more than the reſt. 'Twas to *Peter* that *S. John* gave the notice of *Chriſt*'s appearing, when he came to them at the Sea of *Tiberias* in the habit of a ſtranger; and it was for *John* that *Peter* was ſo ſolicitouſly inquiſitive to know what ſhould become of him. After *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, we find theſe two going up to

the *Temple* at the Hour of Prayer, and miraculously healing the poor impotent Cripple; both Preaching to the People, and both apprehended together by the *Priests* and *Sadducees*, and thrown into Prison, and the next Day brought forth to plead their cause before the *Sanhedrim*. These were the two chosen by the Apostles to send down to *Samaria*, to settle and confirm the Plantations which *Philip* had made in those Parts, where they confounded and baffled *Simon* the *Magician*, and set him in an hopeful way to repentance. To these *S. Paul* addressed himself, as those that seemed to be Pillars among the rest, who accordingly *gave him the right hand of fellowship*; and confirmed his mission to the *Gentiles*.

4. IN the division of Provinces which the Apostles made among themselves, * *Asia* fell to his share, though he did not presently enter upon his charge, otherwise we must needs have heard of him in the account which *S. Luke* gives of *S. Paul's* several Journies into, and residence in those parts. Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt still in his own House at *Jerusalem*, at least till the death of the Blessed *Virgin* (and this is plainly asserted by ‖ *Nicephorus* from the account of those Historians that were before him) whose death (says * *Eusebius*) hapned *Ann. Chr.* XLVIII. about Fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension. Some time (probably Years) after her death he took his Journey into *Asia*, and industriously applied himself to the propagating Christianity, Preaching where the Gospel had not yet taken place, and confirming it where it was already planted. Many Churches of note and eminency were of his foundation, *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and others; but his chief place of residence was at *Ephesus*, where *S. Paul* had many Years before settled a Church, and constituted *Timothy* Bishop of it. Nor can we suppose that he confined his Ministry meerly to *Asia Minor*, but that he Preached in other Parts of the *East*; probably in *Parthia*, his first Epistle being anciently intitled to them; and the * *Jesuits* in the relation of their success in those Parts, assure us that the *Bassoræ* (a People of *India*) constantly affirm from a Tradition received from their Ancestors, that *S. John* Planted the Christian Faith there.

Euseb. l. 3. p. 71.

Eccl. lib. 2. p. 206. Chron. ap. ad An. 48.

Litter. Je- Ann. 1555.

5. HAVING spent many Years in this employment, he was at length accused to *Domitian*, who had begun a Persecution against the Christians, as an eminent assertor of *Atheism* and impiety, and a publick subverter of the Religion of the Empire. By his command the *Proconsul* of *Asia* sent him bound to ‖ *Rome*, where his treatment was, what might be expected from so bloudy and barbarous a Prince; he was cast into a *Cauldron* of *boyling Oyl*, or rather Oyl set on Fire. But that Divine Providence that secured the three *Hebrew* Captives in the flames of a burning Furnace, brought this holy Man safe out of this; one would have thought, unavoidable destruction. An instance of so signal preservation, as had been enough to perswade a considering Man, that there must be a Divinity in that Religion that had such mighty and solemn attestations. But Miracles themselves will not convince him, that's fallen under an hard heart, and an injudicious mind. The cruel Emperor was not satisfied with this, but presently orders him to be banished and *transported* into an Island. This was accounted a kind of capital punishment, ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐξορία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἐμιμεῖτο, says * *Pachymer*, speaking of this very instance, where κεφαλικὴ τιμωρία is not to be understood as extending to life, but loss of priviledge. Therefore this punishment in the ‖ *Roman* Laws is called *Capitis diminutio* (and it was the second

Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum, &c. habes nam, &c. ubi Apostolus Joannes posteam in Oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus in Insulam relegatur. Tertull. de Præscript. ret. c. 36. p. 215.

Παραφρ. εἰς Ἐπιστ. ι'. τοῦ γ. Διονυσ. 44. Instit. lib. 1. 16. sect. 2. & 4. ff. Pœn. lib. 48. t. 19. L. 3. ad g. Jul. Pecul. Tit. 13. vid. 6. & 7. de terd. & Rel. Tit. 22.

ſecond ſort of it) becauſe the Perſon thus baniſhed was disfranchiſed, and the City thereby loſt an *head.* It ſucceeded in the room of that ancient puniſhment, *Aqua & igni interdicere*, to interdict a Perſon the uſe of Fire and Water, the two great and neceſſary conveniences of Man's life, whereby was tacitly implied, that he muſt for his own defence betake himſelf into baniſhment; it being unlawful for any to accommodate him with Lodging or Diet, or any thing neceſſary to the ſupport of life. This baniſhing into Iſlands was properly called *Deportatio*, and was the worſt and ſevereſt kind of exile, whereby the criminal forfeited his Eſtate, and being bound and put on Shipboard was by publick Officers tranſported into ſome certain Iſland (which none but the Emperor himſelf might aſſign) there to be confined to perpetual baniſhment. The place of our S. *John*'s baniſhment was not *Epheſus*, as * *Chryſoſtome* by a great miſtake makes it, but *Patmos*, a diſconſolate Iſland in the *Archipelago*, where he remained ſeveral Years, inſtructing the Inhabitants in the Faith of Chriſt. Here it was about the latter end of *Domitian*'s Reign, (as *Irenæus* tells ‖ us) that he wrote his *Apocalypſe* or Book of *Revelations*, wherein by frequent Viſions and Prophetical repreſentments, he had a clear Scheme and Proſpect of the ſtate and condition of Chriſtianity in the future Periods and Ages of the Church. Which certainly was not the leaſt inſtance of that kindneſs and favour which our Lord particularly ſhew'd to this Apoſtle; and it ſeemed very ſuitable at this time, that the goodneſs of God ſhould over-power the malice of Men, and that he ſhould be entertained with the more immediate converſes of Heaven, who was now cut off from all ordinary converſation and ſociety with Men. In a *Monaſtery* of *Caloires*, or *Greek Monks* in this Iſland, they ſhew a *dead Man's hand* at this * day, the Nails of whoſe Fingers grow again as oft as they are paired; which the *Turks* will have to be the hand of one of their Prophets, while the *Greeks* conſtantly affirm it to have been the hand of *S. John*, wherewith he wrote the Revelations; and, probably, both true alike.

* *Argum. Epiſt. ad Ep.* p. 1032.

‖ *Adv. Hær. lib.* 5. *c.* 30. *p.* 485.

* *Bellon. ſervat. lib.* 2. *c.* 11. *p.* 205.

6. *DOMITIAN*, whoſe prodigious wickedneſſes had rendred him infamous and burdenſome to the World, being taken out of the way, *Cocceius Nerva* ſucceeded in the Empire, a prudent Man, and of a milder and more ſober temper. He reſcinded the odious Acts of his Predeceſſor, and by publick *Edict* recalled thoſe from baniſhment, whom the fury of *Domitian* had ſent thither. S. *John* taking the advantage of this general Indulgence, left *Patmos*, and returned into *Aſia*, his ancient charge, but chiefly fixed his Seat at *Epheſus*, the care and preſidency whereof (*Timothy* their Biſhop having been lately martyr'd by the People for perſwading them againſt their *Heathen-Feaſts* and Sports, eſpecially one called Κατα γώγιον, wherein was a mixture of debauchery and ‖ idolatry) he took upon him, and by the aſſiſtance of ſeven Biſhops governed that large ſpacious Dioceſe; * *Nicephorus* adds, that he not only managed the affairs of the Church, ordered and diſpoſed the Clergy, but erected Churches, which ſurely muſt be meant of *Oratories*, and little places for their ſolemn conventions, building Churches in the modern notion, not being conſiſtent with the poverty and perſecution of Chriſtians in thoſe early times. Here at the requeſt of the Biſhops of *Aſia* he wrote his *Goſpel* (they are Authors of no credit and value, that make it written during his confinement in the *Iſle* of *Patmos*) with very ſolemn preparation, whereof more when we come to conſider the Writings which he left behind him.

Oroſ. lib. 7. *c.* 12. *p.* 303. *fac.*

‖ *Martyr. Timoth. apud Phot. Cod.* 254. *Col.* 1401. 1404.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 42. *p.* 206.

7. HE lived till the time of *Trajan*, about the beginning of whoſe Reign he departed this Life, very Aged, about the Ninety-eighth or Ninety-ninth

Καταλαμβάνει τὴν Ἔφεσον, κἀκεῖσε διαγνῶν συντάττει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὢν ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν, κέσας ἕως ὅλων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. *Chrysost. de S. Joan. Ap. p.* 505. *T.* 6. *Synops. de Vit. & mort. App. Bibl. Pp. Tom.* 147.

Year of his Life, as is generally thought. * *Chrysostome* is very positive, that he was an Hundred years old when he wrote his Gospel, and that he liv'd full Twenty years after. The same is affirmed by ‖ *Dorotheus*, that he lived CXX. Years: which to me seems altogether improbable, seeing by this account he must be Fifty Years of Age when called to be an Apostle, a thing directly contrary to the whole consent and testimony of Antiquity, which makes him very young at the time of his calling to the Apostolick Office. He died (says the * *Arabian*) *in the expectation of his blessedness*, by which he means his quiet and peaceable departure, in opposition to a violent and bloody death. Indeed *Theophylact*, and others before him conceive him to have died a Martyr, upon no other ground, than what our Saviour told him and his Brother, that they should *drink* of the *Cup*, and be *baptized* with the *Baptism* wherewith he was baptized, which ‖ *Chrysostom* strictly understands of Martyrdom and a bloudy death. It was indeed literally verified of his Brother *James*; and for him, though, as * *S. Hierom* observes, he was not put to death, yet may he be truly stiled a Martyr, his being put into a Vessel of boiling Oil, his many Years banishment, and other sufferings in the cause of *Christ*, justly challenging that honourable title, though he did not actually lay down his life for the testimony of the Gospel, it being not want of good will either in him or his enemies, but the Divine Providence immediately over-ruling the powers of Nature, that kept the malice of his enemies from its full execution.

Apud Kir. de Vit. t. Evang.

om. 66. *in atth. c.* 20. 75.

omm. in atth. 20. *p. Tom.* 9.

8. OTHERS on the contrary are so far from admitting him to die a Martyr, that they question, nay, peremptorily deny that he ever died at all. The first Assertor, and that but obliquely, that I find of this opinion, was *Hippolytus* Bishop of *Porto*, and Scholar to *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who ranks him in the same capacity with *Enoch* and *Elias*; for speaking of the twofold coming of *Christ*, he tells * us, that his first coming in the flesh had *John* the *Baptist* for its forerunner, and his second to Judgment shall have *Enoch*, *Elias*, and *S. John*. ‖ *Ephrem* Patriarch of *Antioch* is more express, he tells us, there are three Persons, answerable to the three dispensations of the word, yet in the body, *Enoch*, *Elias*, and *S. John*, *Enoch* before the Law, *Elias* under the Law, and *S. John* under the Gospel; concerning which last, that he never died, he confirms both from Scripture and Tradition, and quotes *S. Cyrill* (I suppose he means him of *Alexandria*) as of the same opinion. The whole foundation upon which this Error is built, was that discourse that passed between our Lord and *Peter* concerning this Apostle: For *Christ* having told *Peter* what was to be his own fate, *Peter* enquires what should become of *S. John*, knowing him to be *the Disciple whom Jesus loved?* Our Lord rebukes his curiosity, by asking him, what that concerned him, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* This the Apostles misunderstood, and a report presently went out amongst them, *That that Disciple should not die:* Though *S. John*, who himself records the passage, inserts a caution, *That Jesus did not say, he should not die, but only what if I will that he tarry till I come?* Which doubtless our Lord meant of his coming (so often mentioned in the New Testament) in Judgment upon the *Jews*, at the final overthrow of *Jerusalem*, which *S. John* outlived many years; and which our Lord particularly intended when elsewhere he told them, *Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his Kingdom.*

De Con. n. Mund. Antichr. in uar. Bibl. Gr. Lat. p. 351. *Apud. Phot.* CCXXIX 797.

n 21. 21, 23.

tth. 16. 28.

9. FROM

9. FROM the ſame Original ſprang the report, that he only lay ſleeping in his Grave. The ſtory was currant in *S. Auguſtines* days, from whom we receive this account, though poſſibly the *Reader* will ſmile at the conceit. He tells * us, 'twas commonly reported and believed that *S. John* was not dead, but that he reſted like a Man aſleep in his Grave at *Epheſus*, as plainly appeared from the Duſt ſenſibly boiling and bubling up, which they accounted to be nothing elſe but the continual motion of his breath. This report *S. Auguſtine* ſeems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he tells us, from very credible hands. He further adds out of ſome *Apocryphal* Writings, what was generally known and reported, that when *S. John*, then in health, had cauſed his Grave to be dug and prepared, he laid himſelf down in it as in a Bed, and as they thought, only fell aſleep. * *Nicephorus* relates the ſtory more at large, from whom (if it may be any pleaſure to entertain the Reader with theſe things) we ſhall give this account. *S. John* foreſeeing his Tranſlation into Heaven, took the *Presbyters* and Miniſters of the Church of *Epheſus*, and ſeveral of the Faithful, along with him out of the City, carried them unto a *Cemetery* near at hand, whither he himſelf was wont to retire to Prayer, and very earneſtly recommended the ſtate of the Churches to God in Prayer. Which being done, he commanded a Grave to be immediately dug, and having inſtructed them in the more recondite myſteries of *Theologie*, the moſt excellent Precepts of a good Life, concerning Faith, Hope, and eſpecially Charity, confirmed them in the practice of Religion, commended them to the care and bleſſing of our Saviour, and ſolemnly taking his leave of them, he ſigned himſelf with the *ſign* of the *Croſs*, and before them all went down into the Grave; ſtrictly charging them, to put on the Grave-ſtone, and to make it faſt, and the next day to come and open it, and take a view of it. They did ſo, and having opened the Sepulchre, found nothing there but the Grave-clothes which he had left behind him. To all which let me add, while my hand is in theſe things, what * *Ephrem* relates, that from this Grave, wherein he reſted ſo ſhort a time, a kind of Sacred *Oil* or Unguent was wont to be gathered. *Gregory* of ‖ *Tours* ſays 'twas *Manna*, which even in his time like flour was caſt up from the Sepulchre, and was carried up and down the World for the curing of diſeaſes. This report of our Apoſtles being yet alive, ſome men made uſe of to wild and phantaſtick purpoſes. * *Beza* tells us of an *Impoſtor* in his time (whom *Poſtellus*, who vainly boaſted that he had the Soul of *Adam*, was wont to call his Brother) who publickly profeſſed himſelf to be our *S. John*, and was afterwards burnt at *Tholoſe* in *France*. Nor was this any more than what was done in the moſt early Ages of Chriſtianity. For ‖ *Sulpitius Severus* giving us an account of a young *Spaniard* that firſt profeſſed himſelf to be *Elias*, and then *Chriſt* himſelf; adds, That there was one at the ſame time in the *Eaſt*, who gave out himſelf to be *S. John*. So faſt will Error, like circles in the water, multiply it ſelf, and one miſtaken place of Scripture give countenance to an hundred ſtories, that ſhall be built upon it. I have no more to add, but what we meet with in the * *Arabick* writer of his life, (though it little agrees with the preceding paſſages) who reports, that there were none preſent at his burial but his diſciple *Phogſir* (probably *Proghor*, or *Prochorus*, one of the ſeven *Deacons*, and generally ſaid to have been *S. John*'s companion and aſſiſtent) whom he ſtrictly charged never to diſcover his Sepulchre to any; it may be for the ſame reaſon for which it is thought God concealed the Body of *Moſes*, to prevent the Idolatrous worſhipping of his Reliques: And accordingly the *Turks*, who conceit him to be buried in the confines of *Lydia*, pay great honour and veneration to his Tomb.

* *Tract* 124. *Joan. Col.* 56 *Tom.* 9.

* *H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 42. *p.* 208

* *Apud Ph. ubi ſupr p.* 80

‖ *De Glor. Martyr. lib.* 1 *cap.* 30. *pag.* 3

* *Annot. in Joan. c.* 21.

‖ *In vit. Martin. c.* 25. *p.* 21

* *Apud Kirſten. de vit. Quat. Evang. p.* 52.

Epiph. Hæ- 78. p.440. ron. adv. in. lib. 1. 5. T. 2. mbr. Comm. Cor. 11. ed. Præf. in n. Rupert. . Comm. in n. lib. 2. in Cyr. in Fo- cap. 2. &

10. *S. JOHN* ſeems always to have led a ſingle life, and ſo the * Ancients tell us, nay, *S. Ambroſe* poſitively ‖ affirms, that all the Apoſtles were married, except *S. John* and *S. Paul.* There want not indeed ſome, and eſpecially the middle Writers of the * Church, who will have our Apoſtle to have been married, and that it was his marriage which our Lord was at in *Cana of Galilee*, invited thither upon the account of his conſanguinity and alliance: But that being convinced by the Miracle of the Water turned into Wine, he immediately quitted his conjugal relation, and became one of our Lord's Diſciples. But this, as *Baronius* himſelf confeſſes, is trifling, and the iſſue of fabulous invention, a thing wholly unknown to the Fathers and beſt Writers of the Church, and which not only has no juſt authority to ſupport it, but arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural temper, he ſeems (as we have obſerved in his Brother's Life) to have been of a more eager and reſolute diſpoſition, eaſily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced Age brought to a more ſtaid and a calmer temper. He was poliſhed by no ſtudy or arts of Learning, but what was wanting in that, was abundantly made up in the excellent temper and conſtitution of his mind, and that furniture of Divine graces, which he was adorned withall. His humility was admirable, ſtudiouſly concealing his own worth and honour, in all his Epiſtles (as * *Euſebius* long ſince obſerved) he never puts down the honourable Titles of *Apoſtle* or *Evangeliſt*, but only ſtiles himſelf, and that too but ſometimes, *Presbyter*, or *Elder*, alluding probably to his Age, as much as Office; in his Goſpel, when he ſpeaks of *the Diſciple whom Jeſus loved*, he conſtantly conceals his own name, leaving the Reader to conjecture who was meant. Love and Charity he practiſed himſelf, and affectionately preſſed upon others, our Lord's great love to him ſeems to have inſpired his Soul with a bigger and more generous charity than the reſt: 'Tis the great vein that runs through his Writings, and eſpecially his Epiſtles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar Law of Chriſtianity, and without which all other pretenſes to Chriſtian Religion are vain and frivolous, uſeleſs and inſignificant. And this was his conſtant practice to his dying day. When Age and Weakneſs grew upon him at * *Epheſus*, that he was no longer able to Preach to them, he uſed at every publick Meeting to be led to the Church, and ſay no more to them, than, *Little children, love one another.* And when his Auditors wearied with the conſtant repetition of the ſame thing, asked him why he always ſpoke the ſame, he anſwered, Becauſe it was the command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing elſe, this alone was enough.

Demonſtr. ngel. lib. 3. 20.

Hieron. m. in c. 6. Galat. Tom. 200.

11. BUT the largeſt meaſure of his Charity he expreſſed in the mighty care that he ſhewed to the Souls of men, unweariedly ſpending himſelf in the ſervice of the Goſpel, travelling from *Eaſt* to *Weſt* to leaven the World with the Principles of that holy Religion which he was ſent to propagate, patiently enduring all torments, breaking through all difficulties and diſcouragements, ſhunning no dangers, that he might do good to Souls, redeem Mens minds from error and idolatry, and reduce them from the ſnares of a debauched and a vicious life. Witneſs one famous * inſtance. In his viſitation of the Churches, near to *Epheſus*, he made choice of a young man, whom with a ſpecial charge for his inſtruction and education he committed to the Biſhop of that place. The ſpiritual man undertook the charge, inſtructed his Pupil, and baptized him: And then thinking he might a little remit the reins of diſcipline, the youth made an ill uſe of his liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad companions, making himſelf Captain to a company of High-way men, the moſt looſe, cruel, and profligate wretches

Euſeb. H. cl. lib 3. c. 23 2.

of

of the Country. *S. John* at his return underſtanding this, and ſharply reproving the negligence and unfaithfulneſs of his Tutor, reſolved to find him out: And without any conſideration of what danger he entred upon, in venturing himſelf upon Perſons of deſperate fortunes, and forfeited conſciences, he went to the Mountains, where their uſual haunt was; and being here taken by the Sentinel, he deſired to be brought before their Commander, who no ſooner eſpied him coming towards him, but immediately fled. The aged Apoſtle followed after, but not able to overtake him, paſſionately entreated him to ſtay, promiſing him to undertake with God for his peace and pardon. He did ſo, and both melted into tears, and the Apoſtle having prayed with, and for him, returned him a true Penitent and Convert to the Church. This ſtory we have elſewhere related more at large out of *Euſebius*, as he does from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ſince which that Tract it ſelf of * *Clemens* is made publick to the World.

Prim. Chri Part.3. ch. p. 248.

* *Orat.* τοῦ τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος. *in Auctuar. Biblioth. Pp. Gr. L. à Fr. Combef. edit. An.1672. Part.1. p.185. n.*

12. NOR was it the leaſt inſtance of his care of the Church, and charity to the Souls of men, that he was ſo infinitely vigilant againſt Hereticks and Seducers, countermining their artifices, antidoting againſt the poiſon of their errors, and ſhunning all communion and converſation with their perſons. * Going along with ſome of his friends at *Epheſus* to the *Bath* (whither he uſed frequently to reſort, and the ruines whereof of *Porphyry* not far from the place where ſtood the famous *Temple* of *Diana*, as a late ‖ eye-witneſs informs us, are ſtill ſhewed at this day) he enquired of the ſervant that waited there, who was within; the ſervant told him, *Cerinthus* (*Epiphanius* ſays it was *Ebion*, and 'tis not improbable that they might be both there;) which the Apoſtle no ſooner underſtood, but in great abhorrency he turned back, *Let's be gone my brethren* (ſaid he) *and make haſte from this place, leſt the Bath wherein there is ſuch an Heretick as Cerinthus, the great enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads.* This account *Irenæus* delivers from *Polycarp*, *S. John*'s own Scholar and Diſciple. This *Cerinthus* was a Man of looſe and pernicious principles, endeavouring to corrupt Chriſtianity with many damnable * Errors. To make himſelf more conſiderable, he ſtruck in with the *Jewiſh* Converts, and made a buſtle in that great controverſie at *Jeruſalem*, about Circumciſion and the obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*. But his uſual haunt was *Aſia*, where amongſt other things he openly denied *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, affirmed the World to have been made by Angels, broaching unheard of *Dogmata*, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by Angels, venting Revelations compoſed by himſelf, as a great Apoſtle, affirming that after the Reſurrection the Reign of *Chriſt* would commence here upon Earth, and that Men living again at *Jeruſalem*, ſhould for the ſpace of a Thouſand Years enjoy all manner of ſenſual pleaſures and delights: hoping by this *fools Paradiſe* that he ſhould tempt Men of looſe and brutiſh minds over to his party. Much of the ſame ſtamp was * *Ebion* (though in ſome principles differing from him, as error agrees with it ſelf as little as with truth) who held that the Holy *Jeſus* was a mere, and a mean man, begotten by *Joſeph* of *Mary* his Wife, and that the obſervance of the *Moſaick* Rites and Laws was neceſſary to Salvation: And becauſe they ſaw *S. Paul* ſtand ſo full in their way, they reproached him as an *Apoſtate* from his Religion, and rejected his Epiſtles, owning none but *S. Matthew*'s Goſpel in *Hebrew*, having little or no value for the reſt; the *Sabbath* and *Jewiſh* Rites they obſerved with the *Jews*, and on the Lord's day celebrated the

* *Iren. adv Hæreſ. l.3. c. p. 233. Euſ l.3. c.28. p.1 Epiph. Hære 30. p. 69.*

‖ *Th. Smith. piſt. de VII. Eccleſ. p. 1*

* *Epiphan. Hæreſ.28. p. Caius apud Euſeb l.3. c. p. 100.*

* *Euſeb. ib. p. 99.*

the memory of our Lord's Reſurrection, according to the cuſtom and practice of the *Chriſtians*.

13. BESIDES theſe, there was another ſort of Hereticks that infeſted the Church in *S. John*'s time, the *Nicolaitans*, mentioned by him in his *Revelation*, and *whoſe doctrine* our Lord is with a particular *Emphaſis* there ſaid *to hate*; indeed a moſt wretched and brutiſh Sect, generally ſuppoſed to derive their original from *Nicolas*, one of the ſeven Deacons, whom we read of in the *Acts*, whereof *Clemens* of *Alexandria* gives this probable * account. This *Nicolas* having a beautiful Wife, and being reproved by the Apoſtles for being jealous of her, to ſhew how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would leave to marry her, affirming this to be ſuitable to that ſaying, ὅτι παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ, *That we ought to abuſe the fleſh.* This ſpeech, he tells us, was aſcribed to *S. Matthias*, who taught, That *we muſt fight with the fleſh and abuſe it*, and not allowing it any thing for pleaſure, encreaſe the Soul by faith and knowledge. Theſe words and actions of his, his diſciples and followers miſunderſtanding, and perverting things to the worſt ſence imaginable, began to let looſe the reins, and henceforwards to give themſelves over to the greateſt filthineſs, the moſt ſhameleſs and impudent uncleanneſs, throwing down all incloſures, making the moſt promiſcuous mixtures lawful, and pleaſure the ultimate end and happineſs of Man. Such were their principles, ſuch their practices; whereas *Nicolas*, their pretended Patron and Founder, was (ſays *Clemens*) a ſober and a temperate Man, never making uſe of any but his own Wife, by whom he had one *Son*, and ſeveral Daughters, who all liv'd in perpetual Virginity.

v. 2. 15.

Stromat. lib. p. 436. Ed. l. 3. c. 29. ol.

14. THE laſt inſtance that we ſhall remark of our Apoſtles care for the good of the Church, is the Writings which he left to Poſterity. Whereof the firſt in time, though plac'd laſt, is his *Apocalypſe* or Book of *Revelations*, written while confined in *Patmos*. It was of old not only rejected by Hereticks, but controverted by many of the Fathers themſelves. *Dionyſius* Biſhop of * *Alexandria* has a very large diſcourſe concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly diſowned this Book, not only for the matter, but the Author of it, as being neither Apoſtle, no nor any Holy or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon; that *Cerinthus* prefixed *S. John*'s name to it, to give the more plauſible title to his Dream of *Chriſt*'s Reign upon Earth, and that ſenſual and carnal ſtate that ſhould attend it: that for his part he durſt not reject it, looking upon it as containing wiſe and admirable myſteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them, that he did not meaſure them by his own line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not underſtand; that he owned the Author to have been an holy, and *divinely-inſpired* Perſon, but could not believe it to be *S. John* the *Apoſtle* and *Evangeliſt*, neither ſtile, matter, nor method agreeing with his other Writings; that in this he frequently names himſelf, which he never does in any other; that there were ſeveral *Johns* at that time, and two buried at *Epheſus*, the *Apoſtle*, and another, one of the Diſciples that dwelt in *Aſia*, but which the Author of this Book, he leaves uncertain. But though doubted of by ſome, it was entertained by the far greater part of the Ancients as the genuine work of our *S. John*. Nor could the ſetting down his Name be any reaſonable exception, for whatever he might do in his other Writings, eſpecially his Goſpel, where it was leſs neceſſary, Hiſtorical matters depending not ſo much upon his authority, yet it was otherwiſe in Prophetick Revelations, where the Perſon of the Revealer adds great weight and moment, the reaſon why ſome of the Prophets under the Old Teſtament did ſo frequently ſet down

apud. Euſeb. Eccl. lib. 7. p. 272, &c.

their

their own Names. The diverſity of the ſtile is of no conſiderable value in this caſe, it being no wonder, if in arguments ſo vaſtly different the ſame Perſon did not always obſerve the ſame tenor and way of writing; whereof there want not inſtances in ſome others of the Apoſtolick Order. The truth is, all circumſtances concur to intitle our Apoſtle to be the Author of it, his name frequently expreſſed, its being written in the Iſland of *Patmos* (a circumſtance not competible to any but *S. John*) his ſtiling himſelf *their Brother and Companion in Tribulation, and in the Kingdom and patience of Jeſus Chriſt*, his writing particular Epiſtles to the *ſeven Churches of Aſia*, all planted, or at leaſt cultivated by him, the doctrine in it ſuitable to the Apoſtolick ſpirit and temper, evidently bearing witneſs in this caſe. That which ſeems to have given ground to doubt concerning both its Author and authority, was its being long before it was uſually joyned with the other Books of the holy *Canon*: for containing in it ſome paſſages directly levell'd at *Rome*, the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, others which might be thought to ſymbolize with ſome *Jewiſh* dreams and figments, it might poſſibly ſeem fit to the prudence of thoſe Times for a while to ſuppreſs it. Nor is the conjecture of a learned * Man to be deſpiſed, who thinks that it might be entruſted in the keeping of *John* the *Presbyter*, Scholar to our Apoſtle, whence probably the report might ariſe, that he, who was only the *Keeper*, was the *Author* of it.

* *Grot. Ann in Cap. 1. Jo.*

15. HIS Goſpel ſucceeds, written (ſay ‖ ſome) in *Patmos*, and publiſhed at *Epheſus*, but as * *Irenæus*, and others more truly, written by him after his return to *Epheſus*; compoſed at the earneſt intreaty and ſolicitation of the *Aſian* Biſhops, and Ambaſſadors from ſeveral Churches, in order whereunto he firſt cauſed them to proclaim a general *Faſt*, to ſeek the bleſſing of Heaven on ſo great and ſolemn an undertaking, which being done, he ſet about it. And if we may believe the report of *Gregory* Biſhop of ‖ *Tours*, he tells us, that upon a Hill near *Epheſus* there was a *Proſeucha*, or uncovered Oratory, whither our Apoſtle uſed often to retire for Prayer and Contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not Rain in that Place, till he had finiſhed his Goſpel. Nay he adds, that even in his time, no ſhower or ſtorm ever came upon it. Two cauſes eſpecially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early hereſies of thoſe times, eſpecially of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and the reſt of that crew, who began openly to deny *Chriſt*'s Divinity, and that he had any exiſtence before his Incarnation; the reaſon why our Evangeliſt is ſo expreſs and copious in that ſubject. ‖ The other was, that he might ſupply thoſe paſſages of the Evangelical Hiſtory, which the reſt of the Sacred Writers had omitted. Collecting therefore the other three Evangeliſts, he firſt ſet to his Seal, ratifying the truth of them with his approbation and conſent, and then added his own Goſpel to the reſt, principally inſiſting upon the *Acts* of *Chriſt* from the firſt commencing of his Miniſtery to the Death of *John* the *Baptiſt*, wherein the others are moſt defective, giving ſcarce any account of the firſt Year of our Saviour's Miniſtry, which therefore he made up in very large and particular Narrations. He largely records (as *Nazianzen* * obſerves) our Saviour's diſcourſes, but takes little notice of his Miracles, probably becauſe ſo fully and particularly related by the reſt. The ſubject of his writing is very ſublime and myſterious, mainly deſigning to prove *Chriſt*'s Divinity, eternal pre-exiſtence, creating of the World, *&c.* Upon which account ‖ *Theodoret* ſtiles his Goſpel θεολογίαν ἄβατον ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνυπέρβατον, a *Theology* which humane underſtandings can never fully penetrate and find out

‖ *Doroth. de vit. App. in B. Pp. T. 3. 147.*

* Iren. *adv. hæreſ. lib. 3. c. Hieron. præf. Math. Tom. & de Script. Eccl. in Jo.*

‖ *De glor. Martyr. lib. 1. cap. pag. 37.*

‖ *Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. 24. p. 95.*

* Παῦρα δ' Ἰωάννου δήεις ἱερῇ ἐνὶ βίβλῳ
Θαύματα, δὴ πολλοὺς δὲ λόγους Χριστοῖο ἄνακτος.
Naz. *Carm.* 41. *p.* 10.

‖ *Comm. in Ezech. c.* 47.

out. Thence generally by the Ancients, he is resembled to an *Eagle* *, soaring aloft within the Clouds, whither the weak eye of Man was unable to follow him; hence peculiarly honoured with the Title of *The Divine*, as if due to none but him, at least to him in a more eminent and extraordinary manner. Nay the very *Gentile-Philosophers* themselves could not but admire his Writings: Witness ‖ *Amelius* the famous *Platonist*, and *Regent* of *Porphyries* School at *Alexandria*; who quoting a passage out of the beginning of *S. John*'s Gospel, sware by *Jupiter*, that this *Barbarian* (so the proud *Greeks* counted and called all that differed from them) "had hit upon the right notion, "when he affirmed, that the *Word* that made all "things *was in the beginning*, and in place of prime "dignity and authority with God, and was that God that created all things, "in whom every thing that was made had according to its nature its life "and being; that he was incarnate, and clothed with a body, wherein he "manifested the glory and magnificence of his nature; that after his death, "he returned to the repossession of Divinity, and became the same God, which "he was before his assuming a body, and taking the humane nature and "flesh upon him. I have no more to observe, but that his *Gospel* was afterwards translated into * *Hebrew*, and kept by the *Jews*, ἐν ἀποκρύφοις, among their secret *Archives* and Records in their Treasury at *Tiberias*; where a Copy of it was found by one *Joseph* a *Jew*, afterwards converted, and whom *Constantine* the *Great* advanced to the honour of a *Count* of the Empire, who breaking open the Treasury, though he missed of money, found βίβλους τὰς ὑπὲρ χρήματα, Books beyond all Treasure, *S. Matthew*, and *S. John*'s Gospels, and the *Acts of the Apostles* in *Hebrew*, the reading whereof greatly contributed towards his Conversion.

Nemo, audeo dicere, tanta sublimitate sapiente majestatem dei vidit, & nobis proprio sermone seravit. Transcendit nubes, transcendit virtus cœlorum, transcendit angelos, & verbum in incipio reperit, & apud deum vidit. Ambr. æf. Comm. in Luc. Tom. 5. p. 5.

‖ Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος. καθ' ὃν ἀεὶ τα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειος ἀξίωσε, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὃν ὁ Βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ καθεστηκότα ὸς θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ πάντα πλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γινόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ὠὴν, καὶ ὂν πεφυκέναι. καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φαντάζεσθαι ἄνωπον, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τηλικοῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φύως τὸ μεγαλεῖον. ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάν ἀποθεοῦσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ ς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον καχθῆναι. Amel. *apud Euseb. præparat. Evang. .11. p. 540. vid.* Theodor. *de Cur. Græc. Affect. rm. 2. p. 33.*

Epiph. adv. bion. Hæres. XX. p. 60.

id. pag. 61.

16. BESIDES these, our Apostle wrote three Epistles; the first whereof is *Catholick*, calculated for all times and places, containing most excellent rules for the conduct of the Christian life, pressing to holiness and purity of manners, and not to rest in a naked and empty profession of Religion, not to be led away with the crafty insinuations of Seducers, antidoting Men against the poyson of the *Gnostick*-principles and practices, to whom it is not to be doubted, but that the Apostle had a more particular respect in this Epistle. According to his wonted modesty he conceals his name, it being of more concernment with wise Men, what it is that is said, than who it is that says it. And this Epistle *Eusebius* tells ‖ us, was universally received, and never questioned by any; anciently, as appears by * *S. Augustin*, inscribed to the *Parthians*, though for what reason I am yet to learn, unless (as we hinted before) it was, because he himself had heretofore Preached in those Parts of the World. The other two Epistles are but short, and directed to particular Persons, the one a Lady of honourable Quality, the other the charitable and hospitable *Gaius*, so kind a friend, so courteous an entertainer of all indigent Christians. * These Epistles indeed were not of old admitted into the *Canon*, nor are owned by the Church in *Syria* at this Day, ascribed by many to the *younger John*, Disciple to our Apostle. But there is no just cause to question who was their Father, seeing both the Doctrine, phrase, and design of them do sufficiently challenge our Apostle for their Author. These are all the Books, wherein it pleased the Holy Spirit to make

Lib. 7. c. 25. 276.

Quæst. Evang. .2. c. 39. ol. 353. vid. ossid. Indic. per. August.

Euseb. ut pr. & c. 26. ieron. de ript. Eccl. in an.

make uſe of *S. John* for its Pen-man and Secretary, in the compoſure whereof though his ſtile and character be not florid and elegant, yet is it grave and ſimple, ſhort and perſpicuous. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that in his Goſpel and firſt Epiſtle his phraſe is more neat and elegant, there being an accuracy in the contexture both of words and matter, that runs through all the reaſonings of his diſcourſes; but that in the *Apocalypſe* the ſtile is nothing ſo pure and clear, being frequently mixed with more barbarous and improper phraſes. Indeed his *Greek* generally abounds with *Syriaſms*, his diſcourſes many times abrupt, ſet off with frequent *antitheſes*, connected with copulatives, paſſages often repeated, things at firſt more obſcurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with ſubſequent explications, words peculiar to himſelf, and phraſes uſed in an uncommon ſence. All which concur to render his way of Writing leſs grateful, poſſibly, to the Maſters of eloquence, and an elaborate curioſity. * *S. Hierom* obſerves, that in citing places out of the Old Teſtament, he more immediately tranſlates from the *Hebrew* Original, ſtudying to render things word for word; for being an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, admirably skill'd in the Language of his Countrey, it probably made him leſs exact in his *Greek* compoſures, wherein he had very little advantage, beſides what was immediately communicated from above. But whatever was wanting in the politeneſs of his ſtile, was abundantly made up in the zeal of his temper, and the excellency and ſublimity of his matter; he truly anſwered his Name, *Boanerges*, ſpake and writ like a *Son of Thunder*. Whence it is that his Writings, but eſpecially his Goſpel, have ſuch great and honourable things ſpoken of them by the Ancients. *The Evangelical writings* (ſays ‖ *S. Baſil*) *tranſcend the other parts of the Holy Volumes; in other parts God ſpeaks to us by Servants, the Prophets; but in the Goſpels our Lord himſelf ſpeaks to us,* αὐτῷ γε μὴν τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ κηρύγματος ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, καὶ πάσης μὴ ἀκοῆς μείζονα, πάσης δὲ διανοίας ὑψηλότερα φθεγξάμενος, Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς, *but among all the Evangelical Preachers, none like S. John the Son of Thunder for the ſublimeneſs of his ſpeech, and the heighth of his diſcourſes beyond any Man's capacity duly to reach and comprehend. S. John as a true Son of Thunder* (ſays * *Epiphanius*) τῇ οἰκείᾳ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐκ τινων νεφελῶν, τῶν καὶ σοφίας αἰνιγμάτων τὴν εὐσεβῆ ἡμῖν ἔννοιαν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνῆκεν, *by a certain greatneſs of ſpeech peculiar to himſelf, does as it were out of the Clouds and the dark receſſes of wiſdome acquaint us with Divine Doctrines concerning the Son of God.* To which let me add, what *S. Cyril* of ‖ *Alexandria* among other things ſays concerning him, *that whoever looks* εἰς τε τὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων ὑπερφερὲς, καὶ τὴν διανοίας αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀξύτητα, καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ, καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλων τῶν νοημάτων ἐπεισφοράν, *to the ſublimity of his incomprehenſible notions, the acumen and ſharpneſs of his reaſon, and the quick inferences of his diſcourſes conſtantly ſucceeding and following upon one another, muſt needs confeſs, that his Goſpel perfectly exceeds all admiration.*

* *Comm. in cap. 12. Zachar. p. 178. Tom. 6.*

‖ *Homil. 16. p. 502. Tom. 1.*

* *Hæreſ. 73. adv. Semiar. p. 363.*

‖ *Comm. in Joan. p. 8.*

The End of S. John's *Life.*

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE LIFE OF S. PHILIP.

St Philip

After he had converted all Scythia he was at Hierapolis a City of Asia first crucified and then stoned to death. Baron. May. 1°.

S^t. Philip's Martyrdom.

Act. 5. 30. Whom ye slew, & hanged on a tree. Matth. 10. 24, 25. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple, that he be as his master, and the servant as his Lord.

Galilee *generally despised by the* Jews, *and why. The honour which our Lord put upon it.* S. Andrew's *birth-place. His being first called to be a Disciple, and the manner of it. An account of his ready obedience to* Christ's *call. What the Evangelists relate concerning him considered. The discourse between our Lord and him concerning the knowledge of the Father. His preaching the Gospel in the* Upper Asia, *and the happy effects of his Ministry. His coming to* Hierapolis *in* Phrygia, *and successful confutation of their Idolatries. The rage and fury of the Magistrates against him. His Martyrdom, Crucifixion, and Burial. His married condition. The confounding him with* Philip *the* Deacon. *The* Gospel *forged by the* Gnosticks *under his Name.*

1. OF all parts of *Palestine Galilee* seems to have passed under the greatest character of ignominy and reproach. The Country it self, because bordering upon the Idolatrous uncircumcised Nations, called *Galilee of the Gentiles*; the people generally beheld as more rude and boisterous, more unpolished and barbarous than the rest, not remarkable either for Civility or Religion. *The Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the Feast, for they also went up unto the Feast*; as if it had been a wonder, and a matter of very strange remark, to see so much devotion in them as to attend the solemnity of the *Passeover*. Indeed both *Jew* and *Gentile* conspired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Saviour and his followers, than that of *Galilean*. *Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* a City in this Province, said *Nathanael* concerning *Christ*. *Search and look* (say the *Pharisees*) *for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet*; as if nothing but briars and thorns could grow in that soil. But there needs no more to confute this ill-natured opinion, than that our Lord not only made choice of it as the seat of his ordinary residence and retreat, but that hence he chose those excellent persons, whom he made his Apostles, the great instruments to convert the World. Some of these we have already given an account of, and more are yet behind.

Jhn 4.45.

Jhn 1.46.

Jhn 7.52.

2. OF this number was S. *Philip*, born at *Bethsaida*, a Town near the Sea of *Tiberias*, *the City of Andrew and Peter*. Of his Parents and way of life the History of the Gospel takes no notice, though probably he was a Fisherman, the Trade general of that place. He had the τὰ πρωτεῖα, the honour of being *first* called to the Discipleship, which thus came to pass. Our Lord soon after his return from the wilderness having met with *Andrew* and his brother *Peter*, after some short discourse parted from them: And the very next day, as he was passing through *Galilee*, he found *Philip*, whom he presently commanded to *follow him*, the constant form which he used in making choice of his Disciples, and those that did inseparably attend upon him. So that the πρωτοκλησία, or prerogative of being first called, evidently belongs to *Philip*, he being the first-fruits of our Lord's Disciples. For though *Andrew* and *Peter* were the first that came to, and conversed with *Christ*, yet did they immediately return to their Trade again, and were not called to the Discipleship till above a whole year after, when *John* was cast into prison. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that it was *Philip*, to whom our Lord said (when he would have excused himself at present, that he must go bury his Father) *Let the dead bury their dead, but follow thou me.* But besides that he gives no account, whence he derived this intelligence, it is plainly inconsistent with the time of our Apostle's call, who was called to be a Disciple a long time before that speech and passage of our Saviour. It may seem justly strange that *Philip* should at first sight so readily comply with our Lord's command, and turn himself over into his service, having not yet seen any miracle, that might evince his *Messiah-ship*, and Divine Commission; nor probably so much as heard any tidings of his appearance; and especially being a *Galilean*, and so of a more rustick and unyielding temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably versed in the writings of *Moses* and the *Prophets*. * *Metaphrastes* assures us (though how he came to know it otherwise than by conjecture, I cannot imagine) that from his childhood he had excellent education, that he frequently read over *Moses* his Books, and considered the Prophecies that related to our Saviour:

Jhn 1. 44.

Stromat. lib. 1. p. 436.

* *Apud Sur. ad diem 1. Maii Tom. 4.*

Saviour: And was no queſtion awakened with the general expectations that were then on foot among the *Jews* (the date of the Prophetick Scriptures concerning the time of *Chriſt*'s coming being now run out) that the *Meſſiah* would immediately appear. Add to this, that the Divine grace did more immediately accompany the command of *Chriſt*, to incline and diſpoſe him to believe, that this perſon was that very *Meſſiah* that was to come.

3. NO ſooner had Religion taken poſſeſſion of his mind, but like an active principle it began to ferment, and diffuſe it ſelf. Away he goes, and finds *Nathanael*, a perſon of note and eminency, acquaints him with the tidings of the new-found *Meſſiah*, and conducts him to him. So forward is a good man to draw and direct others in the ſame way to happineſs with himſelf. After his call to the Apoſtleſhip much is not recorded of him in the Holy ſtory: 'Twas to him that our Saviour propounded the queſtion, What they ſhould do for ſo much bread in the wilderneſs, as would feed ſo vaſt a multitude, to which he anſwered, That ſo much was not eaſily to be had; not conſidering, that to feed two or twenty thouſand are equally eaſie to Almighty Power, when pleaſed to exert it ſelf. 'Twas to him that the *Gentile Proſelytes* that came up to the *Paſſeover* addreſſed themſelves, when deſirous to ſee our Saviour, a perſon of whom they had heard ſo loud a fame. 'Twas with him that our Lord had that diſcourſe concerning himſelf a little before the laſt *Paſchal* Supper. The holy and compaſſionate *Jeſus* had been fortifying their minds with fit conſiderations againſt his departure from them, had told them, that he was going to prepare room for them in the Manſions of the Bleſſed, that he himſelf was *the way, the truth, and the life*, and *that no man could come to the Father but by him*, and that knowing him, *they both knew and had ſeen the Father*. *Philip* not duly underſtanding the force of our Saviour's reaſonings, begged of him, that he would *ſhew them the Father*, and then this would abundantly convince and ſatisfie them. We can hardly ſuppoſe he ſhould have ſuch groſs conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the Father veſted with a corporeal and viſible nature; but *Chriſt* having told them that they had ſeen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a viſible ſhape, he only deſired that he would manifeſt himſelf to them by ſome ſuch appearance. Our Lord gently reproved his ignorance, that after ſo long attendance upon his inſtructions, he ſhould not know, that he was the Image of his Father, the expreſs characters of his infinite wiſdom, power and goodneſs appearing in him, that he ſaid and did nothing but by his Father's appointment, which if they did not believe, his miracles were a ſufficient evidence: That therefore ſuch demands were unneceſſary and impertinent, and that it argued great weakneſs after more than three years education under his diſcipline and Inſtitution to be ſo unskilful in thoſe matters. God expects improvement according to mens opportunities, to be old and ignorant in the School of *Chriſt*, deſerves both reproach and puniſhment, 'tis the character of very bad perſons, that *they are ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the truth*.

John 6.5.

John 12.22.

John 14.8.

2 Tim. 3.7.

4. IN the diſtribution of the ſeveral Regions of the World made by the Apoſtles, though no mention be made by *Origen* or *Euſebius*, what part fell to our Apoſtle, yet we are told by * others, that the *Upper Aſia* was his Province (the reaſon doubtleſs why he is ſaid by many to have preached and planted Chriſtianity in *Scythia*) where he applied himſelf with an indefatigable diligence and induſtry to recover men out of the ſnare of the Devil, to the embracing and acknowledgment of the truth. By the conſtancy of his

* *S. Metaphr. Comm. de S. Philip. apud Sur. ad 1. Maii. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. p. 200.*

preaching, and the efficacy of his Miracles he gained numerous Converts, whom he baptized into the Chriſtian Faith, at once curing both Souls and Bodies, their Souls of Error and Idolatry, their Bodies of infirmities and diſtempers, healing diſeaſes, diſpoſſeſſing *Dæmons*, ſettling Churches, and appointing them Guides and Miniſters of Religion.

Metaphr. & Niceph. ibid.

5. HAVING for many years ſucceſsfully managed his Apoſtolical Office in all thoſe parts, he came in the laſt periods of his life to *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, a City rich and populous, but anſwering its name in its Idolatrous Devotions. Amongſt the many vain and trifling Deities, to whom they payed religious adoration, was a *Serpent* or *Dragon* (in memory no doubt of that infamous Act of *Jupiter*, who in the ſhape of a *Dragon* inſinuated himſelf into the embraces of *Proſerpina*, his own Daughter begot of *Ceres*, and whom theſe *Phrygians* chiefly worſhipped, as * *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, ſo little reaſon had ‖ *Baronius* to ſay that they worſhipped no ſuch God) of a more prodigious bigneſs than the reſt, which they worſhipped with great and ſolemn veneration. S. *Philip* was troubled to ſee the people ſo wretchedly enſlaved to error, and therefore continually ſolicited Heaven, till by prayer and calling upon the name of *Chriſt*, he had procured the death, or at leaſt vaniſhing of this famed and beloved Serpent: Which done, he told them, how unbecoming it was to give Divine honours to ſuch odious creatures, that God alone was to be worſhipped as the great Parent of the World, who had made man at firſt after his own glorious Image, and when fallen from that innocent and happy ſtate, had ſent his own Son into the World to redeem him, who died, and roſe from the dead, and ſhall come again at the laſt day, to raiſe men out of their Graves, and to ſentence and reward them according to their works. The ſucceſs was, that the people were aſhamed of their fond Idolatry, and many broke looſe from their chains of darkneſs, and ran over to Chriſtianity. Whereupon the great enemy of mankind betook himſelf to his old methods, cruelty and perſecution. The Magiſtrates of the City ſeize the Apoſtle, and having put him into priſon, cauſed him to be ſeverely whipp'd and ſcourg'd. This preparatory cruelty paſſed, he was led to execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the neck againſt a pillar, though others tell us, that he was crucified. We are further told, that at his execution the Earth began ſuddenly to quake, and the ground whereon the people ſtood, to ſink under them, which when they apprehended and bewailed as an evident act of Divine vengeance purſuing them for their ſins, it as ſuddenly ſtopt, and went no further. The Apoſtle being dead, his body was taken down by S. *Bartholomew*, his fellow-ſufferer, though not finally executed, and *Mariamne*, S. *Philip*'s Siſter, who is ſaid to have been the conſtant companion of his travels, and decently buried, after which having confirmed the people in the Faith of *Chriſt*, they departed from them.

Admonit. ad Gent. p. 11. Ad Ann. 54. 3.

6. THAT S. *Philip* was married, is generally affirmed by the Ancients; * *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons him one of the married Apoſtles, and that he had Daughters, whom he diſpoſed in marriage: ‖ *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus* tell us, that *Philip*, one of the Twelve Apoſtles, died at *Hierapolis*, with two of his Daughters, who perſevered in their Virginity, and that he had a third which died at *Epheſus*. The truth is, the not careful diſtinguiſhing between *Philip* the *Deacon* (who lived at *Cæſarea*, and of whoſe four Virgin-daughters we read in the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts*) and our *Apoſtle*, has bred ſome confuſion among the Ancients in this matter. But the account concerning them is greatly different; for as they differed in their Perſons and Offices, the one a *Deacon*, the other an *Apoſtle*,

* *Stromat. lib. 3. p. 448.*
‖ *Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 31. p. 102. vid. Doroth. Synopſ. de vit. & mort. App. B. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.*

Acts 21. 8, 9.

ſo

ſo alſo in the number of their Children, four Daughters being aſcribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the Apoſtles who left no Sacred writings behind him, the greater part of the Apoſtles (as * *Euſebius* obſerves) having little leiſure to write Books, being employed in miniſteries more immediately uſeful and ſubſervient to the happineſs of mankind: Though ‖ *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Gnoſticks* were wont to produce a *Goſpel* forged under S. *Philip*'s name, which they abuſed to the patronage of their horrible principles, and more brutiſh practices.

* *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 24. *p.* 94.

‖ *Adv. Gnoſ. Hæreſ.* 26. *p.*

The End of S. Philip's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. BARTHOLOMEW

S BARTHOLOMEW

He was flea'd aliue by the command of a Barba-rous King. *Place this to the Collect for St Bartholomews day.*

St Bartholomew's Martyrdom.

Rom. 8. 36, 37. *For thy ſake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter. But in all theſe things we are more then Conquerours.*

The ſilence concerning this Apoſtle in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel. That he is the ſame with Nathanael, *proved by many probable arguments. His title of* Bar-Tholmai, *whence. The School of the* Tholmæans. *An objection againſt his being* Nathanael *anſwered. His deſcent and way of life. His firſt coming to* Chriſt, *and converſe with him. In what parts of the World he planted the Chriſtian Faith. His preaching in* India, *and leaving* S. Matthew's *Goſpel there. His return to* Hierapolis, *and deliverance there from Crucifixion. His removal to* Albanopolis *in* Armenia, *and ſuffering Martyrdom there for the Faith of* Chriſt. *His being firſt flead alive, and then crucified. The fabulous* Goſpel *attributed to him.*

1. THAT

1. THAT S. *Bartholomew* was one of the Twelve Apoſtles, the Evangelical Hiſtory is moſt expreſs and clear, though it ſeems to take no further notice of him, than the bare mention of his name. Which doubtleſs gave the firſt occaſion to many, both anciently and of later time, not without reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he lies concealed under ſome other name, and that this can be no other than *Nathanael*, one of the firſt Diſciples that came to *Chriſt*. Accordingly we may obſerve, that as S. *John* never mentions *Bartholomew* in the number of the Apoſtles, ſo the other Evangeliſts never take notice of *Nathanael*, probably becauſe the ſame perſon under two ſeveral names: And as in *John*, *Philip* and *Nathanael* are joyned together in their coming to *Chriſt*, ſo in the reſt of the Evangeliſts *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are conſtantly put together without the leaſt variation; for no other reaſon, I conceive, than becauſe as they were joyntly called to the Diſcipleſhip, ſo they are joyntly referred in the *Apoſtolick* Catalogue; as afterwards we find them joynt-companions in the writings of the Church. But that which renders the thing moſt ſpecious and probable is, that we find *Nathanael* particularly reckoned up with the other Apoſtles, to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Reſurrection, where there were together *Simon Peter*, and *Thomas*, and *Nathanael* of *Cana* in *Galilee*, and the two ſons of *Zebedee*, and two other of his Diſciples, who probably were *Andrew* and *Philip*. That by *Diſciples* is here meant *Apoſtles*, is evident, partly from the names of thoſe that are reckoned up, partly becauſe it is ſaid, that *this was the third time that Jeſus appeared to his Diſciples*, it being plain that the two foregoing appearances were made to none but the Apoſtles.

n 21. 1, 2.

b. v. 14.

2. HAD he been no more than an ordinary Diſciple, I think no tolerable reaſon can be given, why in filling up the vacancy made by the death of *Judas*, he being ſo eminently qualified for the place, ſhould not have been propounded as well as either *Barſabas* or *Matthias*, but that he was one of the Twelve already. Nor indeed is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that *Bartholomew* ſhould be his proper name, any more than *Bar-Jona* the proper name of *Peter*, importing no more than his relative capacity, either as a Son, or a Scholar. As a *Son*, it notes no more than his being בר תולמי *the ſon of Tholmai*, a name not uncommon amongſt the *Jews*, it being cuſtomary among them for the ſon thus to derive his name, ſo *Bar-Jona*, *Bartimeus*, *the ſon of Timeus*, &c. and to be uſually called rather by this relative, than his own proper name, thus *Joſeph* was called *Barſabas*, thus *Barnabas* conſtantly ſo ſtiled, though his right name was *Joſes*. Or elſe it may relate to him as a *Diſciple* of ſome particular Sect and Inſtitution among the *Jews*, it being a cuſtom for Scholars out of a great reverence for their Maſters, or firſt Inſtitutors of that way, to adopt their names, as *Ben-Ezra*, *Ben-Uziel*, &c. And this will be much more evident, if the obſervation which * one makes be true (which yet I will not contend for) that as ſeveral Sects in the *Jewiſh* Church denominated themſelves from ſome famous perſon of that Nation, the *Eſſenes* from *Enoſh*, the *Sadducees* from *Sadock*, ſo there were others that called themſelves *Tholmæans*, from *Thalmai*, Scholar to *Heber* the ancient Maſter of the *Hebrews*, who was of the race or inſtitution of the *Enakim*, who flouriſhed in *Debir* and *Hebron*, with whom *Abraham* was *confederate*, that is, joyned himſelf to their ſociety. And of this Order and Inſtitution, he tells us, *Nathanael* ſeems to have been, hence called *Bartholomew*,

Bolduc. de eccleſ. poſt. eg. c. 7. p. 45. d. de Eccl. ite Leg. lib. 2. 8.

tholomew, the *Son* or *Scholar* of the *Tholmæans*; hence ſaid to be *an Iſraelite indeed*, that is, one of the ancient race of the Schools and Societies of *Iſrael*. This, if ſo, would give us an account of his skill and ability in the *Jewiſh* Law, wherein he is generally ſuppoſed to have been a *Doctor* or Teacher. But which ſoever of theſe two accounts of his denomination ſhall find moſt favour with the Reader, either of them will ſerve my purpoſe, and reconcile the difference that ſeems to be between S. *John* and the other Evangeliſts about his name, the one ſtiling him by his proper name, the other by his relative and paternal title. To all this, if neceſſary, I might add the conſent of Learned men, who have given in their ſuffrages in this matter, that it is but the ſame perſon under ſeveral * names. But hints of this may ſuffice. Theſe arguments, I confeſs, are not ſo forcible and convictive as to command aſſent, but with all their circumſtances conſidered, are ſufficient to incline and ſway any mans belief. The great and indeed only reaſon brought againſt it, is what * S. *Auguſtine* objected of old, that it is not probable that our Lord would chuſe *Nathanael*, a *Doctor* of the Law, to be one of his Apoſtles, as deſigning to confound the wiſdom of the World by the preaching of the Ideot and the unlearned. But this is no reaſon to him that conſiders, that this objection equally lies againſt S. *Philip*, for whoſe skill in the Law and Prophets there is as much evidence in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, as for *Nathanael's*; and much ſtronglier againſt S. *Paul*, than whom (beſides his abilities in all humane Learning) there were few greater Maſters in the *Jewiſh* Law.

* *Rupert. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. 1. Jan. Concord. c. 17. Onuphr. in Faſt. Salmer. Tract. Tom. 4. Montac. Orig. Sacr. Part. 2. p. Dr. H. Annot. in Joh. 1. aliique.*

* *Tract. VII Joan. Col. 6 Tom. 9. & in Pſalm. LXV Col. 671. Tom. 8.*

3. THIS difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular account of our Apoſtle. By ſome he is thought to have been a *Syrian*, of a noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and ſound of the name. 'Tis plain, that he, as the reſt of the Apoſtles, was a *Galilean*, and of *Nathanael* we know it is particularly ſaid, that he was of *Cana* in *Galilee*. The Scripture takes no notice of his Trade or way of life, though ſome circumſtances might ſeem to intimate that he was a Fiſherman, which *Theodoret* affirms of the Apoſtles in general, and another particularly reports of our Apoſtle. At his firſt coming to *Chriſt* (ſuppoſing him ſtill the ſame with *Nathanael*) he was conducted by *Philip*, who told him that now they had found the long-look'd for *Meſſiah*, ſo oft foretold by *Moſes* and the Prophets, *Jeſus of Nazareth, the ſon of Joſeph*: And when he objected that the *Meſſiah* could not be born at *Nazareth*, *Philip* bids him come and ſatisfie himſelf. At his firſt approach our Lord entertains him with this honourable character, that he was an *Iſraelite indeed*, a man of true ſimplicity and integrity; as indeed his ſimplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of *Jeſus*, he did not object againſt the meanneſs of his Original, the low condition of his Parents, the narrowneſs of their fortunes, but only againſt the place of his birth, which could not be *Nazareth*, the Prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be born at *Bethlehem*. By this therefore he appeared to be a *true Iſraelite*, one that *waited for redemption in Iſrael*, which from the date of the Scripture-predictions he was aſſured did now draw nigh. Surprized he was at our Lord's ſalutation, wondring how he ſhould know him ſo well at firſt ſight, whoſe face he had never ſeen before. But he was anſwered, that he had ſeen him while he was yet under the *Fig-tree*, before *Philip* called him. Convinc'd with this inſtance of our Lord's

John 1. 45.

Divinity, he preſently made this confeſſion, That now he was ſure, that *Jeſus* was the promiſed *Meſſiah*, the Son of God, whom he had appointed to be the King and Governour of his Church. Our Saviour told him, that if upon this inducement he could believe him to be the *Meſſiah*, he ſhould have far greater arguments to confirm his faith, yea, that ere long he ſhould behold the Heavens opened to receive him thither, and the Angels viſibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

4. CONCERNING our Apoſtles travels up and down the World to propagate the Chriſtian Faith, we ſhall preſent the Reader with a brief account, though we cannot warrant the exact order of them. That he went as far as *India*, is owned by all, which ſurely is meant of the *hither India*, or the part of it lying next to *Aſia*; * *Socrates* tells us, 'twas *the India bordering upon Æthiopia*, meaning no doubt the *Aſian Æthiopia* (whereof we ſhall ſpeak in the life of S. *Thomas*) ‖ *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*, and tells us, that here he left behind him S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, whereof * *Euſebius* gives a more particular relation: That when *Pantænus*, a man famous for his skill in Philoſophy, and eſpecially the Inſtitutions of the *Stoicks*, but much more for his hearty affection to Chriſtianity, in a devout and zealous imitation of the Apoſtles, was inflamed with a deſire to propagate the Chriſtian Religion unto the *Eaſtern* Countries, he came as far as *India* it ſelf. Here amongſt ſome that yet retained the knowledge of *Chriſt*, he found S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, written in *Hebrew*, left here (as the tradition was) by S. *Bartholomew*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, when he preached the Goſpel to theſe Nations.

*H.Eccl.lib.1. 19.p.50.

*Apud Hier. in Script.Eccl. Barthol.

*H.Eccl.lib. 5.c.10.p.175.

5. AFTER his labours in theſe parts of the World, he returned to the more *Weſtern* and *Northern* parts of *Aſia*. At *Hieropolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in company with S. *Philip*, inſtructing that place in the principles of Chriſtianity, and convincing them of the folly of their blind Idolatries. Here by the enraged Magiſtrates he was at the ſame time with *Philip* deſigned for Martyrdom; in order whereunto he was faſtned upon the Croſs, with an intent to diſpatch him; but upon a ſudden conviction that the Divine Juſtice would revenge their death, he was taken down again and diſmiſſed. Hence probably he went into *Lycaonia*, the people whereof * *Chryſoſtom* aſſures us, he inſtructed and trained up in the Chriſtian diſcipline. His laſt remove was to *Albanople* in *Armenia* the ‖ *Great* (the ſame nō doubt which * *Nicephorus* calls *Urbanople*, a City of *Cilicia*) a place miſerably overgrown with Idolatry; from which while he ſought to reclaim the people, he was by the Governour of the place commanded to be crucified, which he chearfully underwent, comforting and confirming the Convert *Gentiles* to the laſt minute of his life. ‖ Some add, that he was crucified with his head downwards, others that he was flead, and his skin firſt taken off, which might conſiſt well enough with his Crucifixion, *excoriation* being a puniſhment in uſe, not only in *Egypt*, but amongſt the *Perſians*, next neighbours to theſe *Armenians* (as * *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſures us, and ‖ *Plutarch* records a particular inſtance of *Meſabates* the *Perſian Eunuch* firſt flead alive, and then crucified) from whom they might eaſily borrow this piece of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. As for the ſeveral ſtages to which his Body removed after his death, firſt to *Daras*, a City in the borders of *Perſia*,

*Serm in SS. XII. App.p.269 F.6.

*Sophron.ap. Hieron. in Barth.

*Lib.2.c.39. p.201.vid.Metaphr.ad Aug. 24.

‖ Hippol.de App. ap.Bar.in Not. ad Martyr.ad Aug.25.

‖ſid.de SS. utriuſque T.c.77.

* Am.Mar. lib.23.

‖ In vit.Artaxerx.p.1019.

Vid.Greg.Turon. de glor. Martyr.lib.1. c.34.p.46.

ſia, then to *Liparis*, one of the *Æolian* Iſlands, thence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*, and laſt of all to *Rome*, they that are fond of thoſe things, and have better leiſure, may enquire. *Hereticks* perſecuted his memory after his death, no leſs than *Heathens* did his perſon while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous *Goſpel* upon his name, which, together with others of like ſtamp, * *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome* juſtly branded as *Apocryphal*, altogether unworthy the name and patronage of an Apoſtle.

* *Decret. Part* 1. *Diſtinct.* 15. *c.* 3. *Sect. Cæterum.*

The End of S. Bartholomew's *Life.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE LIFE OF S. MATTHEW.

S. MATHEW.

S. Mathew the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt preached the Goſpel in Æthiopia and was there ſlayn with an Halbert Bed at Baron Sept. 21

S^t. *Mathew* his Martyrdom.

1 Pet. 3.14. *If ye ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake happy are ye, & be not afraid of their terrour, neither be ye troubled:*

His Birth-place and Kindred. His Trade, the Office of a Publican. *The great dignity of this Office among the* Romans. *The honours done to* Veſpaſian's *Father for the faithful diſcharge of it. This Office infamous among the* Greeks, *but eſpecially the* Jews. *What things concurr'd to render it odious and grievous to them. Their bitter abhorrency of this ſort of men.* S. Matthew's *employment wherein it particularly conſiſted: The* Publican's Ticket *what.* S. Matthew's *call, and his ready obedience. His inviting our Lord to Dinner. The* Phariſees *cavil, and our Saviour's anſwer. His Preaching in* Judæa. *His travels into* Parthia, Æthiopia, *&c. to propagate Chriſtianity. The ſucceſs of his Miniſtry. His Death. His ſingular contempt of the World. Cenſured herein by* Julian *and* Porphyry. *His exemplary temperance and ſobriety. His humility and modeſty. Unreaſonable to reproach Penitents with the vices of their former Life. His* Goſpel *when and why written. Compoſed by him in* Hebrew. *The general conſent*

of Antiquity herein. Its translation into Greek, *when and by whom. The* Hebrew *Copy by whom owned and interpolated. Those now extant not the same with those mentioned in Antiquity.*

1. SAINT *Matthew*, called also *Levi*, was, though a *Roman* Officer, an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, (both his Names speaking him purely of *Jewish* extract and Original) and probably a *Galilean*, and whom I should have concluded born at, or near *Capernaum*, but that the *Arabick* * Writer of his life tells us, he was born at *Nazareth*, a City in the Tribe of *Zebulun*, famous for the habitation of *Joseph* and *Mary*, but especially the education and residence of our Blessed Saviour, who though born at *Bethlehem*, was both conceiv'd and bred up here, where he lived the whole time of his private life, whence he derived the Title of *Jesus of Nazareth*. S. *Matthew* was the Son of *Alpheus* and *Mary*, Sister or Kinswoman to the Blessed *Virgin*; in the same *Arabick* Author his Father is called *Ducu*, and his Mother *Karutias*, both originally descended of the Tribe of *Issachar*, nothing being more common among the *Jews*, than for the same Person to have several names, these latter probably express'd in *Arabick* according to their *Jewish* signification. His Trade or way of life was that of a *Publican* or Toll-gatherer to the *Romans* (which probably had been his Father's Trade, his Name denoting a *Broker* or Money-changer) an Office of bad report amongst the *Jews*. Indeed among the *Romans* it was accounted a place of power and credit, and honourable reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but *Roman* Knights; insomuch that *T. Fl. Sabinus*, Father to the Emperor *Vespasian*, was the *Publican* of the *Asian* Provinces, an Office which he discharged so much to the content and satisfaction of the People, that they erected Statues to him with this *Inscription*, ΚΑΛΩ̃Σ ΤΕΛΩΝΗ̃ΣΑΝΤΙ *, *To him that has well managed the Publican-Office*. These Officers being sent into the Provinces to gather the Tributes, were wont to employ the Natives under them, as Persons best skilled in the affairs and customs of their own Country. Two things especially concurred to render this Office odious to the *Jews*. First, that the Persons that managed it were usually covetous, and great Exactors; for having themselves farmed the Customs of the *Romans*, they must gripe and scrape by all methods of Extortion, that they might be able both to pay their Rent, and to raise gain and advantage to themselves: which doubtless *Zachæus*, the Chief of these Farmers, was sensible of, when after his Conversion, he offered four-fold restitution to any Man, from whom he had taken any thing by fraud and evil arts. And upon this account they became infamous, even among the *Gentiles* themselves, who commonly speak of them as Cheats, and Thieves, and publick Robbers, and worse members of a community, more voracious and destructive in a City, than wild Beasts in the Forest. The other thing that made the *Jews* so much detest them was, that this Tribute was not only a grievance to their Purses, but an affront to the liberty and freedom of their Nation; for they looked upon themselves as a Free-born People, and that they had been immediatlely invested in this priviledge by God himself, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and standing instance of their slavery, which of all other things they could least endure, and which therefore betrayed them into so

Apud Kir-n. Vit. 4. vangel. p. 22.

aeton. in Vespas. 1: p. 722.

ke 19. 8.

Κακὸν τέλος γένοιτο τοῖς Ὠρωπίοις.
Πάντες τελῶναι, πάντες εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες.
no Comic. apud Dicæarch. de vit. Græciæ. cap. p. 29.
Θεόκριτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖα τῶν θηρίων ἐστὶ χαπώτατα, εἶπεν· ἐκ μὲν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἄρκτοι καὶ ντες· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν τελῶναι καὶ συκοῦται. Muson. *apud Stob. Serm. 2 de Malit. p. 31.*
βέβλητο παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τελώνομα, πεπαῤῥησιασμένη βία, ἀνεπιτίμητος παγὴ, ἀναίσχυντος πλεονεξία, πραγματεία ον μὴ ἔχουσα, ἀναιδὴς ἐμπορία. Suid. *in . τελώνης.*

ſo many unfortunate Rebellions againſt the *Romans*. Add to this, that theſe *Publicans* were not only obliged by the neceſſity of their Trade to have frequent dealing and converſe with the *Gentiles* (which the *Jews* held unlawful and abominable) but that being *Jews* themſelves they rigorouſly exacted theſe things of their Brethren, and thereby ſeemed to conſpire with the *Romans* to entail perpetual ſlavery upon their own Nation. For though * *Tertullian* thought that none but *Gentiles* were employed in this ſordid office, yet the contrary is too evident to need any argument to prove it.

* *De pudic. c.7.p.561.*

2. BY theſe means *Publicans* became ſo univerſally abhorred by the *Jewiſh* Nation, that it was accounted unlawful to do them any office of common kindneſs and courteſie, nay they held it no ſin to couzen and over-reach a *Publican*, and that with the ſolemnity of an Oath; they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them; they were looked upon as common Thieves and Robbers, and Money received of them might not be put to the reſt of a Man's Eſtate, it being preſumed to have been gained by rapine and violence; they were not admitted as Perſons fit to give teſtimony and evidence in any cauſe: ſo infamous were they, as not only to be baniſhed all communion in the matters of Divine Worſhip, but to be ſhunned in all affairs of civil ſociety and commerce, as the Peſts of their Country, Perſons of an infectious converſe, of as vile a Claſſe as *Heathens* themſelves. Hence the common Proverb among them, *Take not a Wife out of that Family, wherein there is a Publican, for they are all Publicans*, that is, Thieves, Robbers, and wicked ſinners. To this Proverbial uſage our Lord alludes, when ſpeaking of a contumacious ſinner, whom neither private reproofs, nor the publick cenſures and admonitions of the Church can prevail upon, *Let him be unto thee* (ſays he) *as an Heathen and a Publican*; as elſewhere *Publicans* and *ſinners* are yoked together, as Perſons of equal eſteem and reputation. Of this Trade and Office was our S. *Matthew*, and it ſeems more particularly to have conſiſted in gathering the Cuſtoms of Commodities that came by the Sea of *Galilee*, and the Tribute which Paſſengers were to pay that went by Water; a thing frequently mentioned in the *Jewiſh* writings, where we are alſo told of the קשר or *Ticket*, conſiſting of two greater Letters written in Paper, or ſome ſuch matter, called קשר מוכסין the *Ticket* or *ſignature of the Publicans*, which the Paſſenger had with him to certifie them on the other ſide the Water, that he had already paid the Toll or Cuſtom: upon which account the *Hebrew* Goſpel of S. *Matthew* publiſhed by *Munſter*, renders *Publican* by בַּעַל עֲבָרָה *the Lord of the Paſſage*. For this purpoſe they kept their Office or Cuſtom-houſe by the Sea-ſide, that they might be always near at hand; and here it was (as S. *Mark* intimates) that *Matthew* had his Toll-both, where *He ſate at the Receipt of Cuſtom.*

אין לך משוחה יש בה מוכס הם כולם מוכסין. Matth. 18.17.

Vid. Buxtor. Lex. in voc. מוֹכֵס

3. OUR Lord having lately cured a famous *Paralytick*, retired out of *Capernaum* to walk by the Sea-ſide, where he taught the People that flocked after him. Here he eſpied *Matthew* ſitting in his Cuſtom-office, whom he called to come and follow Him. The Man was rich, had a wealthy and a gainful Trade, a wiſe and prudent Perſon (no fools being put into that Office) and underſtood no doubt what it would coſt him to comply with this new employment, that he muſt exchange Wealth for Poverty, a Cuſtom-houſe for a Priſon, gainful Maſters for a naked and deſpiſed Saviour. But he overlooked all theſe conſiderations, left all his Intereſts and Relations, to become our Lord's Diſciple, and to embrace περαιτέραν πνευματικὴν (as *Chryſoſtom* obſerves) a more ſpiritual way of commerce & traffick. We cannot ſuppoſe that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's Perſon or Doctrine, eſpecially

Matth. 9.9. Mark 2.13. Luke 5.27, 28, 29.

* *Homil. 11. in 1. ad Corinth. p. 419.*

especially living at *Capernaum*, the place of *Christ*'s usual residence, where his Sermons and Miracles were so frequent, by which he could not but in some measure be prepared to receive the impressions, which our Saviour's call now made upon him. And to shew that he was not discontented at his change, nor apprehended himself a loser by this bargain, he entertained our Lord and his Disciples at a great Dinner in his House, whither he invited his Friends, especially those of his own Profession, piously hoping that they also might be caught by our Saviour's converse and company. The *Pharisees*, whose *Eye* was constantly *evil*, where another Man's was *good*, and who would either find or make occasions to snarle at him, began to suggest to his Disciples, that it was unbecoming so pure and holy a Person as their Master pretended himself to be, thus familiarly to converse with the worst of men, *Publicans* and *sinners*, Persons infamous to a Proverb. But he presently replied upon them, that they were the *sick* that needed the *Physician*, not the sound and healthy, that his company was most suitable, where the necessities of Souls did most require it, that God himself preferred acts of Mercy and Charity, especially in reclaiming sinners, and doing good to Souls, infinitely before all ritual observances, and the nice rules of Persons conversing with one another, and that the main design of his coming into the World was not to bring the *righteous*, or those who like themselves proudly conceited themselves to be so, and in a vain Opinion of their own strictness loftily scorned all Mankind besides, but *sinners*, modest, humble, self-convinced offenders, *to repentance*, and to reduce them to a better state and course of life.

4. AFTER his election to the Apostolate, he continued with the rest till our Lord's Ascension, and then for the first eight Years at least Preached up and down *Judæa*. After which being to betake himself to the Conversion of the *Gentile*-world, he was intreated by the Convert *Jews* to commit to Writing the History of our Saviour's Life and Actions, and to leave it among them as the standing Record of what he had Preached to them; which he did accordingly, and so composed his *Gospel*, whereof more in due place. Little certainty can be had what Travels he underwent for the advancement of the Christian Faith, so irrecoverably is truth lost in a crowd of Legendary stories. * *Æthiopia* is generally assigned as the Province of his Apostolical Ministry. ‖ *Metaphrastes* tells us, that he went first into *Parthia*, and having successfully planted Christianity in those Parts, thence travelled into *Æthiopia*, that is, the *Asiatick Æthiopia*, lying near to *India*: here by Preaching and Miracles he mightily triumphed over error and Idolatry, convinced and converted Multitudes, ordained spiritual Guides and Pastors to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the Faith, and then finished his own course. As for what is related by * *Nicephorus* of his going into the Country of the *Cannibals*, constituting *Plato*, one of his followers, Bishop of *Myrmena*, of *Christ*'s appearing to him in the form of a beautiful Youth, and giving him a Wand, which he pitching into the ground, immediately it grew up into a Tree, of his strange converting the Prince of that Country, of his numerous Miracles, peaceable Death, and sumptuous Funerals, with abundance more of the same stamp and coin, they are justly to be reckoned amongst those fabulous reports, that have no Pillar nor ground either of truth or probability to support them. Most probable it is (what an Ancient * Writer affirms) that he suffered Martyrdom at *Naddaber* a City in *Æthiopia*, but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. Whether this *Naddaber* be the same with

ocr l.1.c.19 o.
Apud Sur. diem 21. ptemb.Vol.3. 17.
H.Eccl.lib. .41.p.203.

Inde triumphantem fert India Bartholomæum: atthæum eximium Naddaber alta virum.
en.Fortun.de Senat.Cur.Cæl.Poem.lib.7.p.817.

with *Beſchberi*, where the *Arabick* * Writer of his Life affirms him to have ſuffered Martyrdom, let others enquire: he alſo adds, that he was buried *Arthaganetu Cæſarea*, but where that is, is to me unknown. ‖ *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*, one of the firſt places to which he Preached the Goſpel.

* *Vbi ſup.* p. 30. *Ibid.* p. 3
‖ *Synopſ. de & mort. A. Bibl. Pp. T.* 3 p. 148.

5. HE was a great inſtance of the power of Religion, how much a Man may be brought off to a better temper. If we reflect upon his circumſtances while yet a ſtranger to Chriſt, we ſhall find that the World had very great advantages upon him. He was become a Maſter of a plentiful Eſtate, engaged in a rich and a gainful Trade, ſupported by the power and favour of the *Romans*, prompted by covetous inclinations, and theſe confirmed by long habits and cuſtoms. And yet notwithſtanding all this, no ſooner did Chriſt call, but without the leaſt ſcruple or diſſatisfaction, he flung up all at once, and not only renounced (as S. *Baſil* * obſerves) his gainful incomes, but ran an immediate hazard of the diſpleaſure of his Maſters that employed him, for quitting their ſervice, and leaving his accounts entangled and confuſed behind him. Had our Saviour been a mighty Prince, it had been no wonder, that he ſhould run over to his ſervice: but when he appeared under all the circumſtances of meanneſs and diſgrace, when he ſeemed to promiſe his followers nothing but miſery and ſuffering in this life, and to propound no other rewards but the inviſible encouragements of another World, his change in this caſe was the more ſtrange and admirable. Indeed ſo admirable, that *Porphyry* and ‖ *Julian* (two ſubtil and acute adverſaries of the Chriſtian Religion) hence took occaſion to charge him either with falſhood, or with folly; either that he gave not a true account of the thing; or, that it was very weakly done of him, ſo haſtily to follow any one that call'd him. But the Holy *Jeſus* was no common Perſon, in all his commands there was ſomewhat more than ordinary. Indeed S. *Hierom* conceives that beſides the Divinity that manifeſted it ſelf in his Miracles, there was a Divine brightneſs and a kind of Majeſty in our Saviour's looks, that at firſt ſight was attractive enough to draw Perſons after him. However his miraculous powers, that reflected a luſtre from every quarter, and the efficacy of his Doctrine accompanied with the grace of God, made way for the ſummons that were ſent our Apoſtle, and enabled him to conquer all oppoſitions that ſtood in the way to hinder him.

* *Reg. fuſiu diſput. Inter* VIII. *pag.* 5 *Tom.* 2.

‖ *Ap. Hieron. Matth.* 9. *Tom.* 9.

6. HIS contempt of the World further appeared in his exemplary temperance and abſtemiouſneſs from all the delights and pleaſures, yea the ordinary conveniences and accommodations of it; ſo far from indulging his appetite with nice and delicate curioſities, that he refuſed to gratifie it with lawful and ordinary proviſions, eating no fleſh, his uſual Diet being nothing but Herbs, Roots, Seeds and * Berries. But what appeared moſt remarkable in him, and which though the leaſt vertue in it ſelf, is the greateſt in a wiſe Man's eſteem and value, was his humility, mean and modeſt in his own conceit, in honour preferring others before himſelf. Whereas the other Evangeliſts in deſcribing the Apoſtles by pairs, conſtantly place him before *Thomas*, he modeſtly places him before himſelf. The reſt of the Evangeliſts openly mention the honour of his Apoſtleſhip, but ſpeak of his former ſordid, diſhoneſt, and diſgraceful courſe of life, only under the name of *Levi*, while he himſelf ſets it down, with all its circumſtances, under his own proper and common name. Which as at once it commends his own candor and ingenuity, ſo it adminiſters to us this not unuſeful conſideration,

* *Clem. Al. Pædag. lib.* 2 *c.* 1. *p.* 148.

Cæteri Evangeliſtæ in conjunctione nomin primum ponunt Matthæum, & poſtea Thoma iſte verò & poſt Thomam ſe ponit, & publica appellat; ut ubi abundavit iniquitas, ſuperabu & gratia. Hieron. Comm. in Matth. c. 10. *p.* T. 9.

That the greateſt ſinners are not excluded the lines of Divine grace; nor can any, if penitent, have juſt reaſon to deſpair, when *Publicans* and *ſinners* are taken in. And as S. *Matthew* himſelf does freely and impartially record his own vile and diſhonourable courſe of life, ſo the two other Evangeliſts, though ſetting down the ſtory, take notice of him only under another name; to teach us to treat a penitent Brother with all modeſty and tenderneſs. *If a man repent* (ſay the *Jews*) לא יאמר לו זכור מעשיך הראשונים *Let no man ſay to him, remember thy former works*; which they explain not only concerning *Iſraelites*, but even ſtrangers and *Proſelytes*. It being againſt the rules of civility, as well as the Laws of Religion, when a Man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the errors and follies of his paſt life.

teri Evan-
iſtæ nec Pub-
ni nomen
ribunt: ne
iquæ con-
ſationis re-
dantes, ſu-
are Evange-
am videren-
. Hieron.
l.
va Meſſia
.58. 2.

7. THE laſt thing that calls for any remarks in the life of this Apoſtle is his *Goſpel*, written at the intreaty of the *Jewiſh* Converts, and as *Epiphanius* tells * us, at the command of the Apoſtles, while he was yet in *Paleſtine*, about Eight Years after the death of *Chriſt*: though ‖ *Nicephorus* will have it to be written Fifteen Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, and * *Irenæus* yet much wider, who ſeems to imply that it was written while *Peter* and *Paul* Preached at *Rome*, which was not till near Thirty Years after. But moſt plain it is, that it muſt be written before the diſperſion of the Apoſtles, ſeeing S. *Bartholomew* (as we have noted in his Life) took it along with him into *India*, and left it there. He wrote it in *Hebrew*, as primarily deſigning it for the uſe of his Country-men, and ſtrange it is, that any ſhould queſtion its being originally written in that Language, when the thing is ſo univerſally and uncontroulably aſſerted by all Antiquity, not one that I know of, after the ſtricteſt enquiry I could make, diſſenting in this matter, and who certainly had far greater opportunities of being ſatisfied in theſe things, than we can have at ſo great a diſtance. It was no doubt ſoon after tranſlated into *Greek*, though by whom S. *Hierom* profeſſes he could not tell; * *Theophylact* ſays it was reported to have been done by S. *John*, but ‖ *Athanaſius* more expreſly attributes the Tranſlation to S. *James* the *leſs*. The beſt is, it matters not much whether it was tranſlated by an *Apoſtle*, or ſome *Diſciple*, ſo long as the Apoſtles approved the Verſion, and that the Church has ever received the *Greek* Copy for Authentick, and repoſed it in the Sacred *Canon*.

Hæreſ. 51.
85.
Eccl. lib. 2.
5. p. 213.
dv. Hær. lib.
1. p. 229.

Papias ap. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113. Iren. l. 3. c. 1.
29. Origen. Expoſit. in Matth. l 5. ap. Euſeb. lib.
25. p. 226. Athan. Synopſ. S. Script. p. 493. Cyril.
roſolym. Catech. 14. p. 341. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 29.
9. Hær. 51. p. 185. Chryſoſt. Homil. 1. in Matth.
Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Matth. Præf. in 4.
ang. ad Dam. Tom 3. p. 30. & alibi ſæpe. Auguſt.
Conſenſ. Evang. lib. 1. c. 2. col. 372. Doroth. Synopſ.
it. App. p. 148. Anaſt. Sinait. Hexaem. lib. 8.
abs quidam in vit. MS. Matthæi apud Kirſten.
it. Quat. Evangel. n. 10. p. 29. Paraphr. Syrus ad
. Evangel. S. Matth. Ita Arabs, & verſio Perſic.
efat. ad id. Evangel.
* Præf. Comment. in Matth. pag. 2.
‖ Synopſ S. Script. p. 493.

8. AFTER the *Greek* Tranſlation was entertained, the *Hebrew* Copy was chiefly owned and uſed by the * *Nazaræi*, a middle Sect of Men between *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; with the Chriſtians they believed in *Chriſt*, and embraced his Religion, with the *Jews* they adhered to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Moſaick* Law, and hence this Goſpel came to be ſtiled *the Goſpel according to the Hebrews*, and *the Goſpel of the Nazarenes*. By them it was by degrees interpolated, ſeveral Paſſages of the Evangelical Hiſtory, which they had heard either from the Apoſtles, or thoſe who had familiarly converſed with them, being inſerted, which the ancient Fathers frequently refer to in their Writings; as by the ‖ *Ebionites* it was mutilated, and many things cut off, for the ſame reaſon for which the followers of *Cerinthus*, though making uſe of the greateſt part of it, rejected the reſt, becauſe it made ſo much againſt them. This *Hebrew* Copy (though whether exactly the ſame as it was written by S. *Matthew*, I will not ſay) was found among other

Epiph. Hæreſ.
p. 59.

Epiph. Hæreſ.
p. 64. id.
er. 27. p. 54.

other Books in the *Treaſury* of the *Jews* at * *Tiberias*, by *Joſeph* a *Jew*, and after his Converſion a Man of great honour and eſteem in the time of *Conſtantine*; another ‖ S. *Hierom* aſſures us was kept in the Library at *Cæſarea* in his time, and another by the *Nazarenes* at *Beræa*, from whom he had the liberty to tranſcribe it, and which he afterwards tranſlated both into *Greek* and *Latin*, with this particular obſervation, that in quoting the Texts of the Old Teſtament, the Evangeliſt immediately follows the *Hebrew*, without taking notice of the Tranſlation of the Septuagint. A Copy alſo of this Goſpel was *Ann.* CCCCLXXXV dug up and found in the Grave of *Barnabas* in *Cyprus*, tranſcribed with his own * hand. But theſe Copies are long ſince periſhed, and for thoſe that have been ſince publiſhed to the World, both by *Tile* and *Munſter*, were there no other argument, they too openly betray themſelves by their barbarous and improper ſtile, not to be the genuine iſſue of that leſs corrupt and better Age.

* *Epiph ib. Hæreſ.* XXX. *p.* 60. *vid. p.* 60.

‖ *De Script. Eccl. in Mat*

* *Theodor. Lect. Collectan. lib. non longe ab init. p.* 184.

The End of S. Matthew's *Life.*

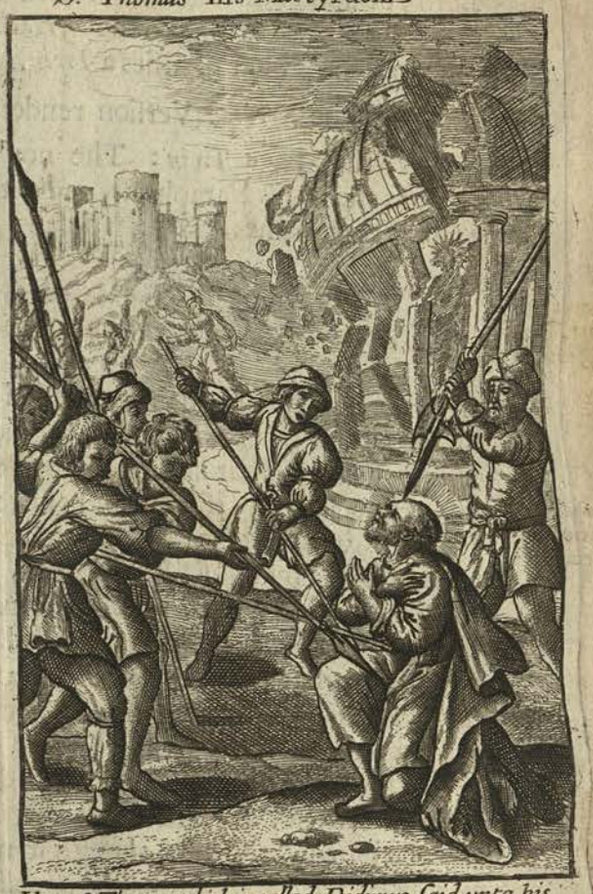
INDIA-LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE LIFE OF S. THOMAS.

St Thomas.

By the command of an Indian King he was thrust through with lances. Baron. Martyrolog. Dec. 21

St Thomas his Martyrdom.



Joh. 11. 16. *Thomas which is called Didimus ſaid unto his fellow-diſciples, Let us alſo goe, that we may die with him.*

The cuſtom of the Jews *to have both an* Hebrew *and a* Roman *name.* S. Thomas *his name the ſame in* Syriack *and* Greek. *His Country and Trade. His call to the Apoſtleſhip. His great affection to our Saviour.* Chriſt's *diſcourſe with him concerning the way to Eternal life. His obſtinate refuſal to believe our* Lord's Reſurrection, *and the unreaſonableneſs of his Infidelity. Our* Lord's *convincing him by ſenſible demonſtrations.* S. Thomas *his deputing* Thaddæus *to* Abgarus *of* Edeſſa. *His Travels into* Parthia, Media, Perſia, *&c.* Æthiopia, *what, and where ſituate. His coming into* India, *and the ſucceſs of his Preaching there. An account of his Acts in* India *from the relation of the* Portugals *at their firſt coming thither. His converting the* King *of* Malipur. *The manner of his Martyrdom by the* Brachmans. *The Miracles ſaid to be done at his Tomb. His Bones dug up by the* Portugals.

A Croſs, and ſeveral Braſs Tables with Inſcriptions found there. An account of the Indian *or* S. Thomas-Chriſtians, *their Number, State, Rites, and way of life.*

1. IT was cuſtomary with the *Jews*, when travelling into foreign Countries, or familiarly converſing with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to aſſume to themſelves a *Greek* or a *Latin* name, of great affinity, and ſometimes of the very ſame ſignification with that of their own Country. Thus our Lord was called *Chriſt*, anſwering to his *Hebrew* title *Maſhiach*, or the *Anointed*; *Simon* ſtiled *Peter* according to that of *Cephas*, which our Lord put upon him: *Tabitha* called *Dorcas*, both ſignifying a *Goat*: Thus our S. *Thomas* according to the *Syriack* importance of his name, had the title of *Didymus*, which ſignifies a *Twin*. *Thomas which is called Didymus.* Accordingly the *Syriack* Verſion renders it, *Thauma, which is called* ܬܐܡܐ *Thama*, that is, *a Twin*: The not underſtanding whereof impoſed upon *Nonnus* the *Greek* Paraphraſt, who makes him ἄνδρα διώνυμον, to have had two diſtinct names,

Nonn. Panop. in Joan. c. 11.

---------- διώνυμος ἔννεπε Θωμᾶς,
Ὃν Δίδυμον καλέουσι. ----------

it being but the ſame name expreſſed in different Languages. The Hiſtory of the Goſpel takes no particular notice either of the Country or Kindred of this Apoſtle. That he was a *Jew* is certain, and in all probability a *Galilean*: He was born (if we may believe * *Symeon Metaphraſtes*) of very mean Parents, who brought him up to the trade of Fiſhing, but withall took care to give him a more uſeful education, inſtructing him in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereby he learnt wiſely to govern his life and manners. He was together with the reſt called to the Apoſtleſhip, and not long after gave an eminent inſtance of his hearty willingneſs to undergo the ſaddeſt fate that might attend them. For when the reſt of the Apoſtles diſſwaded our Saviour from going into *Judæa* (whither he was now reſolved for the raiſing his dear *Lazarus* lately dead) leſt the *Jews* ſhould ſtone him, as but a little before they had attempted it, S. *Thomas* deſires them not to hinder *Chriſt*'s journey thither, though it might coſt their lives, *Let us alſo go that we may die with him*, probably concluding, that inſtead of raiſing *Lazarus* from the dead, they themſelves ſhould be ſent with him to their own Graves. So that he made up in pious affections, what he ſeemed to want in the quickneſs and *acumen* of his underſtanding, not readily apprehending ſome of our Lord's diſcourſes, nor over-forward to believe more than himſelf had ſeen. When the holy *Jeſus* a little before his fatal ſufferings had been ſpeaking to them of the joys of Heaven, and had told them that he was going to prepare, that they might follow him, that they knew both the place whither he was going, and the way thither: Our Apoſtle replied, that they knew not *whither* he went, and much leſs the *way* that led to it. To which our Lord returns this ſhort but ſatisfactory anſwer, That he was the *true living way*, the perſon whom the Father had ſent into the World to ſhew men the paths of Eternal life, and that they could not miſs of Heaven, if they did but keep to that way, which he had preſcribed and chalked out before them.

* Apud Sur. ad diem 21. Decemb. n. 2.

John 11. 16.

John 14. 5.

2. OUR

2. OUR Lord being dead, 'tis evident how much the Apoſtles were diſtracted between hopes and fears concerning his Reſurrection, not yet fully ſatisfied about it: Which engaged him the ſooner to haſten his appearance, that by the ſenſible manifeſtations of himſelf he might put the caſe beyond all poſſibilities of diſpute. The very day whereon he aroſe he came into the houſe where they were, while for fear of the *Jews* the doors were yet faſt ſhut about them, and gave them ſufficient aſſurance that he was really riſen from the dead. At this meeting S. *Thomas* was abſent, having probably never recovered their company, ſince their laſt diſperſion in the Garden, when every ones fears prompted him to conſult his own ſafety. At his return they told him that their Lord had appeared to them; but he obſtinately refuſed to give credit to what they ſaid, or to believe that it was he, preſuming it rather a *phantaſm* or mere apparition, unleſs he might ſee the very prints of the Nails, and feel the Wounds in his hands and ſides. A ſtrange piece of infidelity! Was this any more than what *Moſes* and the *Prophets* had long ſince foretold? had not our Lord frequently told them in plain terms that he muſt riſe again the third day? could he queſtion the poſſibility of it, who had ſo often ſeen him do the greateſt miracles? was it reaſonable to reject the teſtimony of ſo many eye-witneſſes, ten to one againſt himſelf, and of whoſe fidelity he was aſſured? or could he think that either themſelves ſhould be deceived, or that they would jeſt and trifle with him in ſo ſolemn and ſerious a matter? A ſtubbornneſs that might have betrayed him into an eternal infidelity. But our compaſſionate Saviour would not take the advantage of the mans refractory unbelief, but on that day ſevennight again came to them, as they were ſolemnly met at their devotions, and calling to *Thomas*, bad him look upon his hands, put his fingers into the prints of the Nails, and thruſt his hand into the hole of his ſide, and ſatisfie his faith by a demonſtration from ſenſe. The man was quickly convinced of his error and obſtinacy, confeſſing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and Maſter, a God omnipotent, that was thus able to reſcue himſelf from the powers of death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own ſenſes, but that it was a more noble and commendable act of Faith to acquieſce in a rational evidence, and to entertain the doctrines and relations of the Goſpel upon ſuch teſtimonies and aſſurances of the truth of things, as will ſatisfie a wiſe and ſober man, though he did not ſee them with his own eyes. John 20. 19.

3. THE Bleſſed *Jeſus* being gone to Heaven, and having eminently given gifts and miraculous powers to the Apoſtles, S. *Thomas* moved thereto by ſome Divine intimation, is * ſaid to have diſpatched *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy Diſciples to *Abgarus* Toparch of *Edeſſa*, (between whom and our Saviour the letters commonly ſaid to have paſſed are ſtill extant in *Euſebius*) whom he firſt cured of an inveterate diſtemper, and after converted him and his ſubjects to the Faith. The Apoſtolical Province aſſigned to S. *Thomas* (as * *Origen* tells us) was *Parthia*, after which ‖ *Sophronius* and others inform us, that he preached the Goſpel to the *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Carmans*, *Hyrcani*, *Bactrians*, and the neighbour Nations. In *Perſia*, one of the * Ancients (upon what ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met with the *Magi* or *Wiſe men*, who came that long journey from the *Eaſt* to bring preſents to our new-born Saviour, whom he baptized, and took along with him as his companions and aſſiſtants in the propagation of the Goſpel. Hence he preached in and paſſed through ‖ *Æthiopia*, that is, (that we may a little clear this by

* *Euſeb. lib.* 1 *c.* 13. *p.* 32. & *lib.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 39.

* *Lib.* 3. *in Gen. ap. Euſeb. lib.* 3 *c.* 1. *p.* 71. *Socr. lib.* 1. *c.* 19. *Clem. Recognit. lib.* 9. *p.* 101. *fac.* 2.

‖ *Ap. Hier. de Script. in Thoma. Theod. de Leg. Serm* 9.

* *Auth. Oper. Imperf. in Matth. ap. Chryſoſt. Hom.* 2. *p.* 776.

‖ *Chryſoſt. Serm. in* XII. *App. T.* 6. *p.* 269.

by the way) the *Aſian Æthiopia*, conterminous to, if not the ſame with *Chaldæa*, whence ‖ *Tacitus* does not only make the *Jews* deſcendents from the *Æthiopians*, as whoſe Anceſtors came from *Ur of the Chaldeans*; but * *Heſychius* makes the inhabitants of *Zagrus*, a mountain beyond *Tygris*, ἔθνος Αἰθιόπων, *a people of the Æthiopians*; this is the כוש ארץ mentioned by *Benjamin* the *Jew* in his ‖ *Itinerary*, *the land of Cuſh* or *Æthiopia*, the inhabitants whereof are ſtiled by * *Herodotus*, οἱ ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες, the *oriental Æthiopians*, by way of diſtinction from thoſe ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, who lived *South* of *Ægypt*, and were under the ſame military Prefecture with the *Arabians*, under the command of *Arſames*, as the other were joyned with the *Indians*, and in the ſame place are called οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Αἰθίοπες, the *Aſian Æthiopians*. Having travelled through theſe Countries, he at laſt came to *India*. We are told by ‖ *Nicephorus*, that he was at firſt unwilling to venture himſelf into thoſe Countries, fearing he ſhould find their manners as rude and intractable as their faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a Viſion, that aſſured him of the Divine Preſence to aſſiſt him. He travelled a great way into thoſe *Eaſtern* Nations, as far as the Iſland *Taprobane*, ſince called *Sumatra*, and the Country of the *Brachmans*, preaching every where with all the arts of gentleneſs and mild * perſwaſives, not flying out into tart invectives, and furious heats againſt their idolatrous practices, but calmly inſtructing them in the principles of Chriſtianity, by degrees perſwading them to renounce their follies, knowing that confirmed habits muſt be cured by patience and long forbearing, by ſlow and gentle methods; and by theſe means he wrought upon the people, and brought them over from the groſſeſt errors and ſuperſtition to the hearty belief and entertainment of Religion.

Hiſt. lib. 5. p. 534. *Heſych. in voc. Σάγγαι.* *Itin. D. Benj. Jud. p. 98.* *Lib. 7. c. 69, p. 408.* *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 40. p. 201.* *S. Metaphr. ad 21. Decem. c. 8, 9.*

4. IN want of better evidence from Antiquity, it may not be amiſs to enquire, what account the *Portugals* in their firſt diſcoveries of theſe Countries, received of theſe matters, partly from ancient Monuments and Writings, partly from conſtant and uncontrolled Traditions, which the *Chriſtians* whom they found in thoſe parts, preſerved amongſt them. They tell * us, that S. *Thomas* came firſt to *Socotora*, an Iſland in the *Arabian* Sea, thence to *Cranganor*, where having converted many, he travelled futher into the *Eaſt*, and having ſucceſsfully preached the Goſpel, returned back into the Kingdom of *Cormandel*, where at *Malipur*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, not far from the *influx* of *Ganges* into the Gulph of *Bengala*, he began to erect a place for Divine worſhip, till prohibited by the Prieſts, and *Sagamo*, Prince of that Country. But upon the conviction of ſeveral miracles the work went on, and the *Sagamo* himſelf embraced the Chriſtian Faith, whoſe example was ſoon followed by great numbers of his friends and ſubjects. The *Brachmans*, who plainly perceived that this would certainly ſpoil their Trade, and in time extirpate the Religion of their Country, thought it high time to put a ſtop to this growing *Noveliſm*, and reſolved in Council, that ſome way or other the Apoſtle muſt be put to death. There was a Tomb not far from the City, whither the Apoſtle was wont to retire to his ſolitudes and private devotions; hither the *Brachmans* and their armed followers purſue the Apoſtle, and while he was intent at prayer, they firſt load him with darts and ſtones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a *Lance*. His Body was taken up by his Diſciples, and buried in the Church which he had lately built, and which was afterwards improved into a fabrick of great ſtatelineſs and magnificence. *Gregory* of * *Tours* relates many miracles done upon the annual ſolemnities of his Martyrdom, and one ſtanding miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he

Maff. Hiſtor. Indic. lib. 2. p. 85. ** De glor. Martyr. lib. 2. c. 32. p. 41.*

received

received from one *Theodorus*, who had himſelf been in that place, *viz.* that in the Temple where the Apoſtle was buried there hung a *Lamp* before his Tomb, which burnt perpetually, without Oil or any Fewel to feed and nouriſh it, the light whereof was never diminiſhed, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguiſhed. But whether Travellers might not herein be impoſed upon by the crafty artifices of the Prieſts, or thoſe who did attend the Church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by art, I leave to others to enquire. Some will have his Body to have been afterwards tranſlated to *Edeſſa*, a City in *Meſopotamia*, but the Chriſtians in the *Eaſt* conſtantly affirm it to have remained in the place of his Martyrdom, where (if we may believe ‖ relations) it was after dug up with great coſt and care at the command of *Don Emmanuel Frea*, Governor of the Coaſt of *Cormandel*, and together with it was found the Bones of the *Sagamo*, whom he had converted to the Faith.

‖ *Maff. ibi lib.* 8. *p.* 363.

5. WHILE *Don Alfonſo Souſa*, one of the firſt Vice-Roys in *India* under *John* the Third, King of *Portugal*, reſided in theſe Parts, certain Braſs Tables were brought to him, whoſe ancient Inſcriptions could ſcarce be read, till at laſt by the help of a *Jew*, an excellent Antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a donation made to S. *Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reign'd, granted to him a piece of ground for the building of a Church. They tell us alſo of a famous Croſs found in S. *Thomas* his Chappel at *Malipur*, wherein was an unintelligible Inſcription, which by a Learned *Bramin* (whom they compelled to read and expound it) gave an account to this effect, That *Thomas* a Divine perſon was ſent into thoſe Countries by the Son of God in the time of King *Sagamo*, to inſtruct them in the knowledge of the true God, that he built a Church, and performed admirable Miracles, but at laſt while upon his Knees at Prayer was by a *Brachman* thruſt through with a Spear; and that that Croſs ſtained with his bloud had been left as a memorial of theſe matters. An interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned *Bramin*, who expounded the *Inſcription* to the very ſame effect. The judicious Reader will meaſure his belief of theſe things by the credit of the Reporters, and the rational probability of the things themſelves, which for my part as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, ſo I will not utterly conclude them to be falſe.

Oſor. de reb. Emman. lib. 3 *p.* 120.

6. FROM theſe firſt plantations of Chriſtianity in the *Eaſtern India's* by our Apoſtle, there is ſaid to have been a continued ſeries and ſucceſſion of Chriſtians (hence called *S. Thomas-Chriſtians*) in thoſe Parts unto this day. The *Portugals* at their firſt arrival here found them in great numbers in ſeveral places, no leſs, as ſome tell us, than fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Families. They are very poor, and their Churches generally mean and ſordid, wherein they had no Images of Saints, nor any repreſentations but that of the Croſs; they are governed in Spirituals by an *High-Prieſt* (whom ſome make an *Armenian* Patriarch, of the Sect of *Neſtorius*, but in truth is no other than the *Patriarch* of *Muzal*, the remainder, as is probable, of the ancient *Seleucia*, and by ſome, though erroneouſly, ſtiled *Babylon*) reſiding North-ward in the Mountains, who, together with twelve *Cardinals*, two *Patriarchs*, and ſeveral *Biſhops*, diſpoſes of all affairs referring to Religion; and to him all the Chriſtians of the *Eaſt* yield ſubjection. They promiſcuouſly admit all to the Holy Communion, which they receive under both kinds of Bread and Wine, though inſtead of Wine, which their Country affords not, making uſe of the juice of Raiſons, ſteep'd one Night in Water, and then preſſed forth. Children, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs, are not

Oſor. ibid. p. 119. *& ſeq. Maff. lib.* 2. *p.* 88. *Joſeph. Ind. Navig. inter Relat. Nov. Orb. c.* 13 134. *p.* 204. *vid. M. Paul. Ven. lib.* 3. *c.* 17. *ibid. p.* 35

baptized till the Fortieth day. At the death of Friends, their kindred and relations keep an Eight-days feaſt in memory of the departed. Every Lord's day they have their publick Aſſemblies for Prayer and Preaching, their devotions being managed with great reverence and ſolemnity. Their Bible, at leaſt the New Teſtament, is in the *Syriack* Language, to the ſtudy whereof the Preachers earneſtly exhort the People. They obſerve the times of *Advent* and *Lent*, the *Feſtivals* of our Lord, and many of the *Saints*, thoſe eſpecially that relate to *S. Thomas*, the *Dominica in Albis*, or Sunday after *Eaſter*, in memory of the famous confeſſion which *S. Thomas* on that day made of *Chriſt*, after he had been ſenſibly cured of his unbelief; another on the firſt of *July*, celebrated not only by Chriſtians, but by *Moors* and *Pagans*, the People who come to his Sepulchre on Pilgrimage carrying away a little of the red Earth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an ineſtimable treaſure, and conceit it ſoveraign againſt Diſeaſes. They have a kind of *Monaſteries* of the *Religious*, who live in great abſtinence and chaſtity. Their Prieſts are ſhaven in faſhion of a Croſs, have leave to marry once, but denied a ſecond time: No marriages to be diſſolved but by Death. Theſe rites and cuſtoms they ſolemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of *S. Thomas*, and with the greateſt care and diligence do obſerve them at this Day.

The End of S. Thomas's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Leſs.

S. IAMES. Minor.

This Apostle being a Kinsman of our Lord and hauing Sate first Bishop of Hierusalem, was cast down from the top of the Temple and after killed with a Fullers club. Beacon Man. 10

The Martyrdom of St. James ye leſſe.

Matth. 23. 37. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killeſt the prophets, & ſtoneſt them which are ſent unto thee.

S. James *the Leſs proved to be the ſame with him that was Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. *His Kindred and Relations. The Son of* Joſeph *by a former Wife.* The Brethren of our Lord, *who. His Country what. Our Lord's appearance to him after his Reſurrection. Inveſted in the See of* Jeruſalem *by whom and why. His authority in the Synod at* Jeruſalem. *His great diligence and fidelity in his Miniſtry. The conſpiracy of his Enemies to take away his Life. His Diſcourſe with the* Scribes *and* Phariſees *about the* Meſſiah. *His Martyrdom, and the manner of it. His Burial where. His Death reſented by the* Jews. *His ſtrictneſs in Religion. His Prieſthood whence. His ſingular delight in Prayer, and efficacy in it. His great love and charity to Men. His admirable Humility. His Temperance according to the rules of the* Nazarite-*Order. The Love and reſpect of the People towards him. His Death an inlet to the deſtruction of the* Jewiſh *Nation. His* Epiſtle *when written. What the deſign and purpoſe of it. The* Proto-evangelium *aſcribed to him.*

1. BEFORE we can enter upon the Life of this Apoſtle, ſome difficulty muſt be cleared, relating to his Perſon. Doubted it has been by ſome, whether this was the ſame with that S. *James* that was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, three of this Name being preſented to us, S. *James* the *Great*, this S. *James* the *Leſs* (both Apoſtles) and a third ſirnamed the *Juſt*, diſtinct (ſay they) from the former and Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. But this (however pretending to ſome little countenance from antiquity) is a very great miſtake, and built upon a ſandy bottom. For beſides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this Name, and both Apoſtles, nothing can be plainer, than that that S. *James* the Apoſtle, whom *S. Paul* calls *our Lord's Brother*, and reckons with *Peter* and *John* one of the *Pillars* of the Church, was the ſame that preſided among the Apoſtles (no doubt by vertue of his place, it being his Epiſcopal Chair) and determined in the *Synod* at *Jeruſalem*. Nor do either *Clemens* * *Alexandrinus* or *Euſebius* out of him mention any more than two, *S. James* put to death by *Herod*, and *S. James* the *Juſt*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, whom they expreſly affirm to be the ſame with him whom *S. Paul* calls the *Brother* of our *Lord*. Once indeed ‖ *Euſebius* makes our *S. James* one of the Seventy, though * elſewhere quoting a place of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, he numbers him with the Chief of the Apoſtles, and expreſly diſtinguiſhes him from the Seventy Diſciples. Nay S. * *Hierom*, though when repreſenting the Opinion of others he ſtiles him the *Thirteenth* Apoſtle, yet ‖ elſewhere when ſpeaking his own ſence, ſufficiently proves that there were but two, *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, and the other the Son of *Alphæus*, the one ſirnamed the *Greater*, the other the *Leſs*. Beſides that the main ſupport of the other Opinion is built upon the authority of *Clemens* his *Recognitions*, a Book in doubtful caſes of no eſteem and value.

* Δύο ϑ' γεγόνασιν Ἰάκωβοι· εἷς ὁ δίκαιος, ὃν καὶ τῷ πτερυγίῳ βληθεὶς, καὶ ὑπὸ κνάφεως ἄλλῳ πληγεὶς εἰς θάνατον. ἕτερος ϑ' ὁ καρπαιμηθείς. Αὐτῷ ϑ' τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων· ἕτερον ϑ' τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. *Clem. Al. Hypotyp. lib. 7. ap. Euſeb. lib. 2. c. 1.*

‖ *H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 31.* * *Lib 2. cap. 1.*

Comment. in Mat. cap. 27. p. 3. T. 5. Adv. Helvid. 2. p. 10.

2. THIS doubt being removed, we proceed to the Hiſtory of his Life. He was the Son (as we may probably conjecture) of *Joſeph* (afterwards Huſband to the Bleſſed *Virgin*) and his firſt Wife, whom S. * *Hierom* from Tradition ſtiles *Eſcha*, *Hippolytus* Biſhop of *Porto* calls *Salome*; and further adds, ‖ that ſhe was the Daughter of *Aggi*, Brother to *Zacharias*, Father to *John* the *Baptiſt*. Hence reputed our *Lord's Brother*, in the ſame ſence that he was reputed the *Son of Joſeph*. Indeed we find ſeveral ſpoken of in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, who were *Chriſt*'s Brethren; but in what ſence, was controverted of old. S. *Hierom*, *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome others will have them ſo called, becauſe the Sons of *Mary*, Couſin-german, or according to the cuſtome of the *Hebrew* Language, *Siſter* to the Virgin *Mary*. But * *Euſebius*, ‖ *Epiphanius*, and the far greater part of the Ancients (from whom eſpecially in matters of fact, we are not raſhly to depart) make them the Children of *Joſeph*, by a former Wife. And this ſeems moſt genuine and natural, the Evangeliſts ſeeming very expreſs and accurate in the account which they give of them: *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his Mother called Mary? and his Brethren James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Jude? and his Siſters* (whoſe Names, ſays the foreſaid *Hippolytus*, were *Eſther* and *Thamar*) *are they not all with us, whence then hath this man theſe things?* By which it is plain, that the *Jews* underſtood theſe Perſons not to be *Chriſt*'s Kinſmen only, but his Brothers, the ſame Carpenter's Sons, having the ſame relation to him that Chriſt

Comment. in Matth. 12. p. 38. 9. Ap. Niceph. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135.

H. Eccl. lib. 2. 1. p. 38. Contr. Cerinth. Hæreſ. XVIII. p. 55. Contr. Naz. Hæreſ. XXIX. 56. & contr. Antidicomar. Hæreſ. lxxviii. 438, 439. Greg. Nyſſen. de Reſurrect. Chriſt. Orat. II. 844. Tom. 2. Matth. 13. 55.

Christ himself had: though indeed they had more, Christ being but his reputed, they his natural Sons. Upon this account the Blessed Virgin is sometimes called *the Mother of James and Joses*; for so amongst the Women that attended at our Lord's Crucifixion, we find three eminently taken notice of, *Mary Magdalen, Mary the Mother of James and Joses*, and *the Mother of Zebedees Children*. Where by *Mary* the *Mother of James and Joses*, no other can be meant than the Virgin *Mary*: it not being reasonable to suppose that the Evangelists should omit the Blessed *Virgin*, who was certainly there; and therefore *S. John* reckoning up the same Persons, expresly stiles her *the Mother of Jesus*. And though it is true she was but *S. James* his Mother-in-law, yet the Evangelists might chuse so to stile her, because commonly so called after *Joseph*'s death; and probably (as *Gregory* of *Nyssa* thinks) known by that Name all along, chusing that Title, that the Son of God, whom as a Virgin she had brought forth, might be better concealed, and less exposed to the malice of the envious *Jews*: nor is it any more wonder, that she should be esteemed and called the *Mother of James*, than that *Joseph* should be stiled and accounted the *Father of Jesus*. To which add, that ‖ *Josephus* eminently skilful in matters of Genealogy and descent, expresly says that our *S. James* was the *Brother* of *Jesus Christ*. One thing there is that may seem to lye against it, that he is called *the Son of Alphæus*. But this may probably mean no more, than either that *Joseph* was so called by another Name (it being frequent, yea almost constant among the *Jews* for the same Person to have two Names, *Quis unquam prohibuerit duobus vel tribus nominibus, hominem unum vocari?* as * *S. Augustin* speaks in a parallel case) or (as a learned ‖ Man conjectures) it may relate to his being a Disciple of some particular Sect or Synagogue among the *Jews*, called *Alphæans*, from אֵלֶף denoting a *Family* or Society of devout and learned Men of some-what more eminency than the rest, there being, as he tells us, many such at this time among the *Jews*; and in this probably *S. James* had entred himself, the great reputation of his Piety and strictness, his Wisdom, Parts, and Learning rendring the conjecture above the censure of being trifling and contemptible.

Matth. 27. 56. Mark 14. 40.

Μαριὰμ τὴν Ἰακώβου, καὶ Ἰωσῆ μητέρα τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐαγγελισταῖς ὠνομασμένην, τὴν θεοτόκον εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλην πεπιστεύκαμεν. *Gregor. Nyssen. loc. supr. laud.*

Joh. 19. 25.

Ubi supr.

‖ *Antiquit. Jud. l. 20. c. 8 p. 698.*

Matth. 10. 3.

* *De Consens. Evangel. lib. 2 c. 28. col. 432*

‖ *Bolduc. de Eccl. post leg. c. 7. p. 47.*

3. OF the place of his Birth the Sacred story makes no mention. The *Jewes* in their * *Talmud* (for doubtless they intend the same Person) stile him more than once איש כפר סכניא *a man of the Town of Sechania*; though where that was, I am not able to conjecture. What was his particular way and course of life before his being called to the Discipleship and Apostolate, we find no intimations of in the History of the Gospel, nor any distinct account concerning him during our Saviour's life. After the Resurrection he was honoured with a particular Appearance of our Lord to him, which though silently passed over by the Evangelists, is recorded by *S. Paul*, next to the manifesting himself to the Five Hundred Brethren at once, *he was seen of James*, which is by all understood of our Apostle. S. ‖ *Hierom* out of the *Hebrew* Gospel of the *Nazarens* (wherein many passages are set down, omitted by the Evangelical Historians) gives us a fuller relation of it, *viz.* that *S. James* had solemnly sworn that from the time that he had drank of the Cup at the Institution of the Supper, he would eat Bread no more, till he saw the Lord risen from the dead. Our Lord therefore being returned from the Grave, came and appeared to him, commanded Bread to be set before him, which he took, blessed, and brake, and gave to *S. James*, saying, *Eat thy Bread, my Brother, for the Son of Man is truly risen from among them that sleep.*

* *Midr. Kobel & Abod. Zara cap. 2. & Gloss. En Mischp. vid. Chr. Nold. Hist. Idum. p. 394.*

1 Cor. 15. 7.

‖ *De Script. Eccles. in Jacob. min.*

After *Christ*'s Ascension (though I will not venture to determine the precise time) he was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, preferred before all the rest, for his near relation unto *Christ*, for this we find to have been the reason why they chose * *Symeon* to be his immediate Successor in that See, because he was after him our Lord's next Kinsman. A consideration that made *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, though they had been peculiarly honoured by our Saviour, not to contend for this high and honourable ‖ Place, but freely chuse *James* the *Just* to be Bishop of it. This dignity is by some of the * Ancients said to have been conferred on him by Christ himself, constituting him Bishop at the time of his appearing to him. But it's safest with others to understand it of its being done by the Apostles, or possibly by some particular intimation concerning it, which our Lord might leave behind him.

Hegesip. apud Euseb. lib. 4. 22. p. 142. Clem. Al. Hyt. l. 6. ap. Eu. b. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38 Phot. Epist. 7 ad Theodos. Monach. p. 158. Theophyl. in 1. Cor. 15. 7. d. Euseb. l. 7. 19. p. 265.

4. TO him we find *S. Paul* making his Address after his Conversion, by whom he was honoured with the *right hand* of fellowship: to him *Peter* sent the news of his miraculous deliverance out of Prison, *Go shew these things unto James, and to the Brethren*, that is, to the whole Church, and especially *S. James* the Bishop and Pastor of it. But he was principally active in the *Synod* at *Jerusalem* in the great controversie about the *Mosaick* Rites: for the case being opened by *Peter*, and further debated by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, at last stood up *S. James* to pass the final and decretory sentence, that the *Gentile*-Converts were not to be troubled with the bondage of the *Jewish* Yoke, only that for a present accommodation some few indifferent Rites should be observed; ushering in the expedient with this positive conclusion, διὰ ἐγὼ κρίνω, I thus *judge* or decide the matter, *this is my sentence* and determination. A circumstance the more considerable, because spoken at the same time when *Peter* was in Council, who produced no such intimation of his Authority. Had the Champions of the Church of *Rome* but such a passage for *Peter*'s judiciary Authority and Power, it would no doubt have made a louder noise in the World, than, *Thou art Peter*, or, *Feed my sheep*.

al. 1. 19. 2. 9. ct. 12. 17. ct. 15. 13.

τὰ Πέτρον ...λος φθέγ...αι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ...σομίζει Ἰά...βος ἀνενέ...αι, καὶ οὐκ ...πηδᾷ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, Chrysost. Homil. 33. in Act. App. p. 676. Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ἀλλ' ...κωβος νομοθετεῖ, καὶ ὀλίγαι λέξεις τὸ τοῦ ζητήματος συνέστειλαν μέγεθος. Ἐγὼ κρίνω, οὗ τὴν κρίσιν ἀθετεῖν οὐ θέμις, ...φαυλίζειν τὸ ψήφισμα. Hesych. Presb. Hierosol. Serm. in Jac. apud Phot. Cod. CLXXV. col. 1525.

5. HE administred his Province with all possible care and industry, omitting no part of a diligent and faithful Guide of Souls; strengthning the weak, informing the ignorant, reducing the erroneous, reproving the obstinate, and by the constancy of his Preaching conquering the stubbornness of that perverse and refractory Generation that he had to deal with, many of the nobler and the better sort being brought over to a compliance with the Christian Faith. So careful, so successful in his charge, that he awakened the spite and malice of his Enemies to conspire his ruine: a sort of Men, of whom the Apostle has given too true a character, *that they please not God, and are contrary to all men.* Vexed they were to see that *S. Paul* by appealing to *Cæsar* had escaped their hands: Malice is as greedy and insatiable as Hell it self, and therefore now turn their revenge upon *S. James*, which not being able to effect under *Festus* his Government, they more effectually attempted under the Procuratorship of *Albinus* his Successor, *Ananus* the *Younger*, then High-Priest, and of the Sect of the *Sadducees*, (περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὠμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, says * *Josephus*, speaking of this very passage, of all others the most merciless and implacable Justicers) resolving to dispatch him before the new Governor could arrive. To this end a Council is hastily summoned, and the Apostle with some others arraigned and condemned as Violators

Euseb. lib. 2. 23. p. 64. ib. p. 63. Josephus Antiquit. Jud. 20. c. 8. 598.

Violators of the Law. But that the thing might be carried in a more plausible and popular way, they set the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* (Crafts-masters in the arts of dissimulation) at work to ensnare him: who coming to him, began by flattering insinuations to set upon him. They tell him, that they all had a mighty confidence in him, and that the whole Nation as well as they gave him the testimony of a most *just* man, and one that was no respecter of Persons; that therefore they desired he would correct the error and false Opinion which the People had of *Jesus*, whom they looked upon as the *Messiah*, and would take this opportunity of the universal confluence to the *Paschal* solemnity, to set them right in their notions about these things, and would to that end go up with them to the top of the *Temple*; where he might be seen and heard by all. Being advantageously placed upon a *Pinnacle* or Wing of the Temple, they made this address to him. *Tell us, O Justus, whom we have all the reason in the World to believe, that seeing the People are thus generally led away with the Doctrine of Jesus that was crucified,* tell us, *What is this Institution of the crucified Jesus?* To which the Apostle answered with an audible Voice; *Why do ye enquire of Jesus the Son of man? he sits in Heaven on the right hand of the Majesty on high, and will come again in the Clouds of Heaven.* The People below hearing it, glorified the blessed *Jesus*, and openly proclaimed *Hosanna to the Son of David.* The *Scribes* and *Pharisees* perceived now that they had over shot themselves, and that instead of reclaiming, they had confirmed the People in their Error; that there was no way left, but presently to dispatch him, that by his sad fate others might be warned not to believe him. Whereupon suddenly crying out, that *Justus* himself was seduced and become an Impostor, they threw him down from the Place where he stood. Though bruised, he was not killed by the fall, but recovered so much strength, as to get upon his Knees, and Pray to Heaven for them. Malice is of too bad a nature either to be pacified with kindness, or satisfied with cruelty: Jealousie is not more the rage of a Man, than Malice is the rage of the Devil, the very soul and spirit of the Apostate nature. Little portions of revenge do but inflame it, and serve to flesh it up into a fiercer violence. Vexed that they had not done his work, they fall afresh upon the poor remainders of his life; and while he was yet at Prayer, and that a *Rechabite* who stood by (which, says * *Epiphanius*, was *Symeon*, his Kinsman and Successor) stept in and entreated them to spare him, a just and a righteous Man, and who was then praying for them, they began to load him with a showre of stones, till one more mercifully cruel than the rest with a *Fullers* Club beat out his Brains. Thus died this good Man in the XCVI. Year of his Age, and about XXIV. Years after *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven, (as *Epiphanius* tells us;) being taken away to the great grief and regret of all good Men, yea of all sober and just Persons even amongst the *Jews* themselves; ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, as * *Josephus* himself confesses, speaking of this matter. He was buried (says ‖ *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*) upon *Mount Olivet*, in a Tomb which he had built for himself, and wherein he had buried *Zacharias*, and old *Simeon*: which I am rather inclinable to believe, than what * *Hegesippus* reports, that he was buried near the Temple in the place of his Martyrdom, and that a Monument was there erected for him, which remained a long time after. For the *Jews* were not ordinarily wont to bury within the City, much less so near the Temple, and least of all would they suffer him, whom as a Blasphemer and Impostor they had so lately put to death.

Hegesip. Comment. lib. apud Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23.

* *Hæres. p.* 441.

Epiph. ibid.

* *Antiqu. Jud. lib.* 20 *c.* 8. *p* 698.

‖ *De glor. Martyr. lib.* 1. *c.* *pag.* 33.

* *Ap. Euseb. lib.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.*

6. HE

6. HE was a Man of exemplary and extraordinary Piety and Devotion, educated under the ſtricteſt Rules and Inſtitutions of Religion, a Prieſt (as we may probably gueſs) of the ancient Order of the *Rechabites*, or rather, as * *Epiphanius* conjectures, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἱερωσύνην, *according to the moſt ancient order and form of Prieſthood*, when the Sacerdotal Office was the Prerogative of the *firſt-born*: and ſuch was *S. James* the Eldeſt Son of *Joſeph*, and thereby ſanctified and ſet apart for it. Though whether this way of Prieſthood at any time held under the *Moſaick* diſpenſation, we have no intimations in the holy ſtory. But however he came by it, upon ſome ſuch account it muſt be, that he had a priviledge (which the ‖ Ancients ſay was peculiar to him, probably, becauſe more frequently made uſe of by him than by any others) to enter εἰς τὰ ἅγια, not into the *ſancta Sanctorum*, or *moſt holy of all*, but the *Sanctuary*, or *holy place*, whither the Prieſts of the *Aaronical* Order might come. Prayer was his conſtant buſineſs and delight, he ſeemed to live upon it, and to trade in nothing but the frequent returns of converſe with Heaven: and was therefore wont to retire alone into the Temple to pray, which he always performed *kneeling* and with the greateſt reverence, till by his daily Devotions his *knees* were become as *hard* and brawny as a *Camels*. And he who has told us, that *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much*, himſelf found it true by his own experience, Heaven lending a more immediate Ear to his Petitions, ſo that when in a time of great drought he prayed for Rain, the Heavens preſently melted into fruitful ſhowres. Nor was his Charity towards Men leſs than his Piety towards God, he did good to all, watched over Mens ſouls, and ſtudied to advance their eternal intereſts; his daily errand into the Temple was to pray for the happineſs of the People, and that God would not ſeverely reckon with them: he could forgive his fierceſt enemies, and *overcome evil with good:* when thrown from the top of the Temple, he made uſe of all the breath he had left in him, only to ſend up this Petition to Heaven for the pardon of his Murderers, *I beſeech thee, O Lord God, Heavenly Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

7. HE was of a moſt meek humble temper, honouring what was excellent in others, concealing what was valuable in himſelf: the eminency of his relation, and the dignity of his place did not exalt him in lofty thoughts above the meaſures of his Brethren, induſtriouſly hiding whatever might ſet him up above the reſt. Though he was our *Lord's Brother*, yet in the Inſcription of his Epiſtle he ſtiles himſelf but the *Servant of the Lord Jeſus*, not ſo much as giving himſelf the Title of an Apoſtle. His temperance was admirable, he wholly abſtained from Fleſh, and drank neither Wine nor ſtrong Drink, nor ever uſed the Bath. His holy and mortified mind was content with the meaneſt accommodations, he went bare-foot, and never wore other than Linnen garments. Indeed he lived after the ſtricteſt rules of the *Nazarite-Order*, and as the *Miter*, or Sacerdotal *Plate* (τὸ πέταλον the * Ancients call it) which he wore upon his Head, evinced his Prieſthood, which was rather after *Melchiſedeck's*, or the Prieſthood of the *firſt-born*, than the *Aaronical* Order, ſo his never ſhaving his Head, nor uſing Unguents, his Habit and Diet, and the great ſeverity of his Life, ſhewed him to appertain to the *Nazarite*-Inſtitution, to which he was holy (ſays *Hegeſippus*) or conſecrated from his Mother's Womb. A Man of that Divine temper, that he was the love and wonder of his Age, and for the reputation of his holy and religious Life was univerſally ſtiled, *James the Juſt.* Indeed

ntr. Na-
Hæreſ.
X. p. 56.

geſip. apud
b. loc. lau-
p. 63. E-
ibid.

5. 17.

b. Hæreſ.
p. 441.

piph. Hæreſ.
p. 56. ex
m. Al. &
eb. & hæreſ.
p. 441.

deed the safety and happiness of the Nation was reckoned to depend upon his Prayers and interest in Heaven, which gained him the honourable Title of *Oblias* or *Ozliam*, the *defence* and *fortress of the People*; as if when he was gone, their Garrisons would be dismantled, and their strength laid level with the ground. And so we find it was, when some few Years after his Death the *Roman* Army broke in upon them, and turned all into bloud and ruine. As what wonder if the judgments of God like a Flood come rowling in upon a Nation, when the Sluces are plucked up, and the *Moses* taken away that before stood in the Gap to keep them out? *Elisha died, and a Band of the Moabites invaded the Land.* In short, he was the delight of all good Men, in so much favour and estimation with the People, that they used to flock after * him, and strive who should touch, though it were but the hem of his Garment; his very Episcopal *Chair*, wherein he used to sit, being (as ‖ *Eusebius* informs us) carefully preserved, and having a kind of veneration paid to it, even unto his time: loved and honoured not by his friends only, but by his enemies, the * *Jews* in their *Talmud* mentioning *James* as a worker of Miracles in the Name of *Jesus his Master*; yea the ‖ wisest of them looked upon his Martyrdom as the inlet to all those miseries and calamities that soon after flowed in upon them. Sure I am that * *Josephus* particularly reckons the Death of this S. *James*, as that which more immediately alarm'd the Divine vengeance, and hastned the universal ruine and destruction of that Nation.

Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὠβλίας, ὁ ἐστὶν ἑλληνιστὶ, περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ δικαιοσύνη. *Hunc Hegesippi locum fœliciter sane emendat & restituit N.* Fuller *noster.* Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐκαλεῖτο Σαδδὶκ, καὶ Ὠζλιὰμ, ὁ ἐστὶν ἑλληνιστὶ Δίκαιος καὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ. *Miscellan. Sac. lib.* 3. *c.* 1.

2 King. 13. 2

* *Hieron Com. in c.* 1. *ad Gal. p.* 165. *T.* 9.

‖ *H. Eccl. lib.* 2. *c.* 19. *p.* 265.

* *Vid. supr. num.* 3.

‖ *Euseb. l.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.* 65.

* *Verba ejus cit. Euseb. loc. laudat.*

8. HE wrote only one Epistle, probably not long before his Martyrdom, as appears by some passages in it relating to the near approaching ruine of the *Jewish* Nation. He directed it to the *Jewish* Converts, dispersed up and down those *Eastern* Countries, to comfort them under sufferings, and confirm them against Error. He saw a great degeneracy and declension of manners coming on, and that the purity of the *Christian* Faith began to be undermined by the loose doctrines and practices of the *Gnosticks*, who under a pretence of zeal for the legal rites generally mixed themselves with the *Jewes*: he beheld Libertinism marching on a-pace, and the way to Heaven made soft and easie, Men declaiming against good works as useless and unnecessary, and asserting a naked belief of the Christian doctrine to be sufficient to salvation. Against these the Apostle opposes himself, presses Purity, Patience, and Charity, and all the Vertues of a good Life, and by undeniable Arguments evinces that that faith only that carries along with it obedience and an holy life can justifie us before God, and intitle us to eternal Life. Besides this Epistle, there is a kind of *preparatory* Gospel ascribed to him, published under the Name of ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, (still extant at this Day) containing the descent, birth and first Originals of *Christ*, and the Virgin *Mary*; at the end whereof the Author pretends to have written it at a time, when *Herod* having raised a great tumult in *Jerusalem*, he was forced to retire into the Wilderness. But though in many things consistent enough with the History of the Gospels, yet has it ever been rejected as spurious and *Apochryphal*, forged in that licentious Age, when Men took the boldness to stamp any Writing with the Name of an Apostle.

The End of the Life of S: James *the Less.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

THE LIFE OF S. SIMON the Zealot.

S SIMON

S. Simon Zelotes preached in Ægypt Africa and Britaine and at length was crucified. Niceph. l. 2. c. 40. Baron. Oct. 28.

St. Simon's Martyrdom.

Matth. 10. 16. *Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves*
1. Cor. 4. 9. *God hath set forth US the Apostles last, as it were men appointed to death, For we are made a spectacle to the world, and to Angels, and to men.*

His Kindred. Whence ſtiled the Cananite, and the Zealot. An enquiry into the nature and temper, and original of the Sect of the Zealots among the Jews. An account of their wild and licentious practices. This no reflection upon our Apoſtle. In what parts of the World he Preached the Goſpel. His planting Chriſtianity in Africk. His removal into the Weſt, and Preaching in Britain. His Martyrdom there. By whom ſaid to have preached and ſuffered in Perſia. The difference between him and Symeon Biſhop of Jeruſalem.

1. SAINT

tth. 10. 4. rk 3. 18.

1. SAINT *Simon* the Apoſtle was, as ſome think, one of the four Brothers of our Saviour, Sons of *Joſeph* by his former marriage, though no other evidence appear for it, but that there was a *Simon* one of the number; too infirm a foundation to build any thing more upon than a mere conjecture. In the Catalogue of the Apoſtles he is ſtiled *Simon the Cananite*; whence ſome, led by no other reaſon that I know of, than the bare ſound of the name, have concluded him born at *Gana* in *Galilee*; as for the ſame reaſon * others have made him the Bridegroom, at whoſe marriage our Lord was there preſent, when he honoured the ſolemnity with his firſt Miracle, turning Water into Wine. But this word has no relation to his Country, or the place from whence he borrowed his Original, as plainly deſcending from קנה or קנאה which ſignifie *Zeal*, and denote a hot and ſprightly temper. Therefore what ſome of the Evangeliſts call *Cananite*, others rendring the *Hebrew* by the *Greek* word ſtile, *Simon Zelotes*, or the *Zealot*: So called, not (as * *Nicephorus* thinks) from his burning zeal, and ardent affection to his Maſter, and his eager deſire to advance his Religion in the World, but from his warm active temper, and zealous forwardneſs in ſome particular way and profeſſion of Religion before his coming to our Saviour.

Niceph. H. cl. lib. 8. c. 30 p. 596.

ke 6. 15. cs 1. 13. ηλωτὴς διὰ ρεὺς τ' δι- ηκαλον δι- νεσν ζῆλον, ὅθ' πάσης ευαγγελι- πολιτείας ἀκρίβειαν ὠνόμασε. *H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 40. p. 202.*

2. FOR the better underſtanding of this we are to know, that as there were ſeveral Sects and Parties among the *Jews*, ſo was there one, either a diſtinct Sect, or at leaſt a branch of the *Phariſees*, called the Sect of the *Zealots*: They were mighty aſſertors of the honour of the Law, and the ſtrictneſs and purity of Religion, aſſuming a liberty to themſelves to queſtion notorious offenders, without ſtaying for the ordinary formalities of Law, nay, when they thought good, and as the caſe required, executing capital vengeance upon them. Thus when a blaſphemer curſed God by the name of any Idol (ſays * *Maimonides*) the קנאים or *Zealots* that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him לבית דין before the *Sanhedrim*. They looked upon themſelves as the ſucceſſors of *Phineas*, who in a mighty paſſion for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon *Zimri* and *Cosbi*. An act which was *counted unto him for righteouſneſs unto all poſterities for evermore*, and God ſo well pleaſed with it, that he made *with him and his ſeed after him the covenant of an everlaſting Prieſthood, becauſe he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Iſrael*. In imitation whereof theſe Men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary caſes, and that not only by the connivance, but with the leave both of the Rulers and the People, till in after-times under a pretence of this, their zeal degenerated into all manner of licentiouſneſs and wild extravagance, and they not only became the Peſts of the Commonwealth at home, but opened the door for the *Romans* to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable ruine; they were continually prompting the People to throw off the *Roman* yoke, and vindicate themſelves into their native liberty, and when they had turned all things into hurry and confuſion, themſelves in the mean while fiſhed in theſe troubled Waters. *Joſephus* gives a large account of them, and every where bewails them as the great plague of the Nation. He tells us of * them, that they ſcrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime Nobility, under pretence of holding correſpondence with the *Romans*, and betraying the liberty of their Countrey, openly glorying

λωται, πα- Ιουδαίοις οἱ νόμε φύ- λες. Suid. in . Ζηλωται.

De Idolol. 2. Sect. 12. 1-9.

l. 106. 30. mb. 25. 11-

De Bell. Jud. 4. κεφ. ια. . p. 871. & qq.

glorying that herein they were the benefactors and Saviours of the people. They abrogated the succession of ancient Families, thrusting obscure and ignoble persons into the High-Priests office, that so they might oblige the most infamous villains to their party; and as if not content to injure men, they affronted Heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the Divinity it self, breaking into and prophaning the most holy place. Stiling themselves *Zealots* (says he) *as if their undertakings were good and honourable, while they were greedy and emulous of the greatest wickednesses, and out-did the worst of men.* Many attempts were made, especially by *Annas* the High-Priest, to reduce them to order and sobriety. But neither force of arms, nor fair and gentle methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their violent proceedings, and joyning with the *Idumeans*, committed all manner of out-rage, slaying the High-Priests themselves. Nay, when *Jerusalem* was straitly besieged by the *Roman* Army, they ceased not to create tumults and factions within, and were indeed the main cause of the *Jew's* ill success in that fatal war. 'Tis probable, that all that went under the notion of this Sect were not of this wretched and ungovernable temper, but that some of them were of a better make, of a more sober and peaceable disposition: And as it is not to be doubted, but that our *Simon* was of this Sect in general, so there's reason to believe he was of the better sort. However this makes no more reflexion upon his being called to the Apostleship, than it did for S. *Matthew*, who was before a *Publican*, or S. *Paul's* being a *Pharisee*, and so zealously persecuting the Church of God.

3. BEING invested in the Apostolical office, no further mention appears of him in the History of the Gospel. Continuing with the Apostles till their dispersion up and down the World, he then applied himself to the execution of his charge. He is * said to have directed his journey towards *Egypt*, thence to *Cyrene*, and *Africk* (this indeed ‖ *Baronius* is not willing to believe, being desirous that S. *Peter* should have the honour to be the first that planted Christianity in *Africk*) and throughout *Mauritania* and all *Libya*, preaching the Gospel to those remote and barbarous Countries. Nor could the coldness of the Climate benumb his zeal, or hinder him from shipping himself and the Christian doctrine over to the *Western* Islands, yea, even to *Britain* it self. Here he preached, and wrought many miracles, and after infinite troubles and difficulties which he underwent (if we may believe our Authors, whom, though *Baronius* in this case makes no great account of, yet never scruples freely to use their verdict and suffrage when they give in evidence to his purpose) suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Christ*, as is not only affirmed by * *Nicephorus* and ‖ *Dorotheus*, but expresly owned in the *Greek* * *Menologies*, where we are told, that he went at last into *Britain*, and having enlightned the minds of many with the doctrine of the Gospel, was crucified by the *Infidels*, and buried there.

* *Eiceph. loc. supra laudat.*
‖ *Ad Ann. 44. n. 38.*

Ubi supra.

* *Niceph. ib.*
‖ *Doroth. in Synops. de vit. App. p. 148.*
* Ὕστερον δὲ ἐ Βρετανίᾳ γενόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωτίσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων σταυρωθεὶς καὶ τεθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ. *Menolog. Græc. ad diem X. Maii.*

4. I KNOW indeed that there want not those who tell * us, that after his preaching the Gospel in *Egypt*, he went into *Mesopotamia*, where he met with S. *Jude* the Apostle, and together with him took his journey into *Persia*, where having gained a considerable harvest to the *Christian* Faith, they were both crowned with Martyrdom; which *Baronius* himself confesses to be founded upon no better authority, than the *Passions of the Apostles*, a Book which at every turn he rejects as trifling and impertinent, as false and fabulous. But however, wide is the mistake of

* *Vid. Breviar. Roman. ad diem 28. Octobr. & Martyrol. Rom. ad eund. diem & Baron. Not. ibid. vid. illum ad Ann. 68. n. 7.*

phron. d Hieron. de pt. Eccl. in one. Iſidor. it. & obit. utriuſque p. 83.

‖ thoſe who confound our Apoſtle with *Symeon* the ſon of *Cleophas*, ſucceſſor to S. *James* the *Juſt* in the See of *Jeruſalem*, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his Age, in the perſecution under *Trajan*: The different character of their perſons, and the account both of their Acts and Martyrdoms being ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed in the writings of the Church.

The End of S. Simon's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. JUDE.

S.t Jude.

Matth.13.55. *Is not this the Carpenter's ſon? are not his brethren James, & Joſes, & Simon, & JUDAS?*
Luk.6.16. *Judas the Brother of James.*

His Martyrdom.

Having preached ye Gospel in Meſopotamia, *he went into* Perſia, *where after he had gained great numbers to Chriſtianity, he ſuffered martyrdom.* Martyrol. Rom. Oct. 28.

The ſeveral names attributed to him in the Goſpel. Thaddæus, *whence. The cuſtom of the* Jews *to alter their names, when bearing affinity with the great name* Jehovah. *The name* Judas *why diſtaſteful to the Apoſtles.* Lebbæus, *whence derived. His Parentage, and Relation to our* Lord. *The Queſtion put by him to* Chriſt. *Whether the ſame with* Thaddæus *ſent to* Edeſſa. *In what places he preached. His death. His married condition. The ſtory of his Grandchildren brought before* Domitian. *His* Epiſtle, *and why queſtioned of old. Its Canonicalneſs vindicated. The Book of* Enoch, *and what its authority. The contention between* Michael *and the Devil about* Moſes *his Body, whence borrowed.* S. Jude *proved to be the Author of this Epiſtle.* Grotius *his conceit of its being written by a younger* Jude, *rejected. Its affinity with the ſecond Epiſtle of* S. Peter. *The deſign of it.*

1. THERE

1. THERE are three several names by which this Apostle is described in the History of the Gospel, *Jude*, *Thaddæus* and *Lebbæus*, it being usual in the holy Volumes for the same person to have more proper names than one. For the first, it was a name common amongst the *Jews*, recommended to them as being the name of one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation. This name he seems to have changed afterwards for *Thaddæus*, a word springing from the same root, and of the very same import and signification, which might arise from a double cause: Partly from the superstitious veneration, which the *Jews* had for the name *Jehova* (the *Nomen* τετραγράμματον, or name consisting of four letters) which they held unlawful to be pronounced by any but the High-Priest, and not by him neither, but at the most solemn times. Hence it was, that when any man had a name, wherein there was the *major* part of the letters of this ineffable title (and such was *Jehudah* or *Juda*) they would not rashly pronounce it in common usage, but chose rather to mould it into another like it, and of the same importance, or that which had a near affinity and resemblance with it: Partly from a particular dislike of the name of *Judas* among the Apostles, the bloudy and treasonable practices of *Judas Iscariot* having rendred that name very odious and detestable to them. To prevent therefore all possibility of mistake, and that they might not confound the righteous with the wicked, S. *Matthew* and *Mark* never call him by this, but by some other name; as no question for the same reason he both stiles himself, and is frequently called by others, *Judas the brother of James*; and that this was one great design of it, the Evangelist plainly intimates, when speaking of him, he says, *Judas, not Iscariot*. For his name *Lebbæus*, it seems to have been derived either from לב an heart, whence S. *Hierom* renders it *Corculum*, probably to denote his wisdom and prudence, or else from לבי *a Lion*, and therein to have respect to old *Jacob*'s prophecy concerning *Judah*, *That he should be as a Lion, an old Lion, and as a Lions whelp*, which probably might have a main stroke in fastning this name upon S. *Jude*. From this Patriarchal prophecy, we are * told, that one of the Schools or Synagogues of Learned men among the *Jews* (who to avoid confusion were wont to distinguish themselves by different appellations) took occasion to denominate themselves *Labii*, as accounting themselves the Scholars and descendents of this *Lion-like* son of *Jacob*; and that S. *Jude* was of this society, and because of his eminency among them retained the title of *Labius*, or as it was corruptly pronounced, *Lebbæus*. I confess I should have thought the conjecture of a Learned * man very probable, that he might have derived this name from the place of his nativity, as being born at *Lebba*, a Town which, he tells us, ‖ *Pliny* speaks of in the Province of *Galilee*, not far from *Carmel*, but that it is not *Lebba*, but *Jebba* in all copies of *Pliny* that I have seen. But let the Reader please himself in which conjecture he likes best.

Jan 14.22.

Bolduc. de cl. post leg. 7 p.47,48.

Lightf. H. ebr. in Matth. p.147. Hist. Nat. lib. c.19.

2. FOR his Descent and Parentage, he was of our Lord's kindred, * *Nicephorus* truly making him the son of *Joseph*, and brother to *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; that there was a *Jude* one of the number is very evident, *Are not his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* which makes me the more to wonder at *Scaliger*, who so confidently denies that any of the Evangelists ever mention a *Jude the brother of our Lord*. S. *Hierom* seems often to confound him with *Simon* the *Zealot*, whose title he ascribes to him, though second thoughts set him right, as indeed common advertency could do no less, so plain is the account which the Evangelists give of this matter. When called to the Discipleship we find not, as not meeting with him till we

H. Eccl. lib. 2. 40. p.202.

Matth. 13.55. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. ad Num. MCXII. 205.

we find him enumerated in the Catalogue of Apoſtles; nor is any thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one queſtion that he propounded to our Saviour, who having told them what great things he and his Father would do, and what particular manifeſtations after his Reſurrection he would make of himſelf to his ſincere diſciples and followers, S. *Jude* (whoſe thoughts as well as the reſt were taken up with the expectations of a temporal Kindom of the *Meſſiah*) not knowing how this could conſiſt with the publick ſolemnity of that glorious ſtate they looked for, asked him, what was the reaſon that he would manifeſt himſelf to them, and not to the World. Our Lord replied, that the World was not capable of theſe Divine manifeſtations, as being a ſtranger, and an enemy to what ſhould fit them for fellowſhip with Heaven; that they were only good men, perſons of a Divine temper of mind, and religious obſervers of his Laws and Will, whom God would honour with theſe familiar converſes, and admit to ſuch particular acts of grace and favour. John 14.

3. * *EUSEBIUS* relates that ſoon after our Lord's Aſcenſion S. *Thomas* diſpatched *Thaddæus* the *Apoſtle* to *Abgarus* Governour of *Edeſſa*, where he healed diſeaſes, wrought miracles, expounded the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and converted *Abgarus* and his people to the Faith: For all which pains when the *Toparch* offered him vaſt gifts and preſents, he refuſed them with a noble ſcorn, telling him, they had little reaſon to receive from others, what they had freely relinquiſhed and left themſelves. A large account of this whole affair is extant in *Euſebius*, tranſlated by him out of *Syriack* from the Records of the City of *Edeſſa*. This *Thaddæus* ‖ S. *Hierom* expreſly makes to be our S. *Jude*, though his bare authority is not in this caſe ſufficient evidence; eſpecially ſince *Euſebius* makes him no more than one of the ſeventy Diſciples, which he would ſcarce have done, had he been one of the *Twelve*. He calls him indeed an *Apoſtle*, but that may imply no more than according to the large acception of the word, that he was a Diſciple, a Companion, and an Aſſiſtent to them, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any thing more common in ancient Eccleſiaſtick Writers, than for the firſt planters and propagaters of Chriſtian Religion in any Country to be honoured with the name and title of Apoſtles. But however this be, at his firſt ſetting out to preach the Goſpel, he went up and down *Judæa* and *Galilee*, then through *Samaria* into *Idumea*, and to the Cities of *Arabia*, and the neighbour Countries, and after to *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*. * *Nicephorus* adds, that he came at laſt to *Edeſſa*, where *Abgarus* was Governour, and where the other *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy had been before him. Here he perfected what the other had begun, and having by his Sermons and Miracles eſtabliſhed the Religion of our Saviour, died a peaceable and a quiet death; though ‖ *Dorotheus* makes him ſlain at *Berytus*, and honourably buried there. By the almoſt general conſent of the Writers of the *Latin* Church he is ſaid to have travelled into *Perſia*, where after great ſucceſs in his Apoſtolical Miniſtry for many years, he was at laſt for his free and open reproving the ſuperſtitious rites and uſages of the *Magi* cruelly put to death.

* *H. Eccl. l. c. 13 p. 32.*

‖ *Comment. Matth. c. 1*

* *Niceph H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 4 p. 202.*

‖ *Synopſ de vi & mort. App in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.*

4. THAT he was one of the married Apoſtles ſufficiently appears from his υἱωνοὶ, or *Grandſons* mentioned by * *Euſebius*, of whom *Hegeſippus* gives this account. *Domitian* the Emperor, whoſe enormous wickedneſſes had awakened in him the quickeſt jealouſies, and made him ſuſpect every one that might look like a corrival in the Empire, had heard that there were ſome of the line of *David*, and *Chriſt*'s kindred that did yet remain. Two Grandchildren of S. *Jude* the Brother of our Lord were brought before him:

* *Apud Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 8*

Having confeſſed that they were of the Race and poſterity of *David*, he asked what poſſeſſions and eſtate they had: they told him that they had but a very few acres of land, out of the improvement whereof they both paid him Tribute, and maintained themſelves with their own hard labour, as by the hardneſs and callouſneſs of their hands (which they then ſhewed him) did appear. He then enquired of them concerning *Chriſt*, and the ſtate of his Kingdom, what kind of Empire it was, and when and where it would commence. To which they replied, That his Kingdom was not of this World, nor of the Seigniories and Dominions of it, but Heavenly and Angelical, and would finally take place in the end of the World, when coming with great glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and award all men recompences according to their works. The iſſue was, that looking upon the meanneſs and ſimplicity of the men, as below his jealouſies and fears, he diſmiſſed them without any ſeverity uſed againſt them; who being now beheld not only as kinſmen, but as Martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to places of authority and government in the Church, and lived till the times of *Trajan*.

5. S. *Jude* left only one Epiſtle, of Catholick and univerſal concernment, inſcribed at large to all Chriſtians. It was ſome time before it met with general reception in the * Church, or was taken notice of. The Author indeed ſtiles not himſelf an Apoſtle, but no more does S. *James*, S. *John*, nor ſometimes S. *Paul* himſelf. And why ſhould he fare the worſe for his humility, only for calling himſelf the *ſervant of Chriſt*, when he might have added not only *Apoſtle*, but *the Brother of our Lord?* The beſt is, he has added what was equivalent, *Jude the Brother of James*, a character that can belong to none but our Apoſtle; beſide, that the Title of the Epiſtle, which is of great Antiquity, runs thus, *The general Epiſtle of Jude the Apoſtle*. One great argument, as ‖ S. *Hierom* informs us, againſt the authority of this Epiſtle of old, was its quoting a paſſage out of an *Apocryphal* Book of *Enoch*. This Book called the *Apocalypſe of Enoch* was very early extant in the Church, frequently mentioned, and paſſages cited out of it by *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and others, ſome of whom accounted it little leſs than *Canonical*. But what if our Apoſtle had it not out of this *Apocryphal* Book, but from ſome prophecy currant from age to age, handed to him by common tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the Spirit of God? But ſuppoſe it taken out of that Book going under *Enoch*'s name, this makes nothing againſt the authority of the Epiſtle; every thing, I hope, is not preſently falſe, that's contained in an *Apocryphal* and Uncanonical writing, nor does the taking a ſingle teſtimony out of it any more infer the Apoſtles approbation of all the reſt, than S. *Paul*'s quoting a good ſentence or two out of *Menander*, *Aratus*, and *Epimenides*, imply that he approved all the reſt of the writings of thoſe Heathen Poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this way, if we conſider that the Apoſtle in this Epiſtle chiefly argues againſt the *Gnoſticks*, who mainly traded in ſuch Traditionary and Apocryphal writings, and probably in this very Book of *Enoch*. The ſame account may be given of that other paſſage in this Epiſtle concerning the contention between *Michael* the *Archangel* and the Devil about the burial of *Moſes* his Body, no where extant in the holy Records, ſuppoſed to have been taken out of a *Jewiſh* writing called

* *ſeb. lib. 2. p. 66. & c. 25.*

‖ *Script. in Judæ.*

io Scripturam Enoch, quæ hunc ordinem Andedit, non recipi à quibuſdam, quia nec in rium Judaicum admittitur. Opinor non punt illam ante Cataclyſmum editam, poſt eum n Orbis omnium rerum abolitorem, ſalvam eſſe iſſe. Si iſta ratio eſt, recordentur, &c. Sed Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino præit, à nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum quod pertineat ad nos. A Judæis poteſt jam ri propterea rejecta, ſicut & cætera fere quæ iſtum ſonant. Eo accedit quod Enoch apud Juſ Apoſtolum teſtimonium poſſidet. Tertull. *de t. Fœmin. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 153.*

id. Hierom. Comment in Tit. c. 1. p. 249. T. 9.

led פטירת משה or the *Diſmiſſion of Moſes*, mentioned by ſome of the *Greek* Fathers under the title of Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως, or *the Aſcenſion of Moſes*, in which this paſſage was upon record. Nor is it any more a wonder that S. *Jude* ſhould do this, than that S. *Paul* ſhould put down *Jannes* and *Jambres* for the two *Magicians* of *Pharaoh* that oppoſed *Moſes*, which he muſt either derive from Tradition, or fetch out of ſome Uncanonical Author of thoſe times, there being no mention of their names in *Moſes* his relation of that matter. But be theſe paſſages whence they will, 'tis enough to us, that the Spirit of God has made them Authentick, and conſecrated them part of the holy *Canon*.

De quo in Aſcenſione Moyſi (cujus libelli . . nit in Epiſtola Apoſtolus Judas) Michael Angelus cum Diabolo diſputans de Corpore Moy. Diabolo, Inſpiratum ſerpentem cauſam ex. prævaricationis Adæ & Evæ. Origen. περὶ ἀρχῶν, *lib.* 3. *c.* 2. *fol.* 142. *p.* 2.

6. BEING thus ſatisfied in the Canonicalneſs of this Epiſtle, none but S. *Jude* could be the Author of it; for who but he was the *Brother of S. James?* a character by which he is deſcribed in the Evangelical ſtory more than once. * *Grotius* indeed will needs have it written by a younger *Jude*, the fifteenth Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in the reign of *Adrian*; and becauſe he ſaw that that paſſage [*the Brother of James*] ſtood full in his way, he concludes without any ſhadow of reaſon, that it was added by ſome Tranſcriber. But is not this to make too bold with Sacred things? is not this to indulge too great a liberty? this once allowed, 'twill ſoon open a door to the wildeſt and moſt extravagant conjectures, and no man ſhall know where to find ſure-footing for his Faith. But the Reader may remember what we have elſewhere obſerved concerning the Poſthume Annotations of that learned man. Not to ſay that there are many things in this Epiſtle that evidently refer to the time of this Apoſtle, and imply it to have been written upon the ſame occaſion, and about the ſame time with the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*, between which and this there is a very great affinity both in words and matter, nay, there want not ‖ ſome that endeavour to prove this Epiſtle to have been written no leſs than twenty ſeven years before that of *Peter*, and that hence it was that *Peter* borrowed thoſe paſſages that are ſo near a-kin to thoſe in this Epiſtle. The deſign of the Epiſtle is to preſerve Chriſtians from the infection of *Gnoſticiſm*, the looſe and debauched principles vented by *Simon Magus* and his followers, whoſe wretched doctrines and practices he briefly and elegantly repreſents, perſwading Chriſtians heartily *to contend for the Faith that had been delivered to them*, and to avoid theſe pernicious Seducers as peſts and fire-brands, not to communicate with them in their ſins, leſt they periſhed with them in that terrible vengeance that was ready to overtake them.

* *Annot. in Epiſt Jud.*

‖ *Bolduc. p. lud. in Epiſ. Jud. p.* 106. *caleem lib. Eccl. poſt le.*

The End of S. Jude's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. MATTHIAS.

S. MATHIAS.

He preached the Gospell in Ethiopia, suffered Martyrdome and was buried there. *S. Hierom.*

St. Matthias his Martyrdom.

Hebr. 11. 37. *They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, were slain with the sword.*

S. Matthias *one of the Seventy.* Judas Iscariot, *whence. A bad Minister nulls not the ends of his Ministration. His worldly and covetous temper. His monstrous ingratitude. His betraying his Master, and the agravations of the sin. The distraction and horror of his mind. The miserable state of an evil and guilty Conscience. His violent death. The election of a new Apostle: The Candidates, who. The Lot cast upon* Matthias. *His preaching the Gospel, and in what parts of the World. His Martyrdom when, where, and how. His Body whither translated.* The Gospel *and* Traditions *vented under his name.*

1. SAINT

1. SAINT *Matthias* not being an Apoſtle of the firſt Election, immediately called and choſen by our Saviour, particular remarks concerning him are not to be expected in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel. He was one of our Lord's Diſciples (and probably one of the Seventy) that had attended on him the whole time of his publick Miniſtry, and after his death was elected into the Apoſtleſhip upon this occaſion. *Judas Iſcariot* (ſo called, probably, from the place of his nativity, איש קריות *a man of Kerioth*, a City anciently ſituate in the Tribe of *Judah*) had been one of the *Twelve*, immediately called by *Chriſt* to be one of his intimate Diſciples, equally impowered and commiſſioned with the reſt to Preach and work Miracles, *was numbred with them, and had obtained part of their Miniſtry.* And yet all this while was a man of vile and corrupt deſigns, branded with no meaner a character, than *Thief* and *Murderer.* To let us ſee that there may be bad ſervants in *Chriſt*'s own family, and that the wickedneſs of a Miniſter does not evacuate his Commiſſion, nor render his Office uſeleſs and ineffectual. The unworthineſs of the inſtrument hinders not the ends of the miniſtration: Seeing the efficacy of an ordinance depends not upon the quality of the perſon, but the Divine inſtitution, and the bleſſing which God has entailed upon it. *Judas* preached *Chriſt* no doubt with zeal and fervency, and for any thing we know, with as much ſucceſs as the reſt of the Apoſtles; and yet he was a bad man, a man acted by ſordid and mean deſigns, one that had proſtituted Religion and the honour of his place to covetouſneſs and evil arts. The love of money had ſo intirely poſſeſſed his thoughts, that his reſolutions were bound for nothing but intereſt and advantage. *But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a ſnare.* This covetous temper betrayed him, as in the iſſue to the moſt fatal end, ſo to the moſt deſperate attempt, ἄγος τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον, as *Origen* calls the putting *Chriſt* to death, the moſt prodigious impiety that the Sun ever ſhone on, the betraying his innocent Lord into the hands of thoſe, who he knew would treat him with all the circumſtances of inſolent ſcorn and cruelty. How little does kindneſs work upon a diſingenuous mind! It was not the honour of the place, to which when thouſands of other were paſſed by, our Lord had called him, the admitting him into a free and intimate fellowſhip with his perſon, the taking him to be one of his peculiar domeſticks and attendants, that could divert the wretch from his wicked purpoſe. He knew how deſirous the great men of the Nation were to get *Chriſt* into their hands, eſpecially at the time of the Paſſeover, that he might with the more publick diſgrace be ſacrificed before all the people, and therefore bargains with them, and for no greater a ſumm than under four pounds, to betray the *Lamb of God* into the paws of theſe Wolves and Lions: In ſhort, he heads the party, conducts the Officers, and ſees him delivered into their hands.

Orig. Celſ. lib. 175.

2. BUT there's an active principle in man's breaſt, that ſeldom ſuffers daring ſinners to paſs in quiet to their Graves: Awakened with the horror of the fact, conſcience began to rouze and follow cloſe, and the man was unable to bear up under the furious revenges of his own mind: As indeed all wilfull and deliberate ſins, and eſpecially the guilt of bloud, are wont more ſenſibly to alarm the natural notions of our minds, and to excite in us the fears of ſome preſent vengeance that will ſeize upon us. And how intolerable are thoſe ſcourges that laſh us in this vital and tender part? The ſpirit of the man ſinks under him, and all ſupports ſnap aſunder: As what eaſe or comfort can he enjoy, that carries a *Vultur* in his boſom, always gnawing

gnawing and preying upon his heart? Which made * *Plutarch* compare an evil Conſcience to a *Cancer* in the breaſt, that perpetually gripes and ſtings the Soul with the pains of an intolerable repentance. Guilt is naturally troubleſome and uneaſie, it diſturbs the peace and ſerenity of the mind, and fills the Soul with ſtorms and thunder. ‖ *Did ever any harden himſelf againſt God, and proſper?* And indeed how ſhould he, when God has ſuch a powerful and inviſible executioner in his own boſom? Whoever rebels againſt the Laws of his duty, and plainly affronts the dictates of his Conſcience, does that moment bid *adieu* to all true repoſe and quiet, and expoſe himſelf to the ſevere reſentments of a ſelf-tormenting mind. And though by ſecret arts of wickedneſs he may be able poſſibly to drown and ſtifle the voice of it for a while, yet every little affliction or petty accident will be apt to awaken it into horror, and to let in terror like an armed man upon him. A torment infinitely beyond what the moſt ingenious Tyrants could ever contrive. Nothing ſo effectually invades our eaſe, as the reproaches of our own minds. The wrath of man may be endured, but the irruptions of Conſcience are irreſiſtible; it is τῷ συνειδότι ἀπάγχεσθαι (as *Chryſoſtom* very elegantly ſtiles it) to be *choaked* or ſtrangled with an evil Conſcience, which oft reduces the man to ſuch diſtreſſes, as to make him chuſe death rather than life. A ſad inſtance of all which we have in this unhappy man: who being wearied with furious and melancholy reflexions upon what was paſt, threw back the wages of iniquity in open Court, and diſpatched himſelf by a violent death: Vainly hoping to take ſanctuary in the Grave, and that he ſhould meet with that eaſe in another World which he could not find in this. *He departed, and went and hanged himſelf, and falling down burſt aſunder, and his bowels guſhed out:* Leaving a memorable warning to all treacherous and ingrateful, to all greedy and covetous perſons, not to let the World inſinuate it ſelf too far into them; and indeed to all *to watch and pray that they enter not into temptation.* Our preſent ſtate is ſlippery and inſecure; *Let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall.* What priviledges can be a ſufficient fence, a foundation firm enough to rely upon, when the Miracles, Sermons, favours, and familiar converſes of *Chriſt* himſelf could not ſecure one of the Apoſtles from ſo fatal an Apoſtaſie?

* Τὸ μὲν συνειδὸς οἴεται ἕλκος ἐν σαρκὶ, τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν μεταμέλειαν αἱμάσσουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ νύσσου ἐναπολείπει. *Plut. de Anim. tranquil. p.* 4[illegible] Ἀλλὰ τὰ δ' ἐκτελέειν, ἅ σε μὴ μετέπειτ' ἀ[illegible]σῃ. *Pythag. in aur. carm. in quem locum hæc i[illegible] alia* Hierocles, *optima prorſus & huic loco ſ[illegible] appoſita.* Τί ὄφελος ἐπιορκίαις, ἢ φόνοις, ἢ [illegible]λαις τισὶ κακοπραγίαις λῃΐσασθαι χρήματα, πλουτεῖν τὰ ἔξω; καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἢ ἀναιδή[illegible] ἔχειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπιτείνειν τὸ κακόν εἰς αἴσθησιν τῶν εἰργασμένων ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσ[illegible] ἑλκόμενον στρεβλοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ δειμαίνειν ἐν ᾅδου κολαστήρια· καὶ μόνην ἴασιν ἐυρίσκειν τὴν τὸ μὴ εἶναι καταφυγὴν, ὅθεν αὐτῷ παρίσταται κα[illegible] τὸ κακὸν ἰᾶσθαι, φθορᾷ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν κακίαν πωρα[illegible]θυμένῳ, καὶ τὴν μετὰ θάνατον οὐδένειαν ἑαυτοῦ κα[illegible]ψηφίζεσθαι φυγὴν τῶν τῆς κρίσεως πόνων; οὐ βούλ[illegible] γὰρ ὁ κακὸς ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν, ἵνα ὑπομείνῃ τιμωρούμενος. Καὶ φθάνει τὴν ἐκεῖ [illegible]καστὴν θάνατον ἑαυτοῦ καταψηφιζόμενος, ὡς π[illegible]πον τὴν πονηρὰν ψυχὴν μηδὲ εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν, ἀβουλίᾳ πρὸς κακίαν ὑπενεχθεὶς, εἰκότως ἀμ[illegible]τείᾳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψῆφον ἐκφέρει. *Hierocl. in A[illegible] Carm. p.* 165.

‖ Job 9.

3. A VACANCY being thus made in the Colledge of Apoſtles, the firſt thing they did after their return from Mount *Olivet*, where our Lord took his leave of them, to S. *John*'s houſe in Mount *Sion* (the place, if we may believe * *Nicephorus*, where the Church met together) was to fill up their number with a fit proper perſon. To which purpoſe *Peter* acquainted them, that *Judas*, according to the prophetical prediction, being fallen from his miniſtry, it was neceſſary that another ſhould be ſubſtituted in his room, one that had been a conſtant companion and diſciple of the holy *Jeſus*, and conſequently capable of bearing witneſs to his life, death, and reſurrection. Two were propounded in order to the choice, *Joſeph* called *Barſabas*, and *Juſtus* (whom ſome make the ſame with *Joſes* one of the brothers of our Lord) and *Matthias*, both duly qualified for the place. The way of election was by *Lots*, a way frequently uſed both among *Jews* and *Gentiles* for

* *H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 131.

for the determination of doubtful and difficult cases, and especially the chusing Judges and Magistrates: And this course the Apostles the rather took, because the *Holy Ghost* was not yet given, by whose immediate dictates and inspirations they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that the business might proceed with the greater regularity and success, they first solemnly make their address to Heaven, that the Omniscient Being that governed the World, and perfectly understood the tempers and dispositions of men, would immediately guide and direct the choice, and shew which of these two he would appoint to take that part of the Apostolick charge, from which *Judas* was so lately fallen. The Lots being put into the Urn, *Matthias* his name was drawn out, and thereby the Apostolate devolved upon him.

4. NOT long after the promised powers of the Holy Ghost were conferred upon the Apostles, to fit them for that great and difficult employment, upon which they were sent: And among the rest S. *Matthias* betook himself to his Charge and Province. The first-fruits of his Ministry he spent in *Judæa*, where having reaped a considerable harvest, he betook himself to other Provinces. An * *Author*, I confess, of no great credit in these matters, tells us, that he preached the Gospel in *Macedonia*, where the *Gentiles* to make an experiment of his Faith and Integrity, gave him a poisonous and intoxicating potion, which he chearfully drunk off, in the name of *Christ*, without the least prejudice to himself; and that when the same potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their sight, he laying his hands upon them, restored them to their sight: with a great deal more of the same stamp, which I have neither faith enough to believe, nor leisure enough to relate. The *Greeks* with more probability report him to have travelled *Eastward*, he came (says ‖ *Nicephorus*) into the *first*, (says * *Sophronius*) into the *second Æthiopia*, and in both, I believe, it is a mistake, either of the Authors or Transcribers, for *Cappadocia*, his residence being principally near the irruption of the River *Apsarus*, and the Haven *Hyssus*, both places in *Cappadocia*. Nor is there any *Æthiopia* nearer those places than that conterminous to *Chaldæa*, whereof before. And as for those that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the *Asian* and *African Æthiopia*, and that both might be comprehended under that general name, as the *Eastern* and *Western* parts of the World were heretofore contained under the general title of the *India*'s, it's a fancy without any other ground to stand on, than their own bare conjecture. The place whither he came was very barbarous, and his usage was accordingly. For here meeting with a people of a fierce and intractable temper, he was treated by them with great rudeness and inhumanity, from whom after all his labours and sufferings, and a numerous conversion of men to Christianity, he obtained at last the crown of Martyrdom, *Ann. Chr.* LXI. or as others, LXIV. Little certainty can be retrieved concerning the manner of his death. * *Dorotheus* will have him to die at *Sebastople*, and to be buried there near the Temple of the *Sun*. An ancient ‖ *Martyrologie* reports him to have been seized by the *Jews*, and as a blasphemer to have been first stoned, and then beheaded. But the * *Greek Offices*, seconded herein by several ancient *Breviaries*, tell us that he was crucified, and that as *Judas* was hanged upon a Tree, so *Matthias* suffered upon a Cross. His Body is said to have been kept a long time at *Jerusalem*, thence thought, by *Helen* the Mother of the Great *Constantine*, to have been translated to *Rome*, where some parts of it are shewed with great veneration

Petr. de Natl. Histor. nct. lib. 3. 149.

H. Eccl. l. 2. 40. p. 203. Ap. Hieron. Script. Eccl. Matthia.

Synops. de vit. pp. in Bibl. . Tom. 3. 148. olon. Impress. 90. ad Febr. .

Ἐξῆλθεν ἀρθεὶς Ἰούδας ἐπὶ βρόχου.
ῆλθεν ἀρθεὶς Ματθίας ἐπὶ ξύλου.
ρθη ἀμφ' ἑνάτῃ ξύλῳ ἰούδεος Ματθίας.
Menæa Græcor. ad diem IX. *August. apud olland. de vit. SS. ad Febr.* XXIV. *Tom.* 3. 433.

veneration at this day. Though * others with as great eagerneſs, and probably as much truth, contend that his Reliques were brought to, and are ſtill preſerved at *Triers* in *Germany*, a controverſie wherein I ſhall not concern my ſelf. His memory is celebrated in the *Greek* Church *Auguſt* the IX, as appears not only from their *Menologies*, but from a *Novel* ‖ conſtitution of *Manuel Comnenus*, appointing what *holy days* ſhould be kept in the Church, while the *Weſtern* Churches keep *February* XXIV ſacred to his memory. Among many other *Apocryphal* writings attributed to the Apoſtles, there was a *Goſpel* publiſhed under his name, mentioned by * *Euſebius* and the Ancients, and condemned with the reſt by ‖ *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, as it had been rejected by others before him: Under his name alſo there were extant *Traditions*, cited by [a] *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, from whence no queſtion it was that the *Nicolaitans* borrowed that ſaying of his, which they abuſed to ſo vile and beaſtly purpoſes, as under the pretended patronage of his name and doctrines the *Marcionites* and [b] *Valentinians* defended ſome of their moſt abſurd and impious opinions.

* *Vid. Chr. Brower. Annal. Trevered. lib.2.p.658. ſcriptores ex utraque parte contendentes ap.Boll. loc. cit. p.435.*

‖ *Extat in Jur.Gr.Rom. lib.2.p.161.*

* *H.Eccl. l.3. c.25.p.97.*

Orig. in Luc. Homil.10. Ambr præf. in Luc.Tom.5. p.7.

‖ *Decr.Part.1. Diſt.15. cap. Sanct.Rom. Sect.Caterum.*

a *Strom.lib.2. p.380. ibid. lib.3. p.436.* b *Ibid. lib. 7. p.765.*

The End of S. Matthias's *Life.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE LIFE OF S. MARK the Evangeliſt.

The Evangeliſt S.t Mark.

He having been the Coädiutor of S.t Paul & S.t Peter severally, at Alexandria planted & governd a Church and there by the violence of the Pagan multitude suffered Martyrdom. AD. 64. *Baron: & Centur*

S.t *Mark's* Martyrdom.

Hebr. 11. 35. *Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.*
Of whom the world was not worthy.

His Kindred, *and diſtinction from others of the ſame Name. Whether one of the Seventy. His Converſion. His attendance upon* Peter, *and Preaching the Goſpel in* Italy, *and at* Rome. *His planting Chriſtianity at* Alexandria, *and great ſucceſs there. An account of the* Therapeutæ *(mentioned by* Philo*) and their excellent manners, rules, and way of Life. Theſe proved not to have been* Chriſtians *by ſeveral arguments. The Original of the miſtake whence.* S. Mark's *Preaching in the Parts of* Africk. *His return to* Alexandria, *and diligence in his Miniſtry. The manner of his Martyrdom. The time of it enquired into. The deſcription of his Perſon. His* Goſpel, *when and where written, and why ſaid to be* Peter's. *His great impartiality in his Relations. In what Language written. The Original whether extant at this Day.*

1. SAINT *Mark*, though carrying something of *Roman* in his Name, probably assumed by him upon some great change, or accident of his Life, or which was not unusual among the *Jews*, when going into the *European* Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, taken up at his going for *Italy* and *Rome*, was doubtless born of *Jewish* Parents, originally descended of the *Tribe of* * *Levi*, and the Line of the Priesthood, and (if ‖ *Nicephorus* say true) Sister's Son to *Peter*, though by others against all reason confounded with *John* sirnamed *Mark* the Son of *Mary*, and *Mark* Sisters Son to *Barnabas*. By the Ancients he is generally thought to have been one of the Seventy Disciples, and * *Epiphanius* expresly tell us, that he was one of those who taking exception at our Lord's discourse of *eating his Flesh and drinking his Bloud, went back and walked no more with him*, but was seasonably reduced and reclaimed by *Peter*. But no foundation appears either for the one or for the other; nay, ‖ *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who lived near those times, positively affirms that he was no hearer nor follower of our Saviour. He was converted by some of the Apostles, and probably by S. *Peter*, who is said to have been his *undertaker* at his Baptism (if I understand *Isidore* * aright) for no other reason I suppose, than because he calls him *his Son*. Indeed he was his constant attendant in his Travels, supplying the place of an *Amanuensis* and Interpreter; for though the Apostles were Divinely inspired, and among other miraculous powers had the gift of Languages conferred upon them, yet was the *interpretation of Tongues* a gift more peculiar to some than others. This might probably be S. *Mark*'s Talent, in expounding S. *Peter*'s Discourses, whether by word or writing, to those who understood not the Language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his Apostolical progress, Preached the Gospel in ‖ *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where at the request of the Christians of those Parts he composed and wrote his Gospel.

Hieron. præf. Marc. Tom. .87. I. Eccl. l. 2. 3. p. 209. Hæres. LI. 86. pud. Euseb. c. 39. p. 113. etri discipu- & in bap- ate filius. .de vit. & SS. c. 84. 42. az. Orat. p. 438.

2. BY *Peter* he was sent into *Egypt* to plant Christianity in those Parts, fixing his main residence at *Alexandria*, and the places thereabouts: where so great (says * *Eusebius*) was the success of his Ministry, that he converted Multitudes both of Men and Women, not only to the embracing of the Christian Religion, but to a more than ordinarily strict profession of it, insomuch that *Philo* wrote a Book of their peculiar Rites and way of Life, the only reason why ‖ S. *Hierom* reckons him among the Writers of the Church. Indeed *Philo* the *Jew* wrote a Book περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ, extant at this day, wherein he speaks of a sort of Persons called Θεραπευταὶ, who in many parts of the World, but especially in a pleasant place near the *Meræotick* Lake in *Egypt* had formed themselves into Religious Societies, and gives a large account of their Rites and Customs, their strict, philosophical, and contemplative course of life. He tells * us of them, that when they first enter upon this way, they renounce all secular interests and employments, and leaving their Estates to their Relations, retire into Groves and Gardens, and Places devoted to solitude and contemplation; that they had their Houses or Colleges, not contiguous, that so being free from noise and tumult, they might the better minister to the designs of a contemplative life; nor yet removed at too great a distance, that they might maintain mutual society, and be conveniently capable of helping and assisting one another. In each of these Houses there was an *Oratory*, call'd Σεμνεῖον and Μοναστήριον, wherein

Eccl. lib. 2. .p. 53. e Script. cl. in Phi- e. Phil. lib. de a contem- t. p. 891, 2. & seqq.

wherein they diſcharged the more ſecret and ſolemn Rites of their Religion; divided in the middle with a Partition-wall three or four Cubits high, the one apartment being for the Men, and the other for the Women: Here they publickly met every Seventh day, where being ſet according to their ſeniority, and having compoſed themſelves with great decency and reverence, the moſt aged Perſon among them, and beſt skilled in the *Dogmata* and Principles of their Inſtitution came forth into the midſt, gravely and ſoberly diſcourſing what might make the deepeſt impreſſion upon their minds; the reſt attending with a profound ſilence, and only teſtifying their aſſent with the motion of their Eyes or Head. Their diſcourſes were uſually myſtical and allegorical, ſeeking hidden ſences under plain words, and of ſuch an *allegorical Philoſophy* conſiſted the Books of their Religion, left them by their Anceſtors: The Law they compared to an *Animal*, the Letter of it reſembling the Body, while the Soul of it lay in thoſe abſtruſe and recondite notions, which the external veil and ſurface of the words concealed from vulgar underſtandings. He tells us alſo, that they took very little care of the Body, perfecting their minds by Precepts of Wiſdom and Religion; the day they intirely ſpent in Pious and Divine Meditations, in reading and expounding the Law and the Prophets, and the Holy Volumes of the ancient Founders of their Sect, and in ſinging Hymns to the honour of their Maker; abſolutely temperate and abſtemious, neither eating nor drinking till Night, the only time they thought fit to refreſh and regard the Body, ſome of them out of an inſatiable deſire of growing in knowledge and vertue, faſting many days together. What Diet they had was very plain and ſimple, ſufficient only to provide againſt hunger and thirſt, a little Bread, Salt and Water being their conſtant bill of fare: their clothes were as mean as their food, deſigned only as a preſent ſecurity againſt cold and nakedneſs. And this not only the caſe of men, but of pious and devout Women that lived (though ſeparately) among them; that they religiouſly obſerved every Seventh Day, and eſpecially the *preparatory* Week to the *great ſolemnity*, which they kept with all expreſſions of a more ſevere abſtinence and devotion. This and much more he has in that Tract concerning them.

3. THESE excellent Perſons *Euſebius* peremptorily affirms to have been Chriſtians, converted and brought under theſe admirable Rules and Inſtitutions of Life by S. *Mark* at his coming hither, accommodating all paſſages to the Manners and Diſcipline of Chriſtians: followed herein by * *Epiphanius*, ‖ *Hierom*, and others of old, as by [a] *Baronius*, and ſome others of later time: and this ſo far taken for granted, that [b] many have hence fetched the riſe of Monaſteries and Religious Orders among Chriſtians. But whoever ſeriouſly and impartially conſiders *Philo*'s account, will plainly find that he intends it of *Jews* and Profeſſors of the *Moſaick* Religion, though whether *Eſſenes*, or of ſome other particular Sect among them, I ſtand not to determine. That they were not Chriſtians, is evident, beſides that *Philo* gives not the leaſt intimation of it, partly becauſe it is improbable that *Philo* being a *Jew* ſhould give ſo great a character and commendation of *Chriſtians*, ſo hateful to the *Jews* at that time in all places of the World; partly, in that *Philo* ſpeaks of them as an Inſtitution of ſome conſiderable ſtanding, whereas Chriſtians had but lately appeared in the World, and were later come into *Egypt*; partly, becauſe many parts of *Philo*'s account does no way ſuit with the ſtate and manners of Chriſtians at that time; as that they withdrew themſelves from publick converſe, and all affairs of civil life, which Chriſtians never did,

* *Hæreſ.* XXIX. *p.* 57.
‖ *De Script. in Philone.*
[a] *Ad Ann.* 64. *n.* 11.
[b] *Sozom. H. Eccl. lib.* 1. *c.* 12. *p.* 419. *Caſſian de Inſtit. Monach. lib.* 2. *c.* 5. *p.* 12.

did, but when forced by violent Perſecutions, for ordinarily, as *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* tell us, they promiſcuouſly dwelt in Towns and Cities, plowed their Lands, and followed their Trades, ate and drank, and were clothed and habited like other men. So when he ſays, that beſides the Books of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, they had the Writings of the *Ancient* Authors of their Sect and Inſtitution; this cannot be meant of Chriſtians: for though *Euſebius* would underſtand it of the Writings of the *Evangeliſts* and *Apoſtles*, yet, beſides that there were few of them publiſhed when *Philo* wrote this diſcourſe, they were however of too late an Edition to come under the character of ancient Authors. Not to ſay that ſome of their Rites and Cuſtoms were ſuch, as the Chriſtians of thoſe days were mere ſtrangers to, not taken up by the Chriſtian Church till many Years, and ſome of them not till ſome Ages after. Nay ſome of them never uſed by any of the Primitive Chriſtians; ſuch were their *religious dances*, which they had at their Feſtival Solemnities, eſpecially that great one which they held at the end of every Seven Weeks; when their entertainment being ended, they all roſe up, the Men in one Company, and the Women in another, dancing with various meaſures and motions, each Company ſinging Divine Hymns and Songs, and having a *Precentor* going before them, now one ſinging, and anon another, till in the concluſion they joyned in one common *Chorus*, in imitation of the triumphant Song ſung by *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* after their deliverance at the *Red Sea*. To all which let me add, what a Learned * Man has obſerved, that the *Eſſenes* (if *Philo* means them) were great Phyſicians (thence probably called Θεραπευταὶ, *Healers*, though ‖ *Philo*, who is apt to turn all things into Allegory, refers it only to their curing, τὰς ψυχὰς νόσοις κεκρατημένας χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἃς κατέσκηψαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, καὶ κακιῶν ἀπήνυτον πλῆθος, *the Souls of Men infected and over-run with difficult and diſperate diſtempers, created by pleaſures and extravagant appetites, and a long train of other luſts and paſſions*) * *Joſephus* reporting of them, that they accurately ſtudy the Writings of the Ancients, excerping thence whatever is conducive either to Soul or Body; and that for the curing of Diſeaſes, they diligently enquired into the Vertues of Roots and Stones, that were moſt proper to drive away Diſtempers. An Account no ways agreeing with the Chriſtians of thoſe times, who miraculouſly cured Diſeaſes without the Arts of Phyſick, or any other Preparations, than calling the Name of Chriſt over the afflicted Perſon. Doubtleſs that which led *Euſebius* into the miſtake, was the conformity that he obſerved between the Chriſtian Ἀσκηταὶ, in and before his time, who entred upon a more ſtrict and ſevere courſe of life, and theſe *Therapeutæ* deſcribed by *Philo*, an ordinary fancy being able to draw a fair parallel between them, and ſo it was but removing them ſome Ages higher, and imagining them to have been converted and founded by S. *Mark*, and the work was done. Indeed it is not to be doubted, but that Perſons educated under theſe excellent rules and methods of life, were more than ordinarily prepared for the reception of Chriſtianity (between which and their Principles and Rules of Life, there was ſo great an affinity and agreement) which muſt needs render our Evangeliſts ſucceſs great in thoſe Parts, and open the way for men to come flocking over to the Faith.

hil. ibid. 901, 902.

N. Full. Miſſ. ll. Sacr. lib. 1. ap. 3.

Lib. ſupr. ci. p. 889.

De Bell. Jud. ic. lib. 2. cap. p. 786.

4. S. *MARK* did not confine his Preaching to *Alexandria*, and the Oriental Parts of *Egypt*, but removed * *Weſtward* to the parts of *Libya*,

S. Metaphr. Martyr. S. Marc. apud r. ad diem 25.

* *Apr. Procop. Diac. Laudat. S. Marc. ib. ‖ S. Nicephi. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 43. p. 209.*

going

going through the Countries of *Marmarica*, *Pentapolis*, and others thereabouts, where though the People were both barbarous in their manners, and idolatrous in their worſhip, yet by his Preaching and Miracles he made way for the entertainment of the Goſpel, and left them not, till he had not only gained them to, but confirmed them in the profeſſion of it. Returning to *Alexandria* he preached freely, and ordered and diſpoſed the affairs of the Church, and wiſely provided for ſucceſſion by conſtituting Governours and Paſtors of it. But the reſtleſs enemy of the Souls of Men would not long ſuffer him to be quiet: It was the time of *Eaſter*, at what time the great Solemnities of *Serapis* hapned to be celebrated, when the minds of the People being excited to a paſſionate vindication of the honour of their *Idol*, broke in upon S. *Mark*, then engaged in the ſolemn celebration of Divine worſhip, and binding his Feet with Cords, dragged him through the ſtreets and the moſt craggy places to the *Buſelus*, a Precipice near the Sea, and for that Night thruſt him into Priſon, where his Soul was by a Divine Viſion erected and encouraged under the ruines of his ſhattered Body. Early the next Morning the Tragedy began again, dragging him about in the ſame manner, till his Fleſh being raked off, and his Bloud run out, his ſpirits failed, and he expired. But their malice died not with him, *Metaphraſtes* adds that they burnt his Body, whoſe Bones and Aſhes the Chriſtians there decently entombed near the place where he was wont to Preach. His Body, at leaſt the remains of it were afterwards with great pomp removed from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where they are religiouſly honoured, and he adopted as the *Tutelar Saint* and Patron of that State, and one of the richeſt and ſtatelieſt Churches erected to his Memory, that the World can boaſt of at this Day. He ſuffered in the Month *Pharmuthi*, on the XXV of *April*, though the certain Year of his Martyrdom is not preciſely determined by the Ancients. * *Kirſtenius* out of the *Arabick Memoires* of his Life ſays, it was in the Fourteenth of the laſt Year of *Claudius*; ‖ S. *Hierom* places it in the Eighth of *Nero*. But extravagantly wide is * *Dorotheus* his computation, who makes him to ſuffer in the time of *Trajan*, with as much truth as ‖ *Nicephorus* on the other hand affirms him to have come into *Egypt* in the Reign of *Tiberius*. If in ſo great variety of Opinions I may interpoſe my conjecture, I ſhould reckon him to have ſuffered about the end of *Nero*'s Reign: For ſuppoſing him to have come with S. *Peter* to *Rome* about the Fifth or Sixth Year of *Nero*, he might thence be diſpatched to *Alexandria*, and ſpend the reſidue of his Life and of that Emperor's Reign in planting Chriſtianity in thoſe parts of the World. Sure I am that * *Irenæus* reports S. *Mark* to have out-lived *Peter* and *Paul*, and that after their deceaſe he compoſed his Goſpel out of thoſe things which he had heard *Peter* preach. But whatever becomes of that, it is evident that *Irenæus* ſuppoſed (whoſe ſuppoſition certainly was not founded upon meer fancy and conjecture) that S. *Mark* for ſome conſiderable time ſurvived the Martyrdom of thoſe two great Apoſtles. A paſſage that ſo troubled *Chriſtophorſon* (one of thoſe who in theſe later Ages firſt tranſlated *Euſebius* into *Latin*) becauſe croſſing the accounts of their Writers in this matter, that he choſe rather to expunge the word, *deceaſe*, and ſubſtitute another of a quite different ſence, expreſly contrary to the faith of all ancient Copies, and to the moſt ancient Verſion of *Irenæus* it ſelf. But to return. S. *Mark* as to his ‖ Perſon was of a middle ſize and ſtature, his Noſe long, his Eye-brows turning back, his Eyes graceful and amiable, his Head bald, his Beard prolix and gray, his Gate quick, the conſtitution of his *Body* ſtrong and healthful.

Id ibid

Vid. vit. ej. MS. Ara. ſcript. ap. K. ſten. p. 37.

* *Ubi ſupr.*

‖ *De Script. Eccleſ. in Marc.*

* *Synopſ. de & mort. A. Bibl. Pp. To. p. 148. col.*

‖ *Lib. 2. c. 4. p. 209.*

* *Adv. Hæ. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 229. citat. am ap. Euſ. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 172.*

‖ *Metaphr. n. 10. Nice. ib. p. 216.*

5. HIS

5. HIS Gospel, the only Book he left behind him, was, as before we observed, written at the intreaty of the Converts at * *Rome*, who not content to have heard *Peter* preach, pressed S. *Mark* his Disciple, that he would commit to Writing an Historical account of what he had delivered to them: which he performed with no less faithfulness than brevity, all which S. *Peter* perused, ratified with his Authority, and commanded to be publickly read in their Religious Assemblies. And though, as we noted but now, *Irenæus* seems to intimate that it was written after *Peter's* death: yet all that can be inferred hence will be, what in it self is a matter of no great moment and importance, that the Ancients were not agreed in assigning the exact time when the several Gospels were published to the World. It was frequently stiled S. *Peter's Gospel*, not so much because dictated by him to S. *Mark*, as because he principally composed it out of that account which S. *Peter* usually delivered in his Discourses to the People. Which probably is the reason of what * *Chrysostom* observes, that in his stile and manner of expression he delights to imitate S. *Peter*, representing much in a few words. Though he commonly reduces the story of our Saviour's Acts into a narrower compass than S. *Matthew*, yet want there not passages, which he relates more largely than he. The last Chapter of his Gospel, at least part of it, was (as ‖ *Hierom* informs us) wanting in all ancient *Greek* Copies, rejected upon pretence of some disagreement with the other Gospels, though, as he there shews, they are fairly consistent with each other. His great impartiality in his Relations appears from hence, that he is so far from concealing the shameful lapse and denial of *Peter*, his dear Tutor and Master, that he sets it down with some particular circumstances and aggravations, which the other Evangelists take no notice of. Some dispute has been made in what Language it was written, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*; That which seems to give most countenance to the *Latin* Original, is the note that we find at the end of the *Syriack* Version of this Gospel, where it is said that *Mark* preached and declared his Holy Gospel at *Rome* ܪܘܡܝܐ in the *Roman*, or the *Latin Tongue*. An evidence that with me would almost carry the force of a demonstration, were I assured that this note is of equal value and authority with that Ancient Version, generally supposed to come very few Centuries short of the *Apostolick* Age. But we know how usual it is for such additions to be made by some later hand. And what credit is to be given to the *subscriptions* at the end of S. *Paul's* Epistles, we have shewed elsewhere. Besides, that it is not here said that he *wrote*, but that he *Preached* his Gospel at *Rome* in that Language. The Advocates of the *Romish* Church plead, that it's very congruous and suitable, that it should at first be consigned to Writing in that Language, being principally designed for the use of the Christians at *Rome*. An objection that will easily vanish, when we consider, that as the Convert *Jews* there understood very little *Latin*, so there were very few *Romans* that understood not *Greek*, it being (as appears from the Writers of that Age) the *gentile* and fashionable Language of those Times. Nor can any good reason be assigned, why it should be more inconvenient for S. *Mark* to write his Gospel in *Greek* for the use

em. Al. Hyp. lib. 6. ap. ch. l. 2. c. 15 .Papias ib. c. 39. p. 113

.Pap. loc. .citat.

Homil. 3. in atth. p. 30.

d Hedib. est. 3 p. 143

αὕτα παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου μαθών· καὶ γὰρ φοιτητὴν Πέτρῳ. ὅθεν μάλιστα ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἐκπλαγ, ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔκρυψε τὸ ἐλάττωμα. ἀλλὰ ἄλλων σαφέστερον ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτῷ τούτῳ μαθητῇ. *Chrys. Homil. 86. in Matth. 9.*

uſe of the *Romans*, than that S. *Paul* ſhould in the ſame Language write his Epiſtle to that Church. The Original *Greek* Copy, written with S. *Mark*'s own hand, is ſaid to be extant at *Venice* at this Day. Written (they tell us) by him at *Aquileia*, and thence after many Hundreds of Years tranſlated to *Venice*, where it is ſtill preſerved, though the Letters ſo worn out with length of time, that they are not capable of being read. A ſtory which as I cannot abſolutely diſprove, ſo am I not very forward to believe, and that for more reaſons than I think worth while to inſiſt on in this place.

Corn. à Lap. præfat. in Marc. p. 56

The End of S. Mark's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. LUKE the Evangeliſt.

S. LUKE.

2. COR. 8. 8. 19.
The Brother, whoſe praiſe is in ȳ Goſpel through out all ȳ Churches: And not that onely, but who was alſo choſen of ȳ Churches to travell with us.

Sᵗ Luke his Martyrdom.

Col. 4. 14. *Luke the beloved Phyſician. The brother whoſe Praiſe is in the Goſpel.*
2 Cor. 4. 11. *We are delivered unto death for Jeſus ſake. Bearing in the body the dying of the Lord Jeſus.*

Antioch *S. Luke's birth-place. The fame and dignity of it. His learned and liberal education. His ſtudy of* Phyſick. *His skill in* Painting. *S. Luke none of the Seventy. Converted, where, and by whom. His conſtant attendance upon S.* Paul. *In what parts he principally exerciſed his Miniſtry. The place, and manner of his Death. The tranſlation of his Body to* Conſtantinople. *His Writings.* Theophilus, *who. His* Goſpel, *where written, and upon what occaſion. How fitted for it. The* Acts of the Apoſtles *written at* Rome, *and when. Why principally containing the Acts of S.* Paul. *This Book why publickly read juſt after* Eaſter *in the Primitive Church. S. Luke's polite and exact ſtile and way of writing above the reſt.*

1. SAINT

1. SAINT *Luke* was born at *Antioch*, the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, a City celebrated for its extraordinary blessings and eminences, the pleasantness of its situation, the fertility of its soil, the riches of its Traffick, the wisdom of its Senate, the learning of its Professors, the civility and politeness of its Inhabitants, by the Pens of some of the greatest * Orators of their times: And yet above all these renowned for this one peculiar honour, that here it was that *the Disciples were first called Christians.* It was an University, replenished with Schools of learning, wherein were Professors of all Arts and Sciences. So that being born in the very lap of the Muses, he could not well miss of an ingenuous and liberal education, his natural parts meeting with the advantages of great improvements. Nay, we are * told, that he studied not only at *Antioch*, but in all the Schools both of *Greece* and *Egypt*, whereby he became accomplished in all parts of Learning and humane Sciences. Being thus furnished out with skill in all the preparatory Institutions of Philosophy, he more particularly applied himself to the study of *Physick*, for which the *Grecian* Academies were most famous; though they that hence infer the quality of his Birth and Fortunes, forget to consider, that this noble Art was in those times generally managed by persons of no better rank than servants: Upon which account a Learned || man conceives S. *Luke*, though a *Syrian* by birth, to have been a servant at *Rome*, where he sometimes practised Physick, and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own Country, and probably continued his profession all his life, it being so fairly consistent with, and in many cases so subservient to the Ministry of the Gospel, and the care of Souls. Besides his abilities in Physick, he is said to have been very skilful in * *Painting*, and there are no less than three or four several pieces still in being, pretended to have been drawn with his own hand; a tradition which || *Gretser* the *Jesuit* sets himself with a great deal of pains, and to very little purpose to defend, though his Authors, either in respect of credit or antiquity, deserve very little esteem and value. Of more authority with me would be an ancient *Inscription* found in a Vault near the Church of S. *Mary in via lata* at *Rome*, supposed to have been the place where S. *Paul* dwelt, wherein mention is made of a Picture of the B. *Virgin*, *UNA EX VII. AB. LUCA DEPICTIS, being one of the seven painted by S. Luke.*

* *Dion. Chrys. Orat. 47. de Patria. Liban. Orat.* [c]ui Tit. Ἀντιοχικὸς. *Tom. 2. Chrysost. Encom.* [Ant]ioch. Τί ποτ᾽ οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πόλεως [ἀξί]ωμα; ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μα[θη]τὰς χρηματίζειν Χριστιανούς. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐδεμία [κα]τὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔχει πόλεων, οὐδ᾽ αὐτὴ ἡ [Ρω]μύλου πόλις. *Chrysost. Hom. 17. ad Pop Antioch.* [p.1]98. *Tom. 1.*

* *Metaphr.* [apu]d *Sur. ad* [d]. 18. *Octob.* [p.]9.

|| [Gr]ot. *Annot.* [L]uc. 1. 1.

* [M]etaphr. ib. [Ni]ceph. l. 2. [c. 43.]

|| [D]e imag. non [m]anuf. & à S. [Luc.] pict. c. 18. [To]m. ... p. 354.

[Rom.] Subter. [P]art. 2. [c]. n. 10. [p.]8.

2. HE was a *Jewish* Proselyte, *Antioch* abounding with men of that Nation, who had here their Synagogues and Schools of Education, so that we need not with * *Theophylact* send him to *Jerusalem* to be instructed in the study of the Law. As for that opinion of || *Epiphanius* and others, that he was one of the Seventy Disciples, one of those that deserted our Lord for the unwelcome discourse he made to them, but recalled afterwards by S. *Paul*, I behold it as a story of the same coin and stamp with that of S. *Mark*'s leaving *Christ* upon the same occasion, and being reduced by *Peter*, and that the one was made to answer the other; as upon no better ground it is * said that he was one of those two Disciples that were going to *Emmaus*. For besides the silence of Scripture in the case, he himself plainly confesses, that he was not from the beginning an *Eye-witness and minister of the Word.* Most probable it is, that he was converted by S. *Paul* during his abode at *Antioch*, when as the Apostles of catchers of Fish were become *fishers* of men, so he of a Physician of

* [T]heophyl. Ar-[g]. in Luc. [p.] 3.
|| [Ha]eres. 51. [p.]8.

* [T]heoph. ut [et] S. Arabs [in] Script. ap. [Se]lden de [Sy]nt. Evang.
[Lu]c 1. 2.

of the Body became a Phyſician of the Soul. This, *Nicephorus* will have to have been done at *Thebes*, the chief City of *Bœotia*, about forty miles from *Athens*, though it appears not to me by any credible Author that ever *S. Paul* was there. He became ever after his inſeparable companion and fellow-labourer in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, eſpecially after his going into *Macedonia*, from which time in recording the Hiſtory of S. *Paul*'s travels, he always ſpeaks of himſelf in his own Perſon. He followed him in all his dangers, was with him at his ſeveral arraignments at *Jeruſalem*, accompanied him in his deſperate Voyage to *Rome*, where he ſtill attended on him to ſerve his neceſſities, and ſupply thoſe miniſterial Offices, which the Apoſtle's confinement would not ſuffer him to undergo, and eſpecially in carrying meſſages to thoſe Churches where he had planted Chriſtianity. This infinitely endeared him to S. *Paul*, who own'd him for *his fellow-labourer*, called him *the beloved Phyſician*, and *the Brother whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel, throughout all the Churches*, which the Ancients, and eſpecially * *Ignatius*, apply to our Evangeliſt.

Loc. ſupra l dat.

Acts 16. 1

* Epiſt. a Epheſ. p. 44

3. PROBABLE it is that he did not wholly leave S. *Paul* till he had finiſhed his courſe, and crowned all with Martyrdom, though there are that tell ‖ us, that he left *S. Paul* at *Rome*, and returned back into the *Eaſt*, travelled into *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya*, Preached the Goſpel, wrought Miracles, converted Multitudes, conſtituted Guides and Miniſters of Religion, yea, that he himſelf took upon him the Epiſcopal charge of the City of *Thebais*. *Epiphanius* gives us this account, that he firſt Preached in *Dalmatia*, and *Galatia* (he reads it ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ, *in Gaul*, or *France*, and peremptorily affirms, that they are all miſtaken that ſay that it was *Galatia* where *Creſcens* Preached, though ſome think that himſelf in the mean while is under the moſt confident miſtake) then in *Italy* and *Macedonia*, where he ſpared no pains, declined no dangers that he might faithfully diſcharge the truſt committed to him. The Ancients are not very well agreed, either about the time or manner of his death, ſome affirming him to die in *Egypt*, others in *Greece*, the * *Roman Martyrologie* in *Bithynia*, ‖ *Dorotheus* at *Epheſus*; ſome make him die a natural, others a violent death. Indeed neither *Euſebius* nor *S. Hierom* take any notice of it: But * *Nazianzen*, ‖ *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, and ſeveral other expreſly aſſert his Martyrdom, whereof * *Nicephorus* gives this particular account, that coming into *Greece* he ſucceſsfully Preached, and baptized many Converts into the Chriſtian Faith, till a Party of Infidels making head againſt him, drew him to execution, and in want of a *Croſs* whereon to diſpatch him preſently, hanged him upon an Olive-Tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth ſays ‖ *S. Hierom*) year of his Age. * *Kirſtenius* from an Ancient *Arabick* Writer, makes him to have ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, which he thinks might probably be after S. *Paul*'s firſt impriſonment there, and departure thence, when *S. Luke* being left behind as his Deputy to ſupply his place, was ſhortly after put to death, the reaſon (ſays he) why he no longer continued his Hiſtory of the Apoſtles *Acts*, which ſurely he would have done, had he lived any conſiderable time after *S. Paul*'s departure. His Body afterwards, by the command of *Conſtantine*, or his Son *Conſtantius*, was ſolemnly removed to *Conſtantinople*, and buried in the great Church built to the memory of the Apoſtles.

‖ *Metaphr.* ſupr. n. 11.

Ubi ſupra.

* *Ad diem* x Octob. p. 64

‖ *De vit.* & *mort. App.* *Bibl. Pp.* T 3. p. 148.

* *Orat.* 1. *Julian.* p. 7

‖ *Epiſt.* 12. *Sever. de B* p. 138.

* *Lib.* 2. c. 4 p. 210.

‖ *De Script. Eccl. in Luc*

* *Vit. Quat. Evangel.* p. 4

4. TWO Books he wrote for the uſe of the Church, his *Goſpel*, and the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts*, both dedicated to *Theophilus*, which many of the * Ancients ſuppoſe to be but a feigned name, denoting no more than a lover of God, a title common to every Chriſtian. While others with better

Orig. Homil. in Luc. fol 9 *Ambroſ. in Lu* 1. p. 9. T. 5. vi *Epiph. Hæreſ* 51. p. 186.

better reason conclude it the proper name of a particular person, especially since the stile of *most excellent* is attributed to him, the usual title and form of address in those times to Princes and great men. ‖ *Theophylact* stiles him συγκλητικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἴσως, *a man of Consular dignity, and probably a Prince*; the * *Author* of the *Recognitions* makes him a *Nobleman* of *Antioch*, converted by *Peter*, and who upon his conversion gave his House to the Church for the place of their publick and solemn Meetings. We may probably suppose him to have been some Magistrate, whom *S. Luke* had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated these Books, not only as a testimony of honourable respect, but as a means of giving him further certainty and assurance of those things, wherein he had been instructed by him. For his *Gospel*, ‖ *S. Hierom* supposes it to have been written in *Achaia* during his travels with *S. Paul* in those parts, whose help he is generally said to have made use of in the composing of it, and that this the Apostle primarily intends when he so often speaks of *his Gospel*. But whatever assistance *S. Paul* might contribute towards it, we are sure the Evangelist himself tells us, that he derived his intelligence in these matters from those, *who from the beginning had been eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word*. Nor does it in the least detract from the authority of his relations, that he himself was not present at the doing of them; for if we consider who they were from whom he derived his accounts of things, *Habuit utique authenticam paraturam*, as * *Tertullian* speaks, he had a stock both of credit and intelligence sufficiently authentick to proceed upon, delivering nothing in his whole History but what he had immediately received from persons present at, and concerned in the things which he has left upon record. The occasion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent those false and fabulous relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, partly, to supply what seemed wanting in those two Evangelists that wrote before him; and the additions or larger explications of things are particularly enumerated by ‖ *Irenæus*. He mainly insists upon what relates to *Christ*'s Priestly Office, and though recording other parts of the Evangelical story, yet it ever is with a peculiar respect to his Priesthood. Upon which account the Ancients in accommodating the four Symbolical representments in the Prophets Vision to the four Evangelists, assigned the *Oxe* or *Calf* to S. *Luke*.

gum. in . 293. . 10. *pro-* *fol.* 120.

oem. in *b. Tom.* 9.

dv. Marc. *c.* 2. *p.* 414

v. Hæres. . *c.* 14. 2.

5. HIS History of the Apostolick *Acts* was written no doubt at *Rome*, at the end of *S. Paul*'s two Years imprisonment there, with which he concludes his story; it contains the Actions, and sometimes the sufferings of some principal Apostles, especially *S. Paul*; for, besides that his activity in the cause of *Christ* made him bear a greater part both in doing and suffering, *S. Luke* was his constant attendant, an eye-witness of the whole carriage of his life, and privy to his most intimate transactions, and therefore capable of giving a more full and satisfactory account and relation of them; seeing no evidence or testimony in matters of fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and seen. Among other things he gives us a particular account of those great miracles which the Apostles did for the confirmation of their doctrine. And this (as * *Chrysostom* informs us) was the reason why in the Primitive times the Book of the *Acts*, though containing those Actions of the Apostles that were done after *Pentecost* were yet usually read in the Church before it, in the space between that and *Easter*, when as at all other times those parts of the Gospel were read which were proper to the season, it was (*says he*) because the Apostles miracles being the grand confirmation of the truth of *Christ*'s Resurrection, and those Miracles recorded in that Book, it was therefore thought

Serm. 73. *r. Act. App.* *ntur in* *ntec. Tom.* 5.

thought moſt proper to be read next to the feaſt of the Reſurrection. In both theſe Books his way and manner of writing is exact and accurate, his ſtile polite and elegant, ſublime and lofty, and yet clear and perſpicuous, flowing with an eaſie and natural grace and ſweetneſs, admirably accommodate to an hiſtorical deſign, all along expreſſing himſelf in a vein of purer *Greek*, than is to be found in the other Writers of the Holy Story. Indeed being born and bred at *Antioch* (than which no place more famous for Oratory and Eloquence) he could not but carry away a great ſhare of the native *genius* of that place, though his ſtile is ſometimes allayed with a tang of the *Syriack* and *Hebrew* dialect. It was obſerved of old (as * *S. Hierom* tells us) that his skill was greater in *Greek* than *Hebrew*, that therefore he always makes uſe of the *Septuagint* Tranſlation, and refuſes ſometimes to render words, when the propriety of the *Greek* Tongue will not bear it. In ſhort, as an *Hiſtorian*, he was faithful in his relations, elegant in his Writings; as a *Miniſter*, careful and diligent for the good of Souls; as a *Chriſtian*, devout and pious: and who crowned all the reſt with the laying down his life for the teſtimony of that Goſpel, which he had both Preached and Publiſhed to the World.

* *Comm. in 6. Eſai. p. 3 T. 5. ibid. in 28. p. 118. Epiſt. ad Damaſ. p. 124. T. 3.*

The End of S. Luke's *Life.*

DYPTYCHA APOSTOLICA:

OR,

A Brief Enumeration and Account of the APOSTLES and their SUCCESSORS,

FOR THE

First Three Hundred Years in the Five Great Churches, ſaid to have been Founded by them, thence called by the Ancients,

APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES,

VIZ.

Antioch, Rome, Jeruſalem, Byzantium or *Conſtantinople*, and *Alexandria*.

ANTIOCH.

THIS I place firſt, partly becauſe 'tis generally acknowledged even by the *Romiſh* Writers, that a Church was founded here by *S. Peter* ſome conſiderable time before that at *Rome*; partly becauſe here it was that the Venerable name of Chriſtians did firſt commence. In which reſpect the ‖ Fathers in the Council at *Conſtantinople* under *Nectarius*, in their *Synodicon* to them at *Rome*, ſtile the Church of *Antioch*, ἡ πρεσβυτάτην, καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴν, *The moſt Ancient, and truly Apoſtolical*; and * *S. Chryſoſtom*, *The head of the whole World*. The Succeſſion of its Biſhops till the time of *Conſtantine* (which ſhall be the Boundary of this Catalogue) was as followeth.

I. *S. Peter* the *Apoſtle*; who governed this Church at leaſt 7. Years. *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople* ſays Eleven.

II. *Euodius*, who ſat 23. Years. In his time *the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians at Antioch.*

III. *Ignatius*. After near 40. Years Preſidency over this Church he was carried out of *Syria* to *Rome*, and there thrown to wild Beaſts in the *Theatre*, *Ann. Chr.* 110. *Trajan.* 11.

IV. *Heron*, he was Biſhop 20. Years: To him ſucceeded

V. *Cornelius*, who kept the place 13. Years, dying *Ann. Chr.* 142.

VI. *Eros*, 26, or as *Euſebius*, 24. years.

VII. *Theophilus*, 13. a man of great Parts and Learning, many of his Works were extant in *Euſebius* his time, and ſome of them we ſtill have at this day.

‖ *Ap. Theod. Eccleſ. lib. c 9. p. 15.*

VIII. *Maximinus*, 13. he dying, the next that was choſen was

IX. *Serapio*, 25. many of his Works are mentioned by *Euſebius* and S. *Hierom.* To him ſucceeded

* *Homil. 3. Pop. Ant. T. 1. p. 40.*

X. *Aſclepiades*; a man of great worth and eminency, and invincible conſtancy in the time of perſecution; he continued in this See 9. years.

XI. *Philetus*, 8.

XII. *Zebinus*, or *Zebennus*, he ſat 6. years.

XIII. *Babylas*, 13. after many conflicts and ſufferings for the Faith,

he received the crown of Martyrdom under *Decius*, and commanded his Chains to be buried with him.

XIV. *Fabius*, or as the Patriarch *Nicephorus* calls him, *Flavius*, poſſeſſed the Chair 9. years. He was a little inclining towards *Novatianiſm*.

XV. *Demetrianus*, he ſat Biſhop, ſays *Nicephorus* 4, ſays *Euſebius*, 8. years.

XVI. *Paulus Samoſatenus* ſat in the chair 8. years, when for his Unepiſcopal manners and practices, his unſound *Dogmata* and principles, and eſpecially his mean and unworthy opinions concerning our Saviour, he was condemned and depoſed by a *Synod* at *Antioch*, whoſe *Synodical* determination is at large extant in *Euſebius*.

XVII. *Domnus* ſucceeded in the place of the depoſed. He was ſon to *Demetrian*, *Paulus* his predeceſſor in that See; conſtituted and ordained to the place by the Fathers of that *Synod*, who farther give him this honourable character, that he was a man indued with all Epiſcopal vertues and ornaments. *Euſebius* makes him to have ſitten 6, *Nicephorus* but 2. years.

XVIII. *Timæus*, he ſat in the Chair 10. years.

XIX. *Cyrillus*, who preſided over that Church in the account of *Nicephorus* 15, of *Euſebius* 24. years.

XX. *Tyrannus*, he ſat 13. years; in his time began the tenth Perſecution under *Diocleſian*, which rag'd with great ſeverity.

XXI. *Vitalis*, 6.

XXII. *Philogonius*, 5, ſucceeded by

XXIII. *Paulinus*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Paulus*, who after five years was depoſed and driven out by the prevalency of the *Arrian* faction.

XXIV. *Euſtathius*, formerly Biſhop of *Beræa*, a learned man, and of great note and eminency in the Council of *Nice*, the firſt general Council, ſummoned by the Great *Conſtantine*, after he had reſtored peace and proſperity to the Church.

ROME.

THE foundation of this Church is with juſt probabilities of reaſon by many of the Fathers equally attributed to *Peter* and *Paul*, the one as *Apoſtle* of the *Circumciſion* preaching to the *Jews*, while the other probably as the *Apoſtle* of the *Uncircumciſion* preached to the *Gentiles*. Its Biſhops ſucceeded in this order.

I. S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, who both ſuffered Martyrdom under *Nero*.

II. *Linus*, the ſon of *Herculaneus*, a *Tuſcan*; he is mentioned by S. *Paul*, he ſat between 11. and 12. years.

III. *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, or *Anencletus*, ſuppoſed by many to be the ſame perſon, (though others who reckon *Anacletus* a *Greek*, born at *Athens*, make them diſtinct, whom yet we have left out, not being mentioned by *Euſebius*) a *Roman*, the ſon of *Æmilianus*, ſat 9, though others ſay but 2. years.

IV. *Clemens*, a *Roman*, born in Mount *Cælius*, the ſon of *Fauſtinus*, near akin, ſay ſome, to the Emperor: He was condemned to dig in the Marble-Quarries near the *Euxin* Sea, and by the command of *Trajan* with an Anchor about his Neck thrown into the Sea. He was Biſhop of *Rome* 9. years, and 4. months.

V. *Euareſtus*, by birth a *Greek*, but his Father a *Jew* of *Bethlehem*. He is ſaid to have been crowned with Martyrdom the laſt year of *Trajan*, in the ninth of his Biſhoprick, or as others, the thirteenth.

VI. *Alexander*, a *Roman*, though young in years, was grave in his manners and converſation. He ſat 10. years and 7. months, and died a Martyr.

VII. *Xyſtus*, or *Sixtus*, a *Roman*, he was Martyred in the tenth year of his Biſhoprick, and buried in the *Vatican*.

VIII. *Tele-*

VIII. *Teleſphorus*, a *Greek*, ſucceeded; *Juſtin* the *Martyr* flouriſhed in his time. He died a Martyr, having ſat 11. Years, and 3. months; 10. years, 8. months ſay others: and lies buried near *S. Peter* in the *Vatican.*

IX. *Hyginus*, the ſon of an *Athenian* Philoſopher was advanced to the Chair under *Antoninus Pius*: He ſat 4. years; *Euſebius* ſays 8.

X. *Pius*, an *Italian*, born at *Aquileia*, he died having been Biſhop 11. years, and 4. months; according to *Euſebius*, 15. years.

XI. *Anicetus*, born in *Syria*: He is ſaid after 9, or as others, 11. years to have ſuffered Martyrdom, and was buried in the *Via Appia* in the *Cemetery* of *Calliſtus.* In his time *Polycarp* came to *Rome.*

XII. *Soter*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Soterichus*, was a *Campanian*, the ſon of *Concordius.* There was an intercourſe of Letters between him and *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth.* He died after he had ſat 9. years, or as *Euſebius* reckons, 7.

XIII. *Eleutherius*, born at *Nicopolis* in *Greece.* To him *Lucius* King of *Britain* ſent a Letter and an Embaſſy. He ſat 15. years, died *Ann. Chr.* 186. and lies buried in the *Vatican.*

XIV. *Victor*, an *African*, the ſon of *Felix*, a man of a furious and intemperate ſpirit, as appeared in his paſſionate proceedings in the controverſie about the obſervation of *Eaſter.* He was Biſhop 10. years. *Onuphrius* aſſigns him 12. years, and one month.

XV. *Zephyrinus*, a *Roman*, ſucceeded, and poſſeſſed the chair 8, but as others, 18. years; 20. ſays *Onuphrius.* A pious and learned man, but a little warping towards the Errors of *Montanus.*

XVI. *Calliſtus*, or *Calixtus*, the ſon of *Domitius*, a *Roman*; a prudent and modeſt man. He ſuffered much in the Perſecution under *Alexander Severus*, under whom he became a Martyr, being thrown into a Well by the procurement of *Ulpian* the great Lawyer, but ſevere enemy of Chriſtians. He ſat 6. years, or 5, as others, and one moneth; and though he made a *Cemetery*, called after his own name, yet was he buried in that of *Calepodius* in the *Appian* way.

XVII. *Urbanus*, the ſon of *Pontianus*, a *Roman*, after 4, or as ſome 6. years, he ſuffered Martyrdom for the Faith: *Euſebius* has 5, *S. Hierom* in his tranſlation 9. He was buried in *Pretextatus* his *Cemetery* in the *Appian* way.

XVIII. *Pontianus*, the ſon of *Calphurnius*, a *Roman*; for his bold reproving the *Roman* Idolatry he was baniſhed into the Iſland *Sardinia*, where he died; he was Biſhop about 3, or 4, or as *Euſebius*, 5. years.

XIX. *Anteros*, a *Greek*, the ſon of *Romulus*, He died by that he had kept his place one month, though others without reaſon make him to have lived in it many years, and was buried in the *Cemetery* of *Calliſtus.*

XX. *Fabianus*, a *Roman*, he was unexpectedly choſen Biſhop, while ſeveral others being in competition, a *Pigeon* ſuddenly deſcended, and ſat upon his head, the great emblem of the Holy Spirit. He died a Martyr after 14. years; buried in the ſame place with his predeceſſor.

XXI. *Cornelius*, a *Roman*, he oppoſed and condemned *Novatian*: frequent Letters paſſed between him and *Cyprian.* After ſomewhat more than two years he was firſt cruelly whipp'd, and then beheaded: buried in a Vault within the Grange of *Lucina*, near the *Appian* way.

XXII. *Lucius*, a *Roman*, ſat 2, or as others, 3. years. He ſuffered martyrdom by the command of *Valerian*, and was buried in *Calliſtus* his *Cemetery.*

XXIII. *Stephanus*, a *Roman*, the ſon of *Julius*: Great conteſts were between him and *Cyprian* about rebaptizing thoſe who had been baptized

tized by Hereticks. He was beheaded after he had ſat about 2. or 3. years, though others ſay 7; and buried with his predeceſſor.

XXIV. *Xyſtus*, a *Greek*, formerly a Philoſopher of *Athens*. After 1, or as others compute, 2. years, and 10. moneths, he ſuffered Martyrdom, *Euſebius* reckons it 8. years.

XXV. *Dionyſius*, of a Monk made Biſhop, λόγιός τε καὶ θαυμάσιος, in the judgment of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *a truly learned and admirable perſon*. The time of his Preſidency is uncertainly aſſign'd, 6, 9, 10, 11. *Euſebius* extends it to 12. years.

XXVI. *Felix*, a *Roman*: In his time aroſe the *Manichæan* Hereſie. He ſuffered about the fourth or fifth year of his Epiſcopacy, and lies buried in the *Aurelian* way, in a *Cemetery* of his own, two miles from *Rome*.

XXVII. *Eutychianus*, a *Tuſcan*, a man exceedingly careful of the burial of martyrs, after one years ſpace was himſelf crowned with martyrdom: *Euſebius* allows him but 8. months, *Onuphrius* 8. years and 6. months.

XXVIII. *Caius*, or as *Euſebius* calls him, *Gaianus*, a *Dalmatian*, kinſman to the Emperor *Diocleſian*, and in the Perſecution under him became a martyr. He ſat 11. years, ſome ſay longer. *Euſebius*, 15. years: He was beheaded and buried in *Calliſtus* his *Cemetery*.

XXIX. *Marcellinus*, a *Roman*: Through fear of torment he did ſacrifice to the gods; but recovering himſelf, died a martyr, after he had ſat 8, or 9. years. He was beheaded, and buried in the *Cemetery* of *Priſcilla* in the *Salarian* way. To him ſucceeded

XXX. *Marcellus*, a *Roman*; he was condemned by *Maxentius* the *Tyrant* to keep Beaſts in a Stable, which yet he performed with his prayers and exerciſes of devotion. He died after five Years, and ſix months, and was buried in the *Cemetery* of *Priſcilla*.

XXXI. *Euſebius*, a *Greek*, the ſon of a Phyſician. He ſuffered much under the Tyranny of *Maxentius*. He ſat 6. years ſay ſome, 4. ſay others, though *Euſebius* allows him but 7. months, *Onuphrius* 1. year, and 7. months; he was buried in the *Appian* way near *Calliſtus* his *Cemetery*.

XXXII. *Miltiades*, an *African*. He might be a Confeſſor under *Maxentius*, but could not be a martyr under *Maximinus*, as ſome report him. He ſat 3. or 4, though others aſſign him but 2. years: and was buried in the *Cemetery* of *Calliſtus*.

XXXIII. *Silveſter*, a *Roman*. He was elected into the place. *Ann. Chr.* CCCXIV. fetch'd from the mountain *Soracte*, whither he had fled for fear of Perſecution. He was highly in favour with *Conſtantine the Great*. He ſat 23, *Nicephorus* ſays 28. years.

JERUSALEM.

THE Church of *Jeruſalem* may in ſome ſence be ſaid to have been founded by our Lord himſelf, as it was for ſome time cultivated and improved by the Miniſtery of the whole Colledge of Apoſtles. The Biſhops of it were as followeth.

I. *S. James* the *Leſs*, the *Brother of our Lord*, by him, ſay ſome, immediately conſtituted Biſhop, but as others more probably by the Apoſtles: He was thrown off the Temple, and knock'd on the head with a *Fullers* Club.

II. *Symeon*, the ſon of *Cleopas*, brother to *Joſeph*, our Lord's *reputed* Father. He ſat in this Chair 23. years, and ſuffered martyrdom in the reign of *Trajan*, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his Age.

III. *Juſtus* ſucceeded in his room, and ſat 6. years.

IV. *Zachæus*, or as *Nicephorus* the Patriarch

triarch calls him, *Zacharias*, 4.
V. *Tobias*; to him after 4. years ſucceeded
VI. *Benjamin*: who ſat 2. years.
VII. *John*: who continued the ſame ſpace.
VIII. *Matthias*, or *Matthæus*, 2. years.
IX. *Philippus*, one Year: next came
X. *Seneca*, who ſat 4. years.
XI. *Juſtus*, 4.
XII. *Levi*, or *Lebes*, 2.
XIII. *Ephrem*, or *Ephres*, or as *Epiphanius* ſtiles him, *Vaphres*, 2.
XIV. *Joſeph*, 2.
XV. *Judas*, 2. Moſt of theſe Biſhops we may obſerve to have ſat but a ſhort time, following one another with a very quick ſucceſſion. Which doubtleſs was in a great meaſure owing to the turbulent & unquiet humour of the *Jewiſh* Nation, frequently rebelling againſt the *Roman* powers, whereby they provoked them to fall heavy upon them, and cut off all that came in their way, making no diſtinction between *Jews* and *Chriſtians:* as indeed they were all *Jews*, though differing in the Rites of their Religion. For hitherto the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* had ſucceſſively been of the *Circumciſion*, the Church there having been intirely made up of *Jewiſh* converts. But *Jeruſalem* being now utterly laid waſte, and the *Jews* diſperſed into all other Countries, the *Gentiles* were admitted not onely into the body of that Church, but even into the Epiſcopal chair. The firſt whereof was
XVI. *Marcus*, who ſat 8. years.
XVII. *Caſſianus*, 8.
XVIII. *Publius*, 5.
XIX. *Maximus*, 4.
XX. *Julianus*, 2.
XXI. *Caianus*, 3.
XXII. *Symmachus*, 2.
XXIII. *Caius*, 3.
XXIV. *Julianus*, 4.
XXV. *Elias*, 2. I find not this Biſhop mentioned by *Euſebius*; but he is recorded by *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople*.
XXVI. *Capito*, 4.
XXVII. *Maximus*, 4.
XXVIII. *Antoninus*, 5.
XXIX. *Valens*, 3.
XXX. *Dulichianus*, 2.
XXXI. *Narciſſus*, 4. He was a man of eminent piety, famous for the great miracles which he wrought: but not being able to bear the aſperſions which ſome unjuſtly caſt upon him (though God ſignally and miraculouſly vindicated his innocency) he left his Church, and retired into deſarts and ſolitudes. In his abſence was choſen
XXXII. *Dius*, who ſat 8. years. After him
XXXIII. *Germanio*, 4.
XXXIV. *Gordius*, 5. In his time *Narciſſus*, as one from the dead, returned from his ſolitudes, and was importuned by the People again to take the government of the Church upon him; being highly reverenced by them, both for his ſtrict and Philoſophical courſe of life, and the ſignal vengeance which God took of his accuſers. And in this ſecond adminiſtration he continued 10. years, ſuffering martyrdom when he was near 120. years old. To relieve the infirmities of his great Age, they took in to be his Colleague
XXXV. *Alexander*, formerly Biſhop in *Cappadocia*, who at that time had out of devotion taken a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*; the choice being extraordinarily deſigned by a particular revelation from Heaven. He was an eminent Confeſſor, and after having ſat 15. Years, died in Priſon under the *Decian* Perſecution. By him *Origen* was ordained Presbyter. He was a great Patron of Learning as well as Religion, a ſtudious preſerver of the Records of the Church. He erected a Library at *Jeruſalem*, which he eſpecially furniſhed with the Writings and Epiſtles of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. And out of this treaſury it was that *Euſebius* borrowed a great part

part of his materials for the compoſing of his Hiſtory.

XXXVI. *Mazabanes*, 9. years.

XXXVII. *Hymenæus*, 23.

XXXVIII. *Zabdas*, 10.

XXXIX. *Hermon*, 9. He was, as *Euſebius* tells us, the laſt Biſhop of this See before that fatal Perſecution that rag'd even in his time.

XL. *Macarius*, ordain'd *Ann. Chriſt.* CCCXV. He was preſent in the great *Nicene* Council. He ſat, ſays *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople*, 20. years, but *S. Hierom* allows him a much longer time.

BYZANTIUM,

afterwards called CONSTANTINOPLE.

THAT this Church was firſt founded by *S. Andrew*, we have ſhewed in his Life. The ſucceſſion of its Biſhops was as followeth.

I. S. *Andrew the Apoſtle*. He was crucified at *Patræ* in *Achaia*.

II. *Stachys*, whom *S. Paul* calls, *his beloved Stachys*, ordained Biſhop by *S. Andrew*; he ſat 16. years.

III. *Oneſimus*, 14.

IV. *Polycarpus*, 17.

V. *Plutarchus*, 16.

VI. *Sedecio*, 9.

VII. *Diogenes*, 15. Of the laſt three no mention is made in *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople*, but they are delivered by *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, *lib.* 8. *c.* 6. *p.* 540.

VIII. *Eleutherius*, 7.

IX. *Felix*, 5.

X. *Polycarpus*, 17.

XI. *Athenodorus*, 4. He erected a Church called *Elea*, afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Conſtantine* the *Great*.

XII. *Euzoius*, 16. Though *Nicephorus Calliſtus* allow but 6.

XIII. *Laurentius*, 11. Years and 6. months.

XIV. *Alypius*, 13.

XV. *Pertinax*, a man of *Conſular* dignity, he built another Church near the Sea-ſide, which he called, *Peace*. He ſat 19. years, which *Nicephorus Calliſtus* reduces to 9.

XVI. *Olympianus*, 11.

XVII. *Marcus*, 13.

XVIII. *Cyriacus*, or *Cyrillianus*, 16.

XIX. *Conſtantinus*, 7. In the firſt year of his Biſhoprick he built a Church in the North part of the City, which he dedicated to the honour of *Euphemia* the Martyr, who had ſuffered in that Place. In this Oratory he ſpent the remainder of his life, quitting his Epiſcopal Chair to

XX. *Titus*, who ſat 35. years and 6. months, though *Nicephorus Calliſtus* makes it 37. years. After him came

XXI. *Dometius*, Brother (as they tell us) to the Emperor *Probus*, he was Biſhop 21. years, 6. months.

XXII. *Probus* ſucceeded his Father *Dometius*, and ſat 12. Years. As after him

XXIII. *Metrophanes* his brother, who governed that Church 10. Years. And in his time it was that *Conſtantine* tranſlated the Imperial Court hither, enlarged and adorned it, called it after his own name, and made it the ſeat of the Empire.

XXIV. *Alexander* ſucceeded, a man of great piety and integrity, zealous and conſtant in maintaining the truth againſt the blaſphemies of *Arius*. He ſat 23. years.

ALEXANDRIA.

THE foundations of this Church were laid, and a great part of its ſuperſtructure rais'd by *S. Mark*, who though not ſtrictly and properly an *Apoſtle*, yet being an Apoſtle at large, and immediately commiſſionated by *S. Peter*; it juſtly obtained the

the honour of an *Apoſtolical* Church. Its Biſhops and Governours are thus recorded.

I. *S. Mark the Evangeliſt*, of whoſe Travels and Martyrdom we have ſpoken in his Life. *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople* makes him to ſit two years.

II. *Anianus*, charactered by *Euſebius*, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς, καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος, *a man beloved of God, and admirable in all things.* He ruled in that Throne 22. Years.

III. *Avilius*, 12, or as *Euſebius*, 13.

IV. *Cerdo*, ſucceeded about the firſt year of *Trajan*; he ſat 10. years, according to *Euſebius*, 11.

V. *Primus*, 12.

VI. *Juſtus*, or *Juſtinus*, 10.

VII. *Eumenes*, 10, or as *Euſebius*, 13. S. *Hierom* in his Tranſlation calls him *Hymenæus*.

VIII. *Marcus* or *Marcianus*, 13, or as *Euſebius*, 10.

IX. *Celadion*, 10, but in *Euſebius* his computation, 14.

X. *Agrippinus*, 14, according to *Euſebius*, 12.

XI. *Julianus*, 15, though *Euſebius* allows but 10.

XII. *Demetrius*, 21, but *Euſebius* more truly makes him to have governed that Church no leſs than 43. years. He was a man of great zeal and piety, and underwent many troubles in the Perſecution at *Alexandria*. He was at firſt a great friend to *Origen*, but afterwards became his enemy, laying ſome irregularities to his charge: partly out of emulation at the great reputation which *Origen* had gained in the World; partly, in that *Origen* had ſuffered himſelf to be ordained Presbyter by two other Biſhops, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea*.

XIII. *Heraclas*, a man of a Philoſophical *genius*, and way of life. He was educated under the inſtitution of *Origen*, and by him taken to be his Aſſiſtant in the School of the *Catechumens*, the whole government whereof he afterwards reſigned to him; and upon the death of *Demetrius* he was advanced to the government of that Church, the care whereof he took for 16. Years; though *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople* by a miſtake, I ſuppoſe, for his predeceſſor, makes it 43.

XIV. *Dionyſius*, 17. He was one of the moſt eminent Biſhops of his time. He was one of *Origen*'s Scholars, then preferr'd firſt Maſter of the *Catechetical* School at *Alexandria*, and afterwards Biſhop of that See. In the Perſecution under *Decius* he was baniſhed firſt to *Tapoſiris*, a little Town between *Alexandria* and *Canopus*; then to *Cephro*, and other Places in the Deſarts of *Libya*. But a large account of his own and others ſufferings, with many other tranſactions of thoſe times, we have out of his own Letters, yet extant in *Euſebius*. He died in the Twelfth Year of the Emperour *Gallienus*.

XV. *Maximus*; of a Presbyter he was made Biſhop of *Alexandria*; he ſat in that Chair 18. Years according to *Euſebius* his computation, though *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople* aſſign but 8.

XVI. *Theonas*, 17, or according to *S. Hierom*'s Verſion of *Euſebius*, 19. To him ſucceeded

XVII. *Petrus*, 12. He began his office three Years before the laſt Perſecution. A man of infinite ſtrictneſs and accuracy, and of indefatigable induſtry for the good of the Church. He ſuffered in the Ninth Year of the Perſecution, with the loſs of his Head, gaining the Crown of Martyrdom. After whoſe death came in

in the proſperous and happy days of the Church *Conſtantine* the *Great* turning the black and diſmal ſcene of things into a ſtate of calmneſs and ſerenity.

XVIII. *Achillas*, 9, though *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople* allows him but one Year. By him *Arius* upon his ſubmiſſion was ordained *Presbyter*.

XIX. *Alexander*, 23, Under him *Arius* began more openly to broach his Hereſie at *Alexandria*, who was thereupon excommunicated and thruſt out by *Alexander*, and ſhortly after condemn'd by the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*.

FINIS.

THE LIVES OF THE Primitive Fathers.

A

Imprimatur,

Hic Liber (cui Titulus *APOSTOLICI, &c.*)

Maii 10.
1676.

G. JANE *R. P. D. Hen. Epiſc. Lond.*
à Sacris Domeſticis.

יהוה
Hi sunt, qui venerunt de tribulatione magna.
APOSTOLICI
or
The Lives of the Primitive Fathers
for the three first Ages of the
Christian Church,
By WILLIAM CAVE, D.D.
Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty.
Vae mihi si non Evangelizavero.
Hæc est patientia et fides Sanctorum.
Εμοὶ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τ. Κυρίκ.
Micha: Burg: delinea.
London Printed for Ric: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Pauls Churchyard, 1677

APOSTOLICI:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Lives, Acts, Death,

AND

MARTYRDOMS

OF THOSE

Who were Contemporary with, or immediately Succeeded the APOSTLES.

As also the Most Eminent of the

Primitive Fathers

For the First Three Hundred Years.

To which is added, A

CHRONOLOGY

OF THE

Three First Ages of the CHURCH.

By WILLIAM CAVE, *D. D.*

Chaplain in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.

Ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πλείους ἐγνωρίζοντο κατὰ τοὺς δὴ, τὴν πρώτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐπέχοντες διαδοχῆς· οἳ καὶ ἅτε τηλικῶνδε ὄντες θεοπρεπεῖς μαθηταὶ, τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προκαταβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων θεμελίους ἐπῳκοδόμουν· αὔξοντες εἰς πλέον τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὰ σωτήρια σπέρματα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν εἰς πλάτος ἐπισπείροντες τὴν οἰκουμένην.

LONDON,

Printed by *A. C.* for *Richard Chiswel* at the *Rose and Crown* in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. MDCLXXVII.

To the Right Honourable,

And Right Reverend FATHER in GOD

NATHANAEL

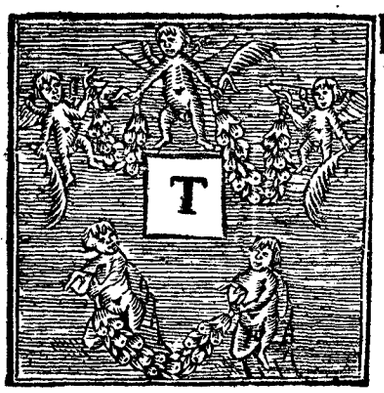
LORD BISHOP of *DURHAM*,

Clerk of the Closet,

And one of His MAJESTIES *most Honourable*

PRIVY-COUNCIL.

MY LORD,



THAT I once more presume to give your Lordship the trouble of such an Address, is not from any confidence I have in the value of these Papers, but partly because I well know, that your Lordships candor and charity will be ready to pardon the faults, and to cover the weaknesses of the Undertaking, partly because I thought it very reasonable and decorous, there to offer the *Remaining Portions*, where I had consecrated the *First-Fruits*.

MY LORD,

You will here meet with Persons of your own Quality and Order, Men Great and Venerable, whose excellent Learning and exemplary Lives, whose

whoſe Piety and Patience, Zeal and Charity, Sobriety and Contempt of the World, rendred them the honour of their Times, and recommend them as incomparable Examples to Poſterity. We may here ſee in more inſtances then one, the Epiſcopal Order immediately deriving it ſelf from *Apoſtolic* hands: whereof, were not ſome men ſtrangely biaſſed by Paſſion and Prejudice, there could be no ſhadow of diſpute. For he that can read the Lives of *Timothy* and *Titus*, of *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *&c.* and yet fancy them to have been no more then meer Pariſh-Prieſts, that only ſuperintended a little Congregation, muſt needs betray either prodigious Ignorance, or unreaſonable Partiality. Here alſo we may find what a mighty reverence theſe Firſt and better Ages had for the Governours of the Church, and the Guides of Souls, no reſpects being then thought great enough. Wherein they acted agreeably not onely to the Rules of Chriſtianity, but to the common ſenſe of mankind. And indeed with what Honours and Dignities, what Rights and Revenues, what Priviledges and Immunities the *Sacred Function* has been inveſted in all Ages and Nations, as well the rude and barbarous, as the more polite and civilized Countries, I could abundantly ſhew, were it as proper to this place as it is neceſſary to the Age we live in. For we are fallen into the worſt of Times, wherein men have been taught, by bad Principles and worſe Practices, to deſpiſe the holy Order, and to level it with the meaneſt of the People. And this done not onely by profeſt *Enemies* (*for then*

We

we could have born it) but by pretended *friends*; who ſeem to have a high zeal for Religion and themſelves. By which means the hands of evil men have been ſtrengthened, and the deſigns of thoſe ſufficiently gratified, who 'tis like would rejoice at the ruine of us both. I confeſs that the Perſons and Credit of the Regular Clergy ſhould by ſome men be treated with Contempt and Scorn, is the leſs to be wondred at, when Religion it ſelf is not ſecure from the rude and bold railleries of ſome, and the ſerious attempts of others, who gravely deſign to baniſh the awe of Religion, and the impreſſions of whatever is Divine and Sacred out of the minds of men.

But, My Lord, It is not my deſign to entertain your Lordſhip with an invective againſt the *Iniquity* of the Times. I had rather ſilently bewail them, and heartily pray for their reformation, that the beſt of Churches may proſper and flouriſh under the beſt of Princes. May Her Peace and Order be preſerved inviolable, her Liturgy and Divine Offices univerſally complied with, Her Solemn Aſſemblies duly frequented, Her Canons and Conſtitutions obſerved and practiſed! May *Her Prieſts be cloathed with Righteouſneſs*, and *able by ſound Doctrin both to Exhort and to Convince Gainſayers!* May they be laborious in their Miniſteries, and be *very highly eſteemed in love*, at leaſt for their relation to God and *their Works ſake!* May Her Governours diligently ſuperintend *the Flock of God, and they that rule well, be accounted worthy of double Honour*! In which number may your Lordſhip

ſhare a double portion! May you fill up all the meaſures of a wiſe and able Counſellour in the State, and of a faithful and vigilant Governour in the Church! To all which great and holy ends, if the following Papers (wherein theſe things are repreſented in lively inſtances) may be capable of contributing any aſſiſtance, and in the leaſt meaſure ſerviceable to retrive the Primitive temper and ſpirit of Religion, it will be thought an invaluable compenſation of the mean endeavours of

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhips faithful

and affectionate Servant

WILLIAM CAVE.

TO

TO THE
READER.

IT is not the leaſt argument for the ſpiritual and incorporeal Nature of humane ſouls, and that they are acted by a higher principle then meer *Matter* and *Motion*, their boundleſs and inquiſitive re-ſearches after knowledge. Our minds naturally graſp at a kind of Omniſciency, and not content with the ſpeculations of this or that particular Science, hunt over the whole courſe of Nature; nor are they ſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of things, but purſue the notices of former Ages, and are deſirous to comprehend whatever tranſactions have been ſince Time it ſelf had a Being. We endeavour to make up the ſhortneſs of our lives by the extent of our knowledge; and becauſe we cannot ſee forwards and ſpy what lies concealed in the Womb of Futurity, we look back, and eagerly trace the Footſteps of thoſe Times that went before us. Indeed to be ignorant of what happened before we our ſelves came into the World, is (as *Cicero* truly obſerves) to be always children, and to deprive our ſelves of what would at once entertain our minds with the higheſt pleaſure, and add the greateſt authority and advantage to us. The knowledge of Antiquity, beſides that it gratifies one of our nobleſt curioſities, improves our minds by the wiſdom of preceding Ages, acquaints us with the moſt remarkable occurrences of the Divine Providence, and preſents us with the moſt apt and proper rules and inſtances that may form us to a life of true Philoſophy and Vertue; Hiſtory (ſays *Thucydides*) being nothing elſe but Φιλοσοφία ἐκ παραδείγμάτων, *Philoſophy drawn from Examples*: the one is a more groſs and popular Philoſophy, the other a more ſubtle and refined Hiſtory.

In Oratore pagi 268.

Ap. Dion Halic. Περὶ λόγων ἰξεί. p. 65. Tom. 2.

Theſe conſiderations, together with a deſire to perpetuate the memory of brave and great Actions, gave birth to Hiſtory, and obliged mankind to tranſmit the more obſervable paſſages both of their own and foregoing Times to the notice of Poſterity. The firſt in this kind was *Moſes*, the great Prince

and Legiſlator of the *Jewiſh* Nation, who from the Creation of the World conveyed down the Records of above MM DL. years; the ſame courſe being more or leſs continued through all the periods of the *Jewiſh* State. Among the *Babylonians* they had their public *Archives*, which were tranſcribed by *Beroſus* the Prieſt of *Belus*, who compoſed the *Chaldean* Hiſtory. The *Egyptians* were wont to record their memorable Acts upon Pillars in *Hieroglyphic* notes and ſacred Characters, firſt begun (as they pretend) by *Thouth*, or the firſt of their *Mercuries*; out of which *Manethos* their Chief Prieſt collected his three Books of *Egyptian Dynaſties*, which he dedicated to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, ſecond of that line. The *Phœnician* Hiſtory was firſt attempted by *Sanchoniathon*, digeſted partly out of the Annals of Cities, partly out of the Books kept in the Temple, and communicated to him by *Jerombaal* Prieſt of the God *Jao*: this he dedicated to *Abibalus* King of *Berytus*, which *Philo Byblius* about the time of the Emperour *Adrian* tranſlated into *Greek*. The *Greeks* boaſt of the Antiquity of *Cadmus*, *Archilochus*, and many others, though the moſt ancient of their Hiſtorians now extant, are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. Among the *Romans* the foundations of Hiſtory were laid in *Annals*, the public Acts of every year being made up by the *Pontifex Maximus*, who kept them at his own houſe, that the people upon any emergency might reſort to them for ſatisfaction. Theſe were the *Annales Maximi*, and afforded excellent materials to thoſe who afterwards wrote the Hiſtory of that great and powerful Commonwealth.

But that which of all others challenges the greateſt regard both as it more immediately concerns the preſent enquiry, and as it contains accounts of things relating to our biggeſt intereſts, is the Hiſtory of the Church. For herein, as in a Glaſs, we have the true face of the Church in its ſeveral Ages repreſented to us. Here we find with what infinite care thoſe Divine Records, which are the great inſtruments of our eternal happineſs, have through the ſeveral periods of time been conveyed down to us; with what a mighty ſucceſs Religion has triumphed over the greateſt oppoſitions, and ſpread its Banners in the remoteſt corners of the World. With how incomparable a zeal good men have *contended earneſtly for that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints*; with what a bitter and implacable fury the Enemies of Religion have ſet upon it, and how ſignally the Divine Providence has appeared in

Epiſtles written by the Biſhops of thoſe Times, and kept in the *Archives* of their ſeveral Churches, eſpecially that famous Library at *Jeruſalem*, erected by *Alexander* Biſhop of that place, but chiefly the Acts of the Martyrs, which in thoſe Times were taken at large with great care and accuracy. Theſe, at leaſt a great many of them, *Euſebius* collected into one Volume, under the Title of Ἀρχαίων Μαρτυρίων Συναγωγή, *A Collection of the Ancient Martyrdoms*; which he refers to at every turn; beſides a particular Narrative which he wrote (ſtill extant as an Appendage to the Eighth Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory) *concerning the Martyrs that ſuffered in Paleſtin.* A great part of theſe Acts by the negligence and unfaithfulneſs of ſucceeding Times, were interpolated and corrupted, eſpecially in the darker and more undiſcerning Ages, when Superſtition had overſpread the Church, and when Ignorance and Intereſt conſpired to fill the World with idle and improbable Stories, and men took what liberty they pleaſed in venting the iſſue of their own Brains, inſomuch that ſome of the more wiſe and moderate even of the *Roman* Communion have complained not without a juſt reſentment and indignation, that *Laertius* has written the Lives of Philoſophers with more truth and chaſtneſs, then many have done the Lives of the Saints. Upon this account a great and general out-cry has been made againſt *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, as the Father of incredible Legends, and one that has notoriouſly impoſed upon the World by the moſt fabulous reports. Nay, ſome to reflect the more diſgrace upon him, have repreſented him as a petty Schoolmaſter. A charge, in my mind, raſh and inconſiderate, and in a great meaſure groundleſs and uncharitable. He was a perſon of very conſiderable birth and fortunes, advanced to the higheſt Honours and Offices, one of the *Primier* Miniſters of State, and as is probable, *Great Chancellor* to the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*; learned and eloquent above the common ſtandard, and who by the perſuaſions not onely of ſome great ones of that time (he flouriſhed under *Leo the Wiſe* about the Year DCCCC. but principally wrote under the reign of his ſucceſſor) but of the Emperour himſelf was prevailed with to reduce the Lives of the Saints into order. To which end by his own infinite labour; and the no leſs expences of the Emperour, he ranſacked the Libraries of the Empire, till he had amaſſed a vaſt heap of Volumes. The more ancient Acts he paſſed without any conſiderable alteration, more then the correcting

time. But theſe, alas, are long ſince loſt. The next that ſucceeded in this Province, though the firſt that reduced it to any exactneſs and perfection, was *Euſebius*. He was born in *Paleſtin*, about the later times of the Emperour *Gallienus*, ordained Presbyter by *Agapius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, who ſuffering about the end of the *Diocleſian* Perſecution, *Euſebius* ſucceeded in his See. A man of incomparable parts and learning, and of no leſs induſtry and diligence in ſearching out the Records and Antiquities of the Church. After ſeveral other Volumes in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe againſt the aſſaults both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he ſet himſelf to write an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*; wherein he deſigned (as himſelf tells us) to recount from the birth of our Lord till his time the moſt memorable Tranſactions of the Church, the Apoſtolical ſucceſſions, the firſt Preachers and Planters of the Goſpel, the Biſhops that preſided in the moſt eminent Sees, the moſt noted Errours and Hereſies, the calamities that befel the *Jewiſh* State, the attempts and Perſecutions made againſt the Chriſtians by the Powers of the World, the torments and ſufferings of the Martyrs, and the bleſſed and happy period that was put to them by the converſion of *Conſtantine the Great*. All this accordingly, he digeſted in Ten Book, which he compoſed in the declining part of his life, and (as *Valeſius* conjectures) ſome years after the Council of *Nice*, though when not long before he expreſly affirms that Hiſtory to have been written before the *Nicene* Synod, how he can herein be excuſed from a palpable contradiction, I cannot imagine. 'Tis true *Euſebius* takes no notice of that Council, but that might be partly becauſe he deſigned to end in that joyful and proſperous Scene of things, which *Conſtantine* reſtored to the Church (as he himſelf plainly intimates in the beginning of his Hiſtory,) which he was not willing to diſcompoſe with the controverſies and contentions of that Synod, according to the humour of all Hiſtorians, who delight to ſhut up their Hiſtories with ſome happy and ſucceſsful period; and partly becauſe he intended to give ſome account of the affairs of that Council in his Book *of the Life of Conſtantine the Great*.

Lib. 1. c. 1. p. 3.

Præfat. de Vit. & Script. Euſeb.

The Materials wherewith he was furniſhed for this great undertaking (which he complains were very ſmall and inconſiderable) were beſides *Hegeſippus* his *Commentaries* then extant, *Africanus* his *Chronology*, the Books and Writings of ſeveral Fathers, the Records of particular Cities, Eccleſiaſtical

Epiſtles

Epiſtles written by the Biſhops of thoſe Times, and kept in the *Archives* of their ſeveral Churches, eſpecially that famous Library at *Jeruſalem*, erected by *Alexander* Biſhop of that place, but chiefly the Acts of the Martyrs, which in thoſe Times were taken at large with great care and accuracy. Theſe, at leaſt a great many of them, *Euſebius* collected into one Volume, under the Title of Ἀρχαίων Μαρτυρίων Συναγωγὴ, *A Collection of the Ancient Martyrdoms*; which he refers to at every turn; beſides a particular Narrative which he wrote (ſtill extant as an Appendage to the Eighth Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory) *concerning the Martyrs that ſuffered in Paleſtin.* A great part of theſe Acts by the negligence and unfaithfulneſs of ſucceeding Times, were interpolated and corrupted, eſpecially in the darker and more undiſcerning Ages, when Superſtition had overſpread the Church, and when Ignorance and Intereſt conſpired to fill the World with idle and improbable Stories, and men took what liberty they pleaſed in venting the iſſue of their own Brains, inſomuch that ſome of the more wiſe and moderate even of the *Roman* Communion have complained not without a juſt reſentment and indignation, that *Laertius* has written the Lives of Philoſophers with more truth and chaſtneſs, then many have done the Lives of the Saints. Upon this account a great and general out-cry has been made againſt *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, as the Father of incredible Legends, and one that has notoriouſly impoſed upon the World by the moſt fabulous reports. Nay, ſome to reflect the more diſgrace upon him, have repreſented him as a petty Schoolmaſter. A charge, in my mind, raſh and inconſiderate, and in a great meaſure groundleſs and uncharitable. He was a perſon of very conſiderable birth and fortunes, advanced to the higheſt Honours and Offices, one of the *Primier* Miniſters of State, and as is probable, *Great Chancellor* to the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*; learned and eloquent above the common ſtandard, and who by the perſuaſions not onely of ſome great ones of that time (he flouriſhed under *Leo the Wiſe* about the Year DCCCC. but principally wrote under the reign of his ſucceſſor) but of the Emperour himſelf was prevailed with to reduce the Lives of the Saints into order. To which end by his own infinite labour; and the no leſs expences of the Emperour, he ranſacked the Libraries of the Empire, till he had amaſſed a vaſt heap of Volumes. The more ancient Acts he paſſed without any conſiderable alteration, more then the correcting

recting them by a collation of ſeveral Copies, and the enlarging ſome circumſtances to render them more plain and eaſie, as appears by comparing ſome that are extant at this day. Where Lives were confuſed and immethodical, or written in a ſtile rude and barbarous, he digeſted the hiſtory into order, and clothed it in more polite and elegant langnage. Others that were defective in neither, he left as they were, and gave them place amongſt his own. So that I ſee no reaſon for ſo ſevere a cenſure, unleſs it were evident, that he took his accounts of things not from the Writings of thoſe that had gone before him, but forged them of his own head. Not to ſay that things have been made much worſe by Tranſlations, ſeldom appearing in any but the dreſs of the *Latine* Church, and that many Lives are laid at his door, of which he never was the Father, it being uſual with ſome, when they met with the Life of a Saint, the Author whereof they knew not, preſently to faſten it upon *Metaphraſtes*. But to return to *Euſebius*, from whom we have digreſſed.

His Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the almoſt onely remaining Records of the ancient Church, deſerves a juſt eſteem and veneration, without which thoſe very fragments of Antiquity had been loſt, which by this means have eſcaped the common Shipwrack. And indeed S. *Hierom*, *Nicephorus*, and the reſt do not onely build upon his foundation, but almoſt entirely derive their materials from him. As for *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodorit*, and the later Hiſtorians, they relate to Times without the limits of my preſent buſineſs, generally conveying down little more then the Hiſtory of their own Times, the Church Hiſtory of thoſe more early Ages being either quite neglected, or very negligently managed. The firſt that to any purpoſe broke the ice after the Reformation, were the *Centuriators* of *Magdeburg*, a combination of learned and induſtrious men, the chief of whom were *John Wigandus*, *Matth. Judex*, *Baſilius Faber*, *Andreas Corvinus*, but eſpecially *Matth. Flaccius Illyricus*, who was the very ſoul of the undertaking. They ſet themſelves to traverſe the Writings of the Fathers, and all the ancient Monuments of the Church, collecting whatever made to their purpoſe, which with indefatigable pains they digeſted into an Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory. This they divided into *Centuries*, and each Century into fifteen Chapters, into each of which, as into its proper Claſſis and Repoſitory, they reduced whatever concerned the propagation of Religion,

gion, the Peace or Perſecutions of the Chriſtians, the Doctrines of the Church, and the Hereſies that aroſe in it, the Rites and Ceremonies, the Government, Schiſms, Councils, Biſhops, and perſons noted either for Religion or Learning, Heretics, Martyrs, Miracles, the ſtate of the *Jews*, the Religion of *them that were without*, and the political revolutions of that Age. A method accurate and uſeful, and which adminiſters to a very diſtinct and particular underſtanding the affairs of the Church. The four firſt Centuries were finiſhed in the City of *Magdeburg*, the reſt elſewhere. A work of prodigious diligence and ſingular uſe. True it is, that it labours under ſome faults and imperfections, and is chargeable with conſiderable errours and miſtakes. And no wonder: for beſides that, the Perſons themſelves may be ſuppoſed to have been ſometimes betraid into an ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνθολιψίας by the heats and contentions of thoſe Times, it was the firſt attempt in this kind, and which never paſſed the emendations of a ſecond review; an undertaking vaſt and diffuſive, and engaged in, while Books were yet more ſcarce and leſs correct. Accordingly they modeſtly enough confeſs, that they rather attempted a delineation of Church-Hiſtory, then one that was compleat and abſolute, deſiring onely to miniſter opportunity to thoſe, who were able and willing to furniſh out one more intire and perfect. And yet take it with all the faults and diſadvantages that can be charged upon it, and they bear no proportion to the uſefulneſs and excellency of the thing it ſelf.

Præfat. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. præfix. Cent. I.

No ſooner did this work come abroad, but it made a loud noiſe and buſtle at *Rome*, as wherein the corruptions and innovations of that Church were ſufficiently expoſed and laid open to the World. Accordingly it was neceſſary that an Antidote ſhould be provided againſt it. For which purpoſe *Philip Nereus* (who had lately founded the *Oratorian Order at Rome*) commands *Baronius*, then a very young man, and newly entered into the *Congregation*, to undertake it, and in order thereunto, daily to read nothing but Eccleſiaſtical Lectures in the Oratory. This courſe he held for thirty years together, ſeven ſeveral times going over the Hiſtory of the Church. Thus trained up, and abundantly furniſhed with fit materials, he ſets upon the Work it ſelf, which he diſpoſed by way of *Annals*, compriſing the affairs of whole Chriſtian World in the orderly ſeries and ſucceſſion of every year. A method much more

Natural and Hiſtorical then that of the *Centuries*. A noble deſign, and which it were injuſtice to defraud of its due praiſe and commendation, as wherein beſides whatever occurrences that concern the ſtate of the Church, reduced (as far as his skill in Chronology could enable him) under their proper periods, he has brought to light many paſſages of the Ancients, not known before, peculiarly advantaged herein by the many noble Libraries that are at *Rome*. A Monument of incredible pains and labour, as which beſides the difficulties of the thing it ſelf, was entirely carried on by his ſingle endeavours, and written all with his own hand, and that too in the midſt of infinite avocations, the diſtractions of a Pariſh-Cure, the private affairs of his own Oratory, Preaching, hearing Confeſſions, writing other Books, not to mention the many troubleſom, though honourable Offices and Imployments, which in the courſe of the Work were heaped upon him. In ſhort, a Work it was by which he had infinitely more obliged the World, then can be well expreſſed, had he managed it with as much faithfulneſs and impartiality as he has done with learning and induſtry. But alas, too evident it is, that he deſigned not ſo much the advancement of Truth, as the honour and intereſt of a Cauſe, and therefore drew the face of the ancient Church, not as Antiquity truly repreſents it, but according to the preſent form and complexion of the Church of *Rome*, forcing every thing to look that way, to juſtifie the traditions and practiſes, and to exalt the ſuper-eminent power and *grandeur* of that Church, making both the Scepter and the Croſier ſtoop to the Triple Crown. This is that that runs almoſt through every page, and indeed both he * himſelf, and the † Writer of his Life, more then once, expreſly affirms, that his deſign was to defend the Traditions, and to preſerve the Dignity of that Church againſt the late Innovators, and the labours of the *Magdeburgenſian Centuriators*, and that the oppoſing of them was the occaſion of that Work. So fatally does partiality and the intereſt of a Cauſe ſpoil the moſt brave and generous Undertakings.

* *Epiſt. Ded. ad Sixt. V. Tom. 1. Annal. præfix.*

† *Hier. Barnab. de vit. Baron. l. 1. c. 18. p. 40. c. 19. p. 43.*

What has been hitherto Prefaced, the Reader, I hope, will not cenſure as an unprofitable digreſſion, nor think it altogether unſuitable to the preſent Work, whereof 'tis like he will expect ſome ſhort account. Being ſome time ſince engaged, I know not how, in ſearching after the Antiquities of the *Apoſtolic* Age, I was then ſtrongly importuned to have carried on the deſign for ſome of the ſucceeding Ages. This I then wholly

wholly laid aſide, without any further thoughts of re-aſſuming it. For experience had made me ſufficiently ſenſible of the difficulty of the thing, and I well foreſaw how almoſt impoſſible it was to be managed to any tolerable ſatisfaction; ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, ſo broken and imperfect are the accounts that are left us of thoſe early times. Notwithſtanding which, I have once more ſuffered my ſelf to be engaged in it, and have endeavoured to hunt out, and gather together thoſe Ruines of Primitive Story that yet remain, that I might do what honour I was able to the memory of thoſe brave and worthy men, who were ſo inſtrumental to plant Chriſtianity in the World, to ſeal it with their blood, and to oblige Poſterity by thoſe excellent Monuments of Learning and Piety which they left behind them. I have bounded my account within the firſt three hundred years, notwithſtanding the barrenneſs and obſcurity of thoſe Ages of the Church. Had I conſulted my own eaſe or credit, I ſhould have commenced my deſign from that time which is the period of my preſent Undertaking, *viz.* the following *Sæculum*, when Chriſtianity became the Religion of the Empire, and the Records of the Church furniſh us with large and plentiful materials for ſuch a Work. But I confeſs my humour and inclination led me to the firſt and beſt Ages of Religion, the *Memoires* whereof I have picked up, and thereby enabled my ſelf to draw the lineaments of as many of thoſe *Apoſtolical* perſons, as concerning whom I could retrive any conſiderable notices and accounts of things. With what ſucceſs, the Reader muſt judge: with whom what entertainment it will find, I know not, nor am I much ſollicitous. I have done what I could, and am not conſcious to my ſelf, that I have been wanting in any point either of Fidelity or Care. If there be fewer perſons here deſcribed then the ſpace of almoſt three hundred years may ſeem to promiſe, and leſs ſaid concerning ſome of them then the Reader does expect, he will I preſume be more juſt and charitable, then to charge it upon me, but rather impute it to the unhappy fate of ſo many ancient Records as have been loſt through the careleſsneſs and unfaithfulneſs of ſucceeding Times. As far as my mean abilities do reach, and the nature of the thing will admit, I have endeavoured the Readers ſatisfaction; and though I pretend not to preſent him an exact Church-Hiſtory of thoſe Times, yet I think I may without vanity aſſure him, that there is ſcarce any material paſſage of Church-Antiquity, of which in ſome of

theſe Lives he will not find a competent and reaſonable account. Nor is the Hiſtory of thoſe Ages maimed and lame onely in its main limbs and parts, but (what is greatly to be bewailed) purblind and defective in its eyes, I mean, confuſed and uncertain in point of Chronology. The greateſt part of what we have is from *Euſebius*, in whoſe account of Times ſome things are falſe, more uncertain, and the whole the worſe for paſſing through other hands after his. Indeed next to the recovering the loſt portions of Antiquity, I know nothing would be more acceptable, then the ſetting right the disjointed Frame of thoſe Times: a Cure, which which we hope for ſhortly from a very able hand. In the mean time for my own part, and ſo far as may be uſeful to the purpoſes of the following Papers, I have by the beſt meaſures I could take in ſome haſt, drawn up a Chronology of theſe three Ages, which though it pretends not to the utmoſt exactneſs and accuracy that is due to a matter of this nature, yet it will ſerve however to give a quick and preſent proſpect of things, and to ſhew the connexure and concurrence of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs with the Times of the *Roman* Empire. So far as I follow *Euſebius*, I principally rely upon the accounts given in his Hiſtory, which being written after his *Chronicon*, may be ſuppoſed the iſſue of his more exact reſearches, and to have paſſed the judgment of his riper and more conſidering thoughts. And perhaps the Reader will ſay (and I confeſs I am ſomewhat of his mind) had I obſerved the ſame rule towards theſe Papers, he had never been troubled with them. But that is too late now to be recalled; and 'tis folly to bewail what is impoſſible to be remedied.

ERRATA.

INTROD. p. 5.l.41. read *Claudius*. p.14.l.45.r.*ornaverint*. p.17.l.40.r.*refers*. p.29.l.41. after *aſſures* add *us*. BOOK. p.5.l.41.marg.r.ὑπηρέϑ.p.101.l.51.r.*Emperour*. p.149.l.12.for *to* r.*of*.p.156. l.6.after *that* r.*is*. p.164.l.34.r.*condemnation*. p.228.r. וממצרים p.240.l.23. r. *librum*. p.262.l.37. for *ſpread* r. *ſpilt*. p.273.l.20. for *them* r. *him*.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

The Introduction.

THE ſeveral periods of the three firſt Ages. Our Lords coming, and the ſeaſonableneſs of it for the propagation of the Goſpel. His entrance upon his Prophetic Office, and the ſum of his Miniſtry. The ſucceſs of his doctrine, and the ſeveral places where he preached. The Story of Agbarus *not altogether improbable. Our Lords Death. What atteſtation given to the paſſages concerning Chriſt by Heathen Writers. The teſtimony of* Tacitus. Pilats *relation ſent to* Tiberius. *The* Acts of Pilat *what.* Pilats *Letter now extant, Spurious. The Apoſtles entering upon their Commiſſion, and firſt Acts after our Lords Aſcenſion. How long they continued in* Judæa. *Their diſperſion to preach in the* Gentile *Provinces, and the ſucceſs of it. The ſtate of the Church after the Apoſtolic Age. The mighty progreſs of Chriſtianity. The numbers and quality of its Converts. Its ſpeedy and incredible ſucceſs in all Countries, noted out of the Writers of thoſe Times. The early converſion of* Britain *to Chriſtianity. The general declenſion of Paganiſm. The ſilence and ceaſing of their Oracles. This acknowledged by* Porphyry *to be the effect of the Chriſtian Religion appearing in the World. A great argument of its truth and divinity. The means contributing to the ſucceſs of Chriſtianity. The miraculous Powers then reſident in the Church. This proved at large out of the Primitive Writers. The great learning and abilities of many of the Churches Champions. The moſt eminent of the Chriſtian Apologiſts. The principal of them that engaged againſt the Hereſies of thoſe Times. Others renowned for other parts of Learning. The indefatigable zeal and induſtry uſed in the propagation of Chriſtianity. Inſtructing and Catechizing new Converts. Schools erected. Travelling to preach in all parts of the World. The admirable lives of the ancient Chriſtians. The ſingular efficacy of the Chriſtian doctrin upon the minds of men. A holy life the moſt acceptable ſacrifice. Their incomparable patience and conſtancy under ſufferings. A brief Survey of the Ten Perſecutions. The firſt begun by* Nero. *His brutiſh extravagances, and inhumane cruelties. His burning* Rome, *and the dreadfulneſs of that conflagration. This charged upon the Chriſtians, and their ſeveral kinds of puniſhment noted out of* Tacitus. *The chief of them that ſuffered. The Perſecution under* Domitian. *The Vices of that Prince. The cruel uſage of S.* John. *The third begun by* Trajan. *His character. His proceeding againſt the Chriſtians as illegal Societies.* Plinies *Letter to* Trajan *concerning the Chriſtians, with the Emperours anſwer.* Adrian, Trajan's *ſucceſſor; a mixture in him of Vice and Vertue. His perſecuting the Chriſtians. This the fourth Perſecution. The mitigation of it, and its breaking out again under* Antoninus Pius. *The excellent temper and learning of* M. Aurelius. *The fifth Perſecution raiſed*

raiſed by him. Its fierceneſs in the East, *at* Rome, *eſpecially in* France; *the moſt eminent that ſuffered there. The Emperours Victory in his* German *Wars gained by the Chriſtians Prayers.* Severus *his temper: his cruelty towards the Chriſtians. The chief of the Martyrs under the ſixth Perſecution.* Maximinus *his immoderate ambition and barbarous cruelty. The Author of the ſeventh Perſecution. This not univerſal. The common evils and calamities charged upon the Chriſtians.* Decius *the eighth Perſecutor; otherwiſe an excellent Prince. The violence of this Perſecution, and the moſt noted ſufferers. The foundations of* Monachiſm *when laid. The ninth Perſecution, and its rage under* Valerian. *The moſt eminent Martyrs. The ſevere puniſhment of* Valerian: *his miſerable uſage by the* Perſian *King. The tenth Perſecution begun under* Diocleſian, *and when. The fierceneſs and cruelty of that time. The admirable carriage and reſolution of the Chriſtians under all theſe ſufferings. The proper influence of this argument to convince the World. The whole concluded with* Lactantius *his excellent reaſonings to this purpoſe.* Page i.

The Life of S. STEPHEN the Protomartyr.

The violent oppoſition that Chriſtianity at its firſt appearance met with both from Jews *and* Gentiles. *S.* Stephens *Kindred unknown. One of the Seventy. The great Charity of the Primitive Believers. Diſſenſion between the* Hebrews *and* Grecians. Helleniſts *who. The Original of Deacons in the Chriſtian Church. The nature of their Office: the number and qualification of the Perſons.* Stephen's *eminent accompliſhments for the place. The envy and oppoſition of the* Jews *againſt him. The Synagogue of the* Libertines, *what. Of the* Cyrenians, Alexandrians, *&c. Their diſputation with S.* Stephen, *and the ſucceſs of it. Falſe Witneſſes ſuborned to depoſe againſt him. The ſeveral parts of their charge conſidered. The mighty veneration of the* Jews *for their Temple and the Moſaic Inſtitutions. Its deſtruction by* Titus; *and their attempts to rebuild it under* Julian *fruſtrated by a miracle.* Stephen's *Apology before the* Sanhedrin. *The* Jews *rage againſt him. He is encouraged by a viſion. Stoning to death, what kind of puniſhment; the manner of it among the* Jews. *S.* Stephen's *Martyrdom. His Character and excellent Vertues. The time and place of his ſuffering. The place and manner of his burial. His body firſt diſcovered, when and how. The ſtory of its tranſlation to* Conſtantinople. *The miracles ſaid to be done by his Reliques, and at his* Memoriæ. *Several reported by S.* Auguſtin. *What credit to be given to them. Miracles how long, and why continued in the Church. The vain pretences of the Church of* Rome. Pag. 1.

The Life of S. PHILIP the Deacon and Evangeliſt.

His Birth-place. The confounding him with S. Philip *the Apoſtle. His election to the Office of a Deacon. The diſperſion of the Church at* Jeruſalem. Philip's *preaching at* Samaria. *Inveterate prejudices between the* Samaritans *and the* Jews. *The great ſucceſs of S.* Philip's *Miniſtry.*

The Impoſtures of Simon Magus, *and his embracing Chriſtianity. The Chriſtians at* Samaria *confirmed by* Peter *and* John. Philip *ſent to* Gaza. *His meeting with the* Æthiopian *Eunuch. What* Æthiopia *here meant.* Candace *who. The Cuſtom of retaining Eunuchs in the Courts of the Eaſtern Princes. This* Eunuch *who. His Office. His Religion and great Piety. His Converſion and Baptiſm by S.* Philip. *The place where he was baptized. The Eunuchs return, and propagating Chriſtianity in his own Countrey.* Philip's *journey to* Cæſarea, *and fixing his abode there. His four daughters Virgin-Propheteſſes. His death.* Pag. 23.

The Life of S. BARNABAS the Apoſtle.

His Sirname Joſes. *The title of* Barnabas *whence added to him. His Countrey and Parents. His Education and Converſion to Chriſtianity. His generous Charity. S.* Pauls *addreſs to him after his Converſion. His Commiſſion to confirm the Church of* Antioch. *His taking S.* Paul *into his aſſiſtance. Their being ſent with contributions to the Church at* Jeruſalem. *Their peculiar ſeparation for the Miniſtry of the* Gentiles. *Impoſition of hands the uſual Rite of Ordination. Their travels through ſeveral Countries. Their ſucceſs in* Cyprus. Barnabas *at* Lyſtra *taken for* Jupiter, *and why. Their return to* Antioch. *Their Embaſſy to* Jeruſalem *about the controverſie concerning the legal Rites.* Barnabas *ſeduced by* Peters *diſſimulation at* Antioch. *The diſſenſion between him and S.* Paul. Barnabas *his journey to* Cyprus. *His voyage to* Rome, *and preaching the Chriſtian Faith there. His Martyrdom by the* Jews *in* Cyprus. *His Burial. His body when firſt diſcovered. S.* Matthews *Hebrew Goſpel found with it. The great priviledges hereupon conferred upon the See of* Salamis. *A deſcription of his perſon and temper. The Epiſtle anciently publiſhed under his name. The deſign of it. The practical part of it excellently managed under the two ways of Light and Darkneſs.* Pag. 33.

The Life of S. TIMOTHY the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt.

S. Timothies *Countrey and Kindred. His religious education. The great advantages of an early Piety. Converted to Chriſtianity by S.* Paul, *and made choice of to be his companion. Circumciſed by S.* Paul, *and why. This no contradicting S.* Pauls *doctrine concerning Circumciſion. His Travels with S.* Paul *for the propagation of the Faith. His return from* Theſſalonica, *and S.* Pauls *two Epiſtles to that Church. S.* Timothy *conſecrated Biſhop of* Epheſus. *The conſent of Antiquity herein. Ordination in thoſe times uſually done by Prophetic Deſignation, and the reaſon of it.* Timothies *age enquired into. The importance of* νέος *and* νεότης (*let no man deſpiſe thy youth,*) *the words ſhewed to be uſed by the beſt Writers for a conſiderable age. S.* Pauls *firſt and ſecond Epiſtle to him, and the importance of them. The manners of the* Epheſians *noted. Their Feſtival called* καταγώγιον. *S.* Timothies *martyrdom. The time of his death, place of his burial, and tranſlation of his body. His weak*

and infirm conſtitution. His great abſtinence, and admirable zeal. S.Pauls *ſingular affection for him. Different from* Timotheus *in* S. Denys *the* Areopagite. *Another* Timothy S.Pauls *Diſciple, martyred under* Antoninus. Pag.45.

The Life of S. TITUS Biſhop of *Crete.*

His Country enquired into. The report of his noble extract. His education and converſion to Chriſtianity. His acquaintance with, and accompanying S.Paul *to the Synod at* Jeruſalem. *S.*Pauls *refuſing to circumciſe him, and why. His attending* S.Paul *in his travels. Their arrival in* Crete. Titus *conſtituted by him Biſhop of that Iſland. The teſtimonies of the Ancients to that purpoſe. The intimations of it in* S. Pauls *Epiſtle to him.* S. Pauls *cenſure of the People of* Crete, *juſtified by the account which Gentile Writers give of their evil manners. A ſhort view of the Epiſtle it ſelf. The directions concerning Eccleſiaſtic perſons. His charge to exhort and convince Gain-ſayers.* Crete *abounding with Heretical Teachers.* Jewiſh Fables *and* Genealogies *what, and whence derived. The* Æones *and* συζυγίαι *of the ancient* Gnoſtics *borrowed from the* θεογονίαι *of the Heathen Poets. This ſhewn by particular inſtances.* Titus *commanded to attend* S. Paul *at* Nicopolis. *His coming to him into* Macedonia. *His following* S.Paul *to* Rome, *and departure into* Dalmatia. *The Story of* Pliny *the Younger's being converted by him in* Crete, *cenſured. His age and death. The Church erected to his memory.* Pag.55.

The Life of S. DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.

Dionyſius *born at* Athens. *The quality of his Parents. His domeſtic Studies. His foreign Travels.* Egypt *frequented as the ſtaple place of all recondite Learning. His reſidence at* Heliopolis. *The ſtrange and miraculous Eclipſe at our Saviours Paſſion.* Dionyſius *his remarques upon it. His return to* Athens, *and being made one of the Judges of the* Areopagus. *The nature of this Court: the number and quality of its Judges.* S.Paul *arraigned before it: his Diſcourſe, and its ſucceſs.* Dionyſius *his converſion. His further inſtruction by* Hierotheus. Hierotheus, *who.* Dionyſius *conſtituted Biſhop of* Athens. *A brief account of his Story according to thoſe that confound him with* Dionyſius *Biſhop of* Paris. *Theſe ſhewn to be diſtinct. The original and procedure of the Miſtake enquired into. A probable account given of it.* Dionyſius *his Martyrdom at* Athens, *and the time of it. A fabulous miracle reported of his Scull. The deſcription of his perſon, and the hyperbolical commendations which the* Greeks *give of him. The Books aſcribed to him. Theſe none of his.* Apollinaris *(probably) ſhewed to be the Author of them. Several paſſages of the Ancients noted to that purpoſe. Books why oft publiſhed under other mens names. Theſe Books the Fountain of Enthuſiaſm and myſtical Theology. A paſſage in them inſtanced in to that purpoſe.* Pag.65.

The CONTENTS.

The Life of S. CLEMENS Biſhop of *Rome*.

His Birth-place. His Parents, Kindred, Education, and Converſion to Chriſtianity noted out of the Books extant under his name. His relation to the Imperial Family ſhewed to be a miſtake. His being made Biſhop of Rome. *The great confuſion about the firſt Biſhops of that See. A probable account endeavoured concerning the order of S.* Clemens *his ſucceſſion, and the reconciling it with the times of the other Biſhops. What account given of him in the ancient Epiſtle to S.* James. Clemens *his appointing Notaries to write the Acts of the Martyrs, and diſpatching Meſſengers to propagate the Goſpel. The Schiſm in the Church of* Corinth; *and* Clemens *his Epiſtle to that Church. An enquiry into the time when that Epiſtle was written. The Perſecution under* Trajan. *His proceeding againſt the* Heteriæ. *A ſhort relation of S.* Clemens *his troubles out of* Simeon Metaphraſtes. *His baniſhment to* Cherſon. Damnatio ad Metalla, *what. The great ſucceſs of his Miniſtry in the place of his exile. S.* Clemens *his Martyrdom, and the kind of it. The anniverſary miracle reported on the day of his ſolemnity. The time of his Martyrdom. His genuine Writings. His Epiſtle to the* Corinthians: *the commendations given of it by the Ancients. Its Stile and Character. The great modeſty and humility that appears in it. The fragment of his ſecond Epiſtle. Suppoſititious Writings. The* Recognitions; *their ſeveral titles, and different editions. Their Antiquity, what. A conjecture concerning the Author of them. The cenſures of the Ancients concerning the corrupting of them, conſidered. The Epiſtle to S.* James. Pag. 77.

The Life of S. SIMEON Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

The heedleſs confounding him with others of the like name. His Parents and near Relation to our Saviour. The time of his Birth. His ſtrict Education and way of Life. The Order and Inſtitution of the Rechabites, *what. His converſion to Chriſtianity. The great care about a Succeſſor to S.* James *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. Simeon *choſen to that place, when and why. The cauſes of the deſtruction of the* Jewiſh *ſtate. The original and progreſs of thoſe Wars briefly related. The miſerable ſtate of* Jeruſalem *by Siege, Peſtilence, and Famine.* Jeruſalem *ſtormed. The burning of the Temple, and the rage of the Fire. The number of the Slain and Captives. The juſt accompliſhment of our Lords predictions. The many Prodigies portending this deſtruction. The Chriſtians forewarned to depart before* Jeruſalem *was ſhut up. Their withdrawment to* Pella. *The admirable care of the Divine Providence over them. Their return back to* Jeruſalem, *when. The flouriſhing condition of the Chriſtian Church there. The occaſion of S.* Simeons *Martyrdom. The infinite jealouſie of the* Roman *Emperours concerning the line of* David. Simeons *apprehenſion and crucifixion. His ſingular torments and patience. His great age, and the time of his death.* Pag. 89.

The

The CONTENTS.

The Life of S. IGNATIUS Biſhop of *Antioch.*

His Originals unknown. Called Theophorus, *and why. The Story of his being taken up into our Saviours arms, refuted. His Apoſtolic education. S.* Johns *Diſciple. His being made Biſhop of* Antioch. *The eminency of that See. The order of his ſucceſſion ſtated. His prudent Government of that Church. The tradition of his appointing* Antiphonal *hymns by revelation.* Trajans *perſecuting the Church at* Antioch. *His diſcourſe with* Ignatius. Ignatius *his cruel uſage. His ſentence paſſed. His being tranſmitted to* Rome: *and why ſent ſo far to his execution. His arrival at* Smyrna, *and meeting with S.* Polycarp. *His Epiſtles to ſeveral Churches. His coming to* Troas, *and Epiſtles thence. His arrival at* Porto Romano. *Met on the way by the Chriſtians at* Rome. *His earneſt deſire of Martyrdom. His praying for the proſperity of the Church. The time of his Paſſion. His being thrown to wild Beaſts. What kind of puniſhment that among the* Romans. *The collection of his Remains, and their tranſportation to* Antioch; *and the great honours done to them. The great plenty of them in the Church of* Rome. Trajans *ſurceaſing the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. The dreadful Earthquakes happening at* Antioch. Ignatius *his admirable Piety. His general ſolicitude for the preſervation and propagation of the Chriſtian Doctrine, as an Apoſtle. His care, diligence, and fidelity, as a Biſhop. His patience and fortitude, as a Martyr. His Epiſtles.* Polycarps *commendation of them.* Pag. 99.

The Life of S. POLYCARP Biſhop of *Smyrna.*

The place of his Nativity. The honour and eminency of Smyrna. *His education under S.* John. *By him conſtituted Biſhop of* Smyrna. *Whether the ſame with the Biſhop to whom S.* John *committed the young man. S.* Polycarp *the Angel of the Church of* Smyrna *mentioned in the* Apocalyps. Ignatius *his arrival at* Smyrna. *His Letters to that Church, and to S.* Polycarp. *His Journey to* Rome *about the* Quartodeciman *Controverſie. The time of it enquired into.* Anicetus *his ſucceſſion to the See of* Rome. *His reception there by* Anicetus. *Their mutual kindneſs notwithſtanding the difference. His ſtout oppoſing Heretics at* Rome, *His ſharp treatment of* Marcion, *and mighty zeal againſt thoſe early corrupters of the Chriſtian Doctrine.* Irenæus *his particular remarques of S.* Polycarps *actions. The Perſecution under* M. Antoninus. *The time of* Polycarps *Martyrdom noted. The acts of it written by the Church of* Smyrna: *their great eſteem and value. S.* Polycarp *ſought for. His Martyrdom foretold by a dream. His apprehenſion, and being conducted to* Smyrna. Irenarchæ, *who.* Polycarps *rude treatment by* Herodes. *His being brought before the Proconſul. Chriſtians refuſed to ſwear by the Emperours* genius, *and why. His pious and reſolute anſwers. His ſlighting the Proconſuls threatnings. His ſentence proclaimed.* Aſiarchæ *who. Preparation for his burning. His Prayer before his death. Miraculouſly preſerved in the fire. Diſpatched with a Sword. The care of*

the

the Chriſtians about his Remains: this far from a ſuperſtitious veneration, Their annual meeting at the place of his Martyrdom. His great Age at his death. The day of his Paſſion. His Tomb how honoured at this day. The judgments happening to Smyrna *after his death. The Faith and Patience of the Primitive Chriſtians noted out of the Preface to the Acts of his Martyrdom. His Epiſtle to the* Philippians. *Its uſefulneſs. Highly valued and publicly read in the ancient Church. The Epiſtle it ſelf.* Pag. 111.

The Life of S. QUADRATUS Biſhop of *Athens.*

His Birth-place enquired into. His Learning. His Education under the Apoſtles. Publius *Biſhop of* Athens. Quadratus *his ſucceſſion in that See. The degenerate ſtate of that Church at his coming to it. His indefatigable zeal and induſtry in its reformation. Its purity and flouriſhing condition noted by* Origen. Quadratus *his being endowed with a ſpirit of Prophecy, and a power of Miracles. This perſon proved to be the ſame with our* Athenian *Biſhop. The troubles raiſed againſt the Chriſtians under the reign of* Aadrian. Aadrians *Character. His diſpoſition towards Religion, and baſe thoughts of the Chriſtians. His fondneſs for the Learning and Religion of* Greece. *His coming to* Athens, *and kindneſs to that City. His being initiated into the* Eleuſinian *myſteries. Theſe myſteries what, and the degrees of initiation. Several addreſſes made to the Emperour in behalf of the Chriſtians.* Quadratus *his* Apologetic. Ser. Granianus *his Letter to* Aadrian *concerning the Chriſtians. The Emperours Reſcript. His good opinion afterwards of Chriſt and his Religion.* Quadratus *driven from his charge. His Martyrdom and place of Burial.* Pag. 131.

The Life of S. JUSTIN the Martyr.

His vicinity to the Apoſtolic times. His Birth-place and Kindred. His Studies. His Travels into Egypt. *To what Sect of Philoſophy he applied himſelf. The occaſion and manner of his ſtrange converſion to Chriſtianity related by himſelf. Chriſtianity the onely ſafe and ſatisfactory Philoſophy. The great influence which the patience and fortitude of the Chriſtians had upon his converſion. The force of that argument to perſuade men. His vindication of himſelf from the charges of the* Gentiles. *His continuance in his Philoſophic habit. The* Φιλοσοφον Σχῆμα *what, and by whom worn.* Ὁ χρηστὸς ὄνομα. *His coming to* Rome, *and oppoſing Heretics.* Marcion *who, and what his Principles.* Juſtin's *firſt Apology to the Emperours, and the deſign of it.* Antoninus *his Letter to the Common-Council of* Aſia *in favour of the Chriſtians. This ſhewed not to be the Edict of* Marcus Antoninus. Juſtin's *journey into the* Eaſt, *and conference with* Trypho *the* Jew. Trypho *who. The malice of the* Jews *againſt the Chriſtians.* Juſtin's *return to* Rome. *His conteſts with* Creſcens *the Philoſopher.* Creſcens *his temper and principles.* Juſtin's *ſecond Apology. To whom preſented. The occaſion of it.* M. Antoninus *his*

his temper. Juſtin *fore-tells his own fate. The Acts of his Martyrdom. His arraignment before* Ruſticus *Præfect of* Rome. Ruſticus *his the great honours done him by the Emperour.* Juſtin's *diſcourſe with the Præfect. His freedom and courage. His ſentence and execution. The time of his death. His great Piety, Charity, Impartiality, &c. His natural parts and excellent learning. His unskilfulneſs in the Hebrew Language noted. A late Author cenſured. His Writings. The Epiſtle to* Diognetus. Diognetus *who. His ſtile and character. The unwarrantable opinions he is charged with. His indulgence to Heathens.* Μετὰ λόγου βίου, *what.* Λόγος *in what ſenſe uſed by the ancient Fathers. How applied to Chriſt, how to* Reaſon. *His opinion concerning* Chiliaſm. *The concurrence of the Ancients with him herein. This by whom firſt ſtarted; by whom corrupted. Concerning the ſtate of the Soul after this life. The doctrine of the Ancients in this matter. His aſſertion concerning Angels, maintained by moſt of the firſt Fathers. The original of it. Their opinion concerning Free-will ſhewed not to be oppoſed by them to the Grace of God. What influence* Juſtin's *Philoſophic education had upon his opinions. His Writings enumerated.* Pag. 139.

The Life of S. IRENÆUS Biſhop of *Lyons.*

His Countrey enquired into. His Philoſophical Studies. His inſtitution by Papias. Papias *who. His education under S.* Polycarp. *His coming into* France, *and being made Presbyter of* Lyons. Pothinus *who; how and by whom ſent into* France. *The grievous Perſecution there under* M. Aurelius. *The Letters of the Martyrs to the Biſhop of* Rome. *Pope* Eleutherius *guilty of* Montaniſm. Irenæus *ſent to* Rome. *His writing againſt* Florinus *and* Blaſtus. *The martyrdom of* Pothinus *Biſhop of* Lyons, *and the cruelty exerciſed towards him.* Irenæus *ſucceeds. His great diligence in his charge. His oppoſition of Heretics. The Synods ſaid to have been held under him to that purpoſe. The* Gnoſtic *Hereſies ſpread in* France. *Their monſtrous Villanies. His confutation of them by word and writing. Variety of Sects and Diviſions objected by the Heathens againſt Chriſtianity. This largely anſwered by* Clemens *of* Alexandria. *Pope* Victor's *reviving the controverſie about* Eaſter. *The conteſts between him and the* Aſiatics. *Several Synods to determine this matter.* Irenæus *his moderate interpoſal. His Synodical Epiſtle to* Victor. *The Perſecution under* Severus. *Its rage about* Lyons. Irenæus *his Martyrdom and place of Burial. His Vertues. His induſtrious and elaborate confutation of the* Gnoſtics. *His ſtile and phraſe.* Photius *his cenſure of his Works. His errour concerning Chriſts age. Miraculous gifts and powers common in his time. His Writings.* Pag. 161.

The CONTENTS.

The Life of S. THEOPHILUS Biſhop of *Antioch.*

The great obſcurity of his Originals. His learned and ingenuous Education, and natural parts. An account of his converſion to Chriſtianity, and the reaſons inducing him thereunto, collected out of his own Writings. His ſcrupling the Doctrine of the Reſurrection. The great difficulty of entertaining that Principle. Syneſius *his caſe.* Theophilus *his conquering this objection. His great ſatisfaction in the Chriſtian Religion. His election to the Biſhoprick of* Antioch. *His deſire to convert* Autolycus. Autolycus *who. His mighty prejudice againſt Chriſtianity.* Theophilus *his undertaking him, and his free and impartial debating the caſe with him. His excellent menage of the controverſie. His vigorous oppoſing the Hereſies of thoſe times. His Books againſt* Marcion *and* Hermogenes. *His death, and the time of it.* S. Hierom's *Character of his Works. His Writings.* Pag. 173.

The Life of S. MELITO Biſhop of *Sardis.*

His Countrey and Birth-place. His excellent Parts and Learning. His being made Biſhop of Sardis. *His cœlibacy. His Prophetic gifts. The Perſecution under* Marcus Aurelius. Melito *his Apology for the Chriſtians. A fragment of it cited out of* Euſebius. *The great advantages of Chriſtianity to the Empire. His endeavour to compoſe the* Paſchal *Controverſie. His Book concerning that Subject. His journey to* Jeruſalem *to ſearch what Books of the* Old Teſtament *were received by that Church. The Copy of his Letter to his Brother* Oneſimus *concerning the Canon of the Old Teſtament. What Books admitted by the ancient Church.* Solomons Proverbs *ſtiled by the Ancients the* Book of Wiſdom. *His death and burial. The great variety of his Works. Unjuſtly ſuſpected of dangerous notions. An account given of the titles of two of his Books moſt liable to ſuſpicion. His Writings enumerated.* Pag. 179.

The Life of S. PANTÆNUS Catechiſt of *Alexandria.*

The various conjectures concerning his Original. The probabilities of his Jewiſh *deſcent, what. Whether born in* Sicily *or at* Alexandria. *His firſt inſtitution. The famous* Platonic *School erected by* Ammonius *at* Alexandria. *The renown of that place for other parts of Learning.* Pantænus *addicted to the Sect of the* Stoics. *The Principles of that Sect ſhewed to agree beſt with the dictates of Chriſtianity. His great improvements in the Chriſtian Doctrine. The* Catechetic *School at* Alexandria, *with its antiquity.* Pantænus *made Regent of it. When he firſt entered upon this Office. An Embaſſie from* India *to the Biſhop of* Alexandria *for ſome to preach the Chriſtian Faith.* Pantænus *ſent upon this errand. This Countrey where ſituate. His arrival in* India, *and converſe with the* Brachmans.

mans. *Their temper, principles, and way of life. Their agreement with the* Stoics. *Foot-ſteps of Chriſtianity formerly planted there.* S. Matthews Hebrew *Goſpel found among them and brought by* Pantænus *to* Alexandria. *How far and by whom Chriſtianity was propagated in* India *afterwards:* Pantænus *his return to* Alexandria, *and reſuming his* Catechetic *Office. His Death. His great Piety and Learning.* Pag. 185.

The Life of S. CLEMENS of *Alexandria.*

His Countrey. The progreſs of his Studies. His inſtruction in the Chriſtian doctrin. His ſeveral Maſters. His impartial enquiry after truth. The elective Sect, what. Its excellent genius. Clemens *of this Sect. His ſucceeding* Pantænus *in the* Catechetic *School. He is made Preſbyter of* Alexandria. *His* Stromata *publiſhed, when. Lawfulneſs of flying in time of Perſecution. His journey into the* Eaſt. *What Tracts he wrote there. His going from* Jeruſalem *to* Antioch, *and return to* Alexandria. *His death. The* Elogia *given of him by the Ancients. His admirable learning. His Writings. His* Hypotypoſes: Photius *his account of them; corrupted by the* Arrians. *His Books yet extant, and the orderly gradation of them. His* Stromata, *what the deſign of it. His ſtile, what in this, what in his other Books. A ſhort Apology for ſome unwary aſſertions in his Writings. His Writings enumerated.* Pag. 193.

The Life of TERTULLIAN Presbyter of *Carthage.*

His names, whence. His Father, who. His education in all kinds of Learning. His skill in the Roman *Laws. Different from* Tertylian *the Lawyer. His way of life before his converſion, enquired into. His married condition. His converſion to Chriſtianity, when. The great cruelty uſed towards the Chriſtians.* Severus *his kindneſs to them.* Tertullians *excellent Apology in their behalf. His addreſs to* Scapula, *and the tendency of that diſcourſe.* Severus *his violent perſecuting the Chriſtians. His prohibition of the* Heteriæ. Tertullians *Book to the Martyrs, and concerning* Patience. *His zeal againſt Hereſies, and Writings that way. His Book* De Pallio, *when written, and upon what occaſion. His becoming Presbyter, when. His Book* De Corona, *and what the occaſion of it. His declining from the* Catholic *Party.* Montanus *who and whence. His principles and practices.* Tertullians *owning them, and upon what occaſion. His moroſe and ſtubborn temper. How far he complied with the* Montaniſts, *and acknowledged the* Paraclete. *How he was impoſed upon. His Writings againſt the* Catholics. *The ſeverity of the ancient Diſcipline.* Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum, *in what ſenſe meant by* Tertullian *concerning the Biſhop of* Rome. *His ſeparate meetings at* Carthage. *His death. His Character. His ſingular parts and learning. His Books. His phraſe and ſtile. What contributed to its perplexedneſs and obſcurity. His un-orthodox opinions. A brief plea for him.* Pag. 201.

The CONTENTS.

The Life of ORIGEN Presbyter, Catechiſt of *Alexandria*.

Origen, *where and when born. Several conjectures about the original of his name. His Father who. His juvenile education, and great towardlineſs in the knowledge of the Scriptures. His Philoſophical Studies under* Clemens Alexandrinus. *His Inſtitution under* Ammonius. Ammonius *who. His fame and excellency confeſſed by the Gentile Philoſophers. Another* Origen *his Contemporary: Theſe two heedleſly confounded. His Fathers Martyrdom, and the confiſcation of his Eſtate.* Origen's *reſolute encouragement of his Father. His own paſſionate deſire of Martyrdom. His maintenance by an honourable Matron of* Alexandria. *His zeal againſt Heretics. His ſetting up a private School. He ſucceeds* Clemens *in the* Catechetic *School at eighteen years of Age. The frequency of his Auditors. Many of them Martyrs for the Faith.* Origen's *reſolution in attending upon the Martyrs. His danger. His couragious act at the Temple of* Serapis. *His emaſculating himſelf, and the reaſons of it. The eminent chaſtity of thoſe Primitive Times.* Origen's *journey to* Rome, *and return to* Alexandria. *His taking in a Colleague into the* Catechetic *Office. He learns the* Hebrew *Tongue. The prudent method of his Teaching.* Ambroſius *converted. Who he was. His great intimacy with* Origen. Origen *ſent for by the Governour of* Arabia. *His journey into* Paleſtin, *and teaching at* Cæſarea. *Remanded by the Biſhop of* Alexandria. Alexander Severus *his excellent Vertues, and kindneſs for the Chriſtian Religion.* Origen *ſent for by the Empreſs* Mammæa *to* Antioch. *He begins to write his Commentaries. How many* Notaries, *and Tranſcribers imployed, and by whom maintained.* Notaries, *their Original and Office: Their uſe and inſtitution in the Primitive Church. His journey into* Greece. *His paſſage through* Paleſtin, *and being ordained Presbyter at* Cæſarea. Demetrius *of* Alexandria *his envy and rage againſt him.* Origen *condemned in two Synods at* Alexandria, *and one at* Rome. *The reſignation of his* Catechetic *School to* Heraclas. Heraclas *who. The ſtory of his offering Sacrifice. The credit of this ſtory queſtioned, and why. His departure from* Alexandria, *and fixing at* Cæſarea. *The eminency of his School there.* Gregorius Thaumaturgus *his Scholar. His friendſhip with* Firmilian: Firmilian *who. The Perſecution under* Maximinus. Origen's *Book written to the Martyrs. His retirement whither. He compares the Verſions of the Bible. His* Tetrapla, Hexapla, *and* Octapla, *what, and how managed: A Specimen given of them. His ſecond journey to* Athens. *His going to* Nicomedia, *and Letter to* Africanus *about the Hiſtory of* Suſanna. *His confutation of* Beryllus *in* Arabia. *His anſwer to* Celſus. Celſus *who.* Origens *Letters to* Philip *the Emperour. The vanity of making him a Chriſtian.* Origens *journey into* Arabia *to refute Hereſies. The* Helcesaitæ *who: What their Principles.* Alexanders *miraculous election to the See of* Jeruſalem; *His Coadjutorſhip, Government, Sufferings, and Martyrdom.* Origens *grievous ſufferings at* Tyre *under the* Decian *Perſecution. His deliverance out of Priſon; Age, and Death. His Character. His ſtrict life. His mighty zeal, abſtinence, contempt of the World, indefatigable diligence and patience noted. His natural*

 parts:

parts: incomparable learning. His Books and their ſeveral Claſſes. His ſtile, what. His unſound opinions. The great Out-cry againſt him in all Ages. The Apologies written in his behalf. Several things noted out of the Ancients to extenuate the charge. His aſſertions not Dogmatical. Not intended for public view. Generally ſuch as were not determined by the Church. His Books corrupted, and by whom. His own complaints to that purpoſe. The teſtimonies of Athanaſius, *and* Theotimus, *and* Haymo *in his vindication. Great errours and miſtakes acknowledged. What things contributed to them. His great kindneſs for the* Platonic *Principles. S.* Hierom's *moderate cenſure of him. His repenting of his raſh Propoſitions. His Writings enumerated, and what now extant.* Pag. 213.

The Life of S. BABYLAS Biſhop of *Antioch.*

His Originals obſcure. His education and accompliſhments enquired into. Made Biſhop of Antioch, *when.* Antioch *taken by the King of* Perſia. *Recovered by the* Roman *Emperour.* Babylas *his fidelity in his charge. The* Decian *Perſecution, and the grounds of it: ſeverely urged by the Emperours Edicts.* Decius *his coming to* Antioch. *His attempt to break into the Chriſtian Congregation.* Babylas *his bold reſiſtance. This applied to* Numerianus, *and the ground of the miſtake. The like reported of* Philip *the Emperour.* Decius *his bloudy act related by S.* Chryſoſtom. *His rage againſt* Babylas, *and his examination of him. The Martyrs reſolute anſwer. His impriſonment and hard uſage. The different accounts concerning his death. Three Youths his fellow-ſufferers, in vain attempted by the Emperour. Their Martyrdom firſt, and why.* Babylas *beheaded. His command that his chains ſhould be buried with him. The tranſlation of his body under* Conſtantius. *The great ſweetneſs and pleaſantneſs of the* Daphne. Apollo's *Temple there. S.* Babylas *his bones tranſlated thither by* Gallus Cæſar. *The Oracle immediately rendered dumb. In vain conſulted by* Julian. *The confeſſion of the* Dæmon. Julian's *command for removing* Babylas *his bones. The Martyrs Remains triumphantly carried into the City. The credit of this Story ſufficiently atteſted. The thing owned by* Libanius *and* Julian. *Why ſuch honour ſuffered to be done to the Martyr.* Julian *afraid of an immediate vengeance. His Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians at* Antioch. *The ſufferings of* Theodorus. *The Temple of* Apollo *fired from Heaven.* Pag. 241.

The CONTENTS.

The Life of S. CYPRIAN Biſhop of *Carthage.*

His Birth-place. The Nobility of his Family exploded. The confounding him with another Cyprian *Biſhop of* Antioch. *Theſe two vaſtly diſtinct. S.*Cyprian's *education. His profeſſing Rhetoric. His converſion to Chriſtianity by the perſuaſions of* Cæcilius. *Their mutual endearment. His great charity to the Poor. His Baptiſm. Made Presbyter and Biſhop of* Carthage. *His modeſt declining the honour. His Proſcription, receſs, and care of his Church during that retirement. The caſe of the* Lapſed. *A brief account of the riſe of the* Novatian *Sect. The fierceneſs of the Perſecution at* Carthage *under* Decius. *The courage and patience of the Chriſtians.* Cyprian's *return. A Synod at* Carthage *about the caſe of the* Lapſed, *and the cauſe of* Novatian. *Their determination of theſe matters. Ratified by a Synod at* Rome : *and another at* Antioch. *A ſecond Synod about the ſame affair. Moderation in the Eccleſiaſtic Diſcipline uſed in the time of Perſecution. The great Peſtilence at* Carthage. *The miſerable ſtate of that City. The mighty charity of S.* Cyprian *and the Chriſtians at that time. Theſe evils charged upon the Chriſtians. S.* Cyprians *vindication of them. The time of baptizing Infants determined in a Synod. Another Synod to decide the caſe of the* Spaniſh *Biſhops that had lapſed in the time of Perſecution. The Controverſie concerning the Rebaptizing thoſe who had been baptized by Heretics. This reſolved upon in a Synod of* LXXXVII African *Biſhops. The immoderate heats between* Cyprian, Firmilian, *and* Stephen *Biſhop of* Rome *about this matter.* Cyprian *arraigned before the* Proconſul, *His reſolute carriage. His baniſhment to* Curubis. *His Martyrdom foretold him by a Viſion. His Letters during his exile. The ſevere uſage of the Chriſtians. His withdrawment and why. His apprehenſion and examination before the* Proconſul. *The ſentence paſſed upon him. His Martyrdom, and place of burial. His piety, fidelity, chaſtity, humility, modeſty, charity,* &c. *His natural parts. His learning wherein it mainly conſiſted. The politeneſs and elegancy of his ſtile. His quick proficiency in Chriſtian ſtudies. His frequent converſe with* Tertullian's *Writings. His Books. The excellency of thoſe aſcribed to him. The great honours done to his memory.* Pag. 251.

The Life of S. GREGORY Biſhop of *Neocæſarea.*

S. Gregory *where born. His Kindred and Relations. The rank and quality of his Parents. His youthful ſtudies. His ſtudy of the Laws. His travels to* Alexandria. *The calumny there fixed upon him, and his miraculous vindication. His return through* Greece. *His ſtudying the Law at* Berytus, *and upon what occaſion. His fixing at* Cæſarea, *and putting himſelf under the tutorage of* Origen. *The courſe of his ſtudies. His Panegyric to* Origen *at his departure.* Origen's *Letter to him, and the importance of it. His refuſal to ſtay at* Neocæſarea, *and retirement into the Wilderneſs. His ſhunning to be made Biſhop of* Neocæſarea.

Con-

Conſecrated Biſhop of that City during his abſence. His acceptance of the charge, and the ſtate of that place at his entrance upon it. His miraculous inſtruction in the great myſteries of Chriſtianity. His Creed. The miracles wrought by him in his return. His expelling Dæmons *out of a* Gentile *Temple, and the ſucceſs of it. His welcom entrance into the City, and kind entertainment. His diligent preaching to the People. His erecting a Church for Divine Worſhip, and its ſignal preſervation. An horrible Plague ſtopped by his prayers. The great influence of it upon the minds of the People. His judging in Civil Cauſes. His drying up a Lake by his prayers, which had been the cauſe of an implacable quarrel between two Brothers; and his reſtraining the overflowings of the River* Lycus. *The ſignal vengeance inflicted upon two* Jews, *counterfeit Beggars. The fame and multitude of his miracles, and the authorities to juſtifie the credibility of them. The rage and cruelty of the* Decian *Perſecution in the Regions of* Pontus *and* Cappadocia. *His perſuading the Chriſtians to withdraw. His own retirement. The narrow ſearch made for him, and his miraculous eſcape. His betrayer converted. His return to* Neocæſarea, *and inſtituting ſolemnities to the memories of the Martyrs, and the reaſons of it. The inundations of the* Northern *Nations upon the* Roman *Empire. His Canonical Epiſtle to rectifie the diſorders committed by occaſion of thoſe inroads. His meeting with others in the Synod at* Antioch, *about the cauſe of* Paulus Samoſatenus. *His return home, age, and death. His ſolemn thanks to* God *for the flouriſhing ſtate of his Church, and command concerning his Burial. The excellent Character given of him by* S. Baſil. *His Writings. The charge of* Sabellianiſm. S. Baſils *Apology for him in that behalf. Modeſty to be uſed in cenſuring the ancient Fathers, and why.* Pag. 267.

The Life of S. DIONYSIUS Biſhop of *Alexandria.*

The place of his nativity. His Family and Relations. His converſion how. His ſtudies under Origen. *Whether a profeſſed Rhetorician. His ſucceeding* Heraclas *in the Catechetic School. His being conſtituted Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and the time of it. A preparatory Perſecution at* Alexandria, *how begun. The ſeverity of it. The Martyrdom of* Apollonia, *and the fond honours done her in the Church of* Rome. *The Perſecution continued and promoted by* Decius *his Edicts. The miſerable condition of the Chriſtians. The ſudden Converſion and Martyrdom of a Guard of Souldiers.* Dionyſius *apprehended and carried into baniſhment, there to be beheaded. A pleaſant account of his unexpected deliverance by means of a drunken rout. His retirement into the Deſarts. His return to* Alexandria. *The great number and quality of the* Lapſed *in the late Perſecution. The conteſts about this matter.* Dionyſius *his judgment and practice herein. The caſe of* Serapion. *His dealing with* Novatian *about his Schiſm, and the copy of his Letter to him. His being engaged in the Controverſie about Rebaptization, and great moderation in it. His Letter to Pope* Sixtus *about a perſon baptized by Heretics.* Valerianus *the Emperours kindneſs to Chriſtians. How turned to cruelty.* Dionyſius *brought before* Æmilian. *His diſcourſe with him, and reſolute conſtancy. He is condemned to be baniſhed. His tranſportation into the Deſarts*

Deſarts of Lybia. *The ſucceſs of his Miniſtry there. Innumerable Barbarians converted to the Faith.* Gallienus *his relaxing the Perſecution. His Letter to* Dionyſius *granting liberty to the Chriſtians.* Alexandria *ſhut up by the uſurpation of* Æmilian. *The Diviſions within, and Siege without. The horrible Peſtilence at* Alexandria; *and the ſingular kindneſs and compaſſion of the Chriſtians there above the Heathens.* Dionyſius *his confutation of* Sabellius. *His unwary expreſſions, and the charge againſt him. His vindication, both by himſelf and by S.* Athanaſius. *His writing againſt* Nepos. Nepos *who, and what his Principles and Followers.* Dionyſius *his encounter with the heads of the Party; his convincing and reducing them back to the Orthodox Church. His engaging in the Controverſie againſt* Paulus Samoſatenus. *The looſe extravagant, and inſolent temper and manners of that man.* Dionyſius *his Letter to the Synod at* Antioch *concerning him. The ſucceſs of that affair.* Dionyſius *his death. His Writings and Epiſtles. The loſs of them bewailed.*

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

The ſeveral periods of the three firſt Ages. Our Lords coming, and the ſeaſonableneſs of it for the propagation of the Goſpel. His entrance upon his Prophetic Office, and the ſum of his Miniſtry. The ſucceſs of his doctrine, and the ſeveral places where he preached. The Story of Agbarus *not altogether improbable. Our Lords Death. What atteſtation given to the paſſages concerning Chriſt by Heathen Writers. The teſtimony of* Tacitus. Pilats *relation ſent to* Tiberius. *The* Acts of Pilat *what.* Pilats *Letter now extant, Spurious. The Apoſtles entering upon their Commiſſion, and firſt Acts after our Lords Aſcenſion. How long they continued in* Judæa. *Their diſperſion to preach in the* Gentile *Provinces, and the ſucceſs of it. The ſtate of the Church after the Apoſtolic Age. The mighty progreſs of Chriſtianity. The numbers and quality of its Converts. Its ſpeedy and incredible ſucceſs in all Countries, noted out of the Writers of thoſe Times. The early converſion of* Britain *to Chriſtianity. The general declenſion of Paganiſm. The ſilence and ceaſing of their Oracles. This acknowledged by* Porphyry *to be the effect of the Chriſtian Religion appearing in the World. A great argument of its truth and divinity. The means contributing to the ſucceſs of Chriſtianity. The miraculous Powers then reſident in the Church. This proved at large out of the Primitive Writers. The great learning and abilities of many of the Churches Champions. The moſt eminent of the Chriſtian Apologiſts. The principal of them that engaged againſt the Hereſies of thoſe Times. Others renowned for other parts of Learning. The indefatigable zeal and induſtry uſed in the propagation of Chriſtianity. Inſtructing and Catechizing new Converts. Schools erected. Travelling to preach in all parts of the World. The admirable lives of the ancient Chriſtians. The ſingular efficacy of the Chriſtian doctrin upon the minds of men. A holy life the moſt acceptable ſacrifice. Their incomparable patience and conſtancy under ſufferings. A brief Survey of the Ten Perſecutions. The firſt begun by* Nero. *His bruti ſh extravagances, and inhumane cruelties. His burning* Rome, *and the dreadfulneſs of that conflagration. This charged upon the Chriſtians, and their ſeveral kinds of puniſhment noted out of* Tacitus. *The chief of them that ſuffered. The Perſecution under* Domitian. *The Vices of that Prince. The cruel uſage of S.* John. *The third begun by* Trajan. *His character. His proceeding againſt the Chriſtians as illegal Societies.* Plinies *Letter to* Trajan *concerning the Chriſtians, with the Emperours anſwer.* Adrian, Trajan's *ſucceſſor; a mixture in him of Vice and Vertue. His perſecuting the Chriſtians. This the fourth Perſecution. The mitigation of it, and its breaking out again under* Antoninus Pius. *The excellent temper and learning of* M. Aurelius. *The fifth Perſecution raiſed by him. Its fierceneſs in the* Eaſt, *at* Rome, *eſpecially in* France; *the moſt eminent that ſuffered there. The Emperours Victory in his* German *Wars gained by the Chriſtians Prayers.* Severus *his temper: his cruelty towards the Chriſtians. The chief of the Martyrs under the ſixth*

Perſecution. Maximinus *his immoderate ambition and barbarous cruelty. The Author of the ſeventh Perſecution. This not univerſal. The common evils and calamities charged upon the Chriſtians.* Decius *the eighth Perſecutor; otherwiſe an excellent Prince. The violence of this Perſecution, and the moſt noted ſufferers. The foundations of* Monachiſm *when laid. The ninth Perſecution, and its rage under* Valerian. *The moſt eminent Martyrs. The ſevere puniſhment of* Valerian: *his miſerable uſage by the* Perſian *King. The tenth Perſecution begun under* Diocleſian, *and when, The fierceneſs and cruelty of that time. The admirable carriage and reſolution of the Chriſtians under all theſe ſufferings. The proper influence of this argument to convince the World. The whole concluded with* Lactantius *his excellent reaſonings to this purpoſe.*

I. THE ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in the three firſt Ages of it may be conſidered under a threefold period: as it was firſt planted and eſtabliſhed by our Lord himſelf during his reſidence in the World; as it was enlarged and propagated by the Apoſtles, and firſt Miſſionaries of the Chriſtian Faith; and as it grew up and proſpered from the Apoſtolic Age till the times of *Conſtantine*, when the Empire ſubmitted it ſelf to Chriſtianity. God, who in former times was pleaſed by various methods of Revelation to convey his will to mankind, *hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken to us by his Son.* For the great bleſſing of the promiſed Seed after a long ſucceſſion of ſeveral Ages being come to its juſt maturity and perfection, God was reſolved *to perform the mercy promiſed to the Fathers, and to remember his holy Covenant, the Oath which he ſware to our Father Abraham.* Accordingly, *In the fulneſs of time God ſent his Son.* It was in the declining part of *Auguſtus* his reign, when this great Ambaſſador arrived from Heaven, to publiſh to the World the glad tidings of ſalvation. A period of time (as [a] *Origen* obſerves) wiſely ordered by the divine Providence. For the *Roman* Empire being now in the higheſt pitch of its grandeur, all its parts united under a Monarchical Government, and an univerſal Peace ſpread over all the Provinces of the Empire, that had opened a way to a free and uninterrupted commerce with all Nations, a ſmoother and ſpeedier paſſage was hereby prepared for the publiſhing the doctrin of the Goſpel, which the Apoſtles and firſt Preachers of Religion might with the greater eaſe and ſecurity carry up and down to all quarters of the World. As for the *Jews*, their minds were awakened about this time with buſie expectations of their *Meſſiah*'s coming: and no ſooner was the birth of the holy *Jeſus* proclaimed by the arrival of the *Eaſtern Magi*, who came to pay homage to him, but *Jeruſalem* was filled with noiſe and tumult, the *Sanhedrin* was convened, and conſulted by *Herod*, who jealous of his late gotten Soveraignty, was reſolved to diſpatch this new Competitor out of the way. Deluded in his hopes of diſcovery by the *Magi*, he betakes himſelf to acts of open force and cruelty, commanding all Infants under two years old to be put to death, and among them it ſeems his own Son, which made [b] *Auguſtus* pleaſantly ſay (alluding to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom of abſtaining from Swines-fleſh) *It is better to be Herods Hog then his Son.* But the Providence of God ſecured the holy Infant, by timely admoniſhing his Parents to retire

[a] *Contr. Celſ. lib. 2. p. 79.*

[b] *Macrob. Saturnal. l. 2. c. 4. p. 279.*

tire into *Ægypt*, where they remained till the death of *Herod*, which happening not long after, they returned.

II. NEAR thirty years our Lord remained obſcure under the retirements of a private life, applying himſelf (as the Ancients tell us, and the Evangelical Hiſtory plainly intimates) to *Joſeph's* imployment, the trade of a *Carpenter*. So little Patronage did he give to an idle unaccountable courſe of Life. But now he was called out of his Shades and Solitudes, and publicly owned to be that perſon, whom God had ſent to be the great Prophet of his Church. This was done at his Baptiſm, when the Holy Ghoſt in a viſible ſhape deſcended upon him, and God by an audible voice teſtified of him, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleaſed.* Accordingly he ſet himſelf to declare the Counſels of God, *Going about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom.* He particularly explained the Moral Law, and reſtored it to its juſt authority and dominion over the minds of men, redeeming it from thoſe corrupt and perverſe interpretations which the Maſters of the *Jewiſh* Church had put upon it. He next inſinuated the abrogation of the *Moſaic* Oeconomy, to which he was ſent to put a period, to enlarge the bounds of ſalvation, and admit both *Jew* and *Gentile* to terms of mercy: that he came as a Mediator between God and Man, to reconcile the World to the favour of Heaven by his death and ſufferings, and to propound pardon of ſin and eternal life to all that by an hearty belief, a ſincere repentance, and an holy life, were willing to embrace and entertain it. This was the ſum of the doctrin which he preached every where, as opportunity and occaſion led him, and which he did not impoſe upon the World meerly upon the account of his own authority and power, or beg a precarious entertainment of it; he did not tell men they muſt believe him, becauſe he ſaid he came from God, and had his Warrant and Commiſſion to inſtruct and reform the World, but gave them the moſt ſatisfactory and convictive evidence, by doing ſuch miracles as were beyond all powers and contrivances either of Art or Nature, whereby he unanſwerably demonſtrated, that *he was a Teacher come from God, in that no man could do thoſe miracles which he did, except God were with him.* And becauſe he himſelf was in a little time to return back to Heaven, he ordained *twelve, whom he called Apoſtles*, as his immediate Delegates and Vicegerents, to whom he deputed his authority and power, furniſhed them with miraculous gifts, and left them to carry on that excellent Religion which he himſelf had begun, to whoſe aſſiſtance he joined LXX Diſciples, as ordinary coadjutors and companions to them. Their Commiſſion for the preſent was limited to *Paleſtin*, and they ſent out onely *to ſeek and to ſave the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael.*

III. HOW great the ſucceſs of our Saviours Miniſtry was, may be gueſſed from that complaint of the *Phariſees*, *Behold the World is gone after him*, people from all parts in ſuch vaſt multitudes flocking after him, that they gave him not time for neceſſary ſolitude and retirement. Indeed he *went about doing good, preaching the word throughout all Judæa, and healing all that were poſſeſſed of the Devil.* The ſeat of his ordinary abode was *Galilee*, reſiding for the moſt part (ſays one of the Ancients[a]) in *Galilee of the Gentiles*, that he might there ſow and reap the firſt fruits of the calling of the *Gentiles*. We uſually find him preaching at *Nazareth*, at *Cana*, at *Corazin* and *Bethſaida*, and the Cities about the Sea of *Tiberias*, but eſpecially at *Capernaum*, the Metropolis of the Province, a

John 12. 19.

[a] *Euſeb. Demonſtrat. Evang. l. 9. p. 439.*

place of great commerce and traffique. He often viſited *Judæa*, and the parts about *Jeruſalem*, whither he was wont to go up at the *Paſchal* ſolemnities, and ſome of the greater feſtivals, that ſo the general concourſe of people at thoſe times might miniſter the fitter opportunity to ſpread the net, and to communicate and impart his doctrine to them. Nor did he who was to be a common Saviour, and came to break down the Partition-wall, diſdain to converſe with the *Samaritans*, ſo contemptible and hateful to the *Jews*. In *Sychar* not far from *Samaria*, he freely preached, and gained moſt of the inhabitants of that City to be Proſelytes to his doctrine. He travelled up and down the Towns and Villages of *Cæſarea Philippi*, and went into the borders of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and through the midſt of the coaſts of *Decapolis*, and where he could not come, the renown of him ſpread it ſelf, bringing him Diſciples and Followers from all quarters. Indeed *his fame went throughout all Syria, and there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, Judæa, Decapolis, Idumæa, from beyond Jordan, and from Tyre and Sidon.* Nay might we believe the ſtory, ſo ſolemnly reported by *Euſebius* [a] and the Ancients, (and excepting the ſilence of the Evangelical Hiſtorians, who recorded onely ſome of the actions and paſſages concerning our Saviour, I know no wiſe argument againſt it) *Acbarus* Prince of *Edeſſa* beyond *Euphrates*, having heard of the fame of our Saviours miracles, by Letters humbly beſought him to come over to him, whoſe Letter, together with our Lords anſwer, are extant in *Euſebius*, there being nothing in the Letters themſelves that may juſtly ſhake their credit and authority, with much more to this purpoſe, tranſcribed (as he tells us) out of the Records of that City, and by him tranſlated out of *Syriac* into *Greek*, which may give us ſome account why none of the Ancients before him make any mention of this affair, being generally ſtrangers to the Language, the Cuſtoms and Antiquities, of thoſe Eaſtern Countries.

[a] *H. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 13. *p.* 31.

IV. OUR Lord having ſpent ſomewhat more then three years in the public exerciſe of his Miniſtry, kept his laſt Paſsover with his Apoſtles; which done, he inſtituted the Sacramental Supper, conſigning it to his Church as the ſtanding memorial of his death, and the Seal of the Evangelical Covenant, as he appointed Baptiſm to be the Fœderal Rite of Initiation, and the public *Teſſera* or Badge of thoſe that ſhould profeſs his Religion. And now the fatal hour was at hand: being betrayed by the treachery of one of his own Apoſtles, he was apprehended by the Officers and brought before the public Tribunals. Heavy were the crimes charged upon him, but as falſe as ſpightful; the two main Articles of the Charge were Blaſphemy againſt God, and Treaſon againſt the Emperour: and though they were not able to make them good by any tolerable pretence of proof, yet did they condemn and execute him upon the Croſs, ſeveral of themſelves vindicating his innocency, that he was a *righteous man*, and *the Son of God*. The third day after his interment he roſe again, appeared to and converſed with his Diſciples and Followers, and having taken care of the affairs of his Church, given a larger Commiſſion, and fuller inſtructions to his Apoſtles, he took his leave of them, and viſibly aſcended into Heaven, and *ſate down on the right hand of God, as head over all things to the Church, Angels, Authorities, and Powers being made ſubject unto him.*

V. THE faith of theſe paſſages concerning our Saviour, are not onely ſecured to us by the report of the Evangelical Hiſtorians, and

that

that ſtrengthened by eye-witneſſes, the evidence of miracles, and the ſucceſſive and uncontrolled conſent of all Ages of the Church, but (as to the ſubſtance of them) by the plain confeſſion of Heathen Writers, and the enemies of Chriſtianity. [a] *Tacitus* tells us, That the Author of this Religion was Chriſt, who under the reign of *Tiberius* was put to death by *Pontius Pilat*, the Procurator of *Judæa*: whereby though this deteſtable Superſtition was ſuppreſſed for the preſent, yet did it break out again, ſpreading it ſelf not onely through *Judæa*, the fountain of the miſchief, but in the very City of *Rome* it ſelf, where whatever is wicked and ſhameful meets together, and is greedily advanced into reputation. [b] *Euſebius* aſſures us, that after our Lords Aſcenſion, *Pilat* according to cuſtom, ſent an account of him to the Emperour: which *Tiberius* brought before the *Senate*, but they rejected it under pretence that cognizance had been taken of it before it came to them; it being a fundamental Law of the *Roman* State, that no new god could be taken in without the Decree of the Senate; but that however *Tiberius* continued his good thoughts of Chriſt, and kindneſs to the Chriſtians. For this he cites the teſtimony of *Tertullian*, who in his [c] Apology preſented to the *Roman* Powers affirms, that *Tiberius*, in whoſe time the Chriſtian Religion entered into the World, having received an account from *Pilat* out of *Paleſtin* in *Syria* concerning the truth of that Divinity that was there, brought it to the Senate with the Prerogative of his own vote: but that the Senate, becauſe they had not before approved of it, would not admit it; however the Emperour continued of the ſame mind, and threatned puniſhment to them that accuſed the Chriſtians. And before *Tertullian*, *Juſtin Martyr* [d] ſpeaking concerning the death and ſufferings of our Saviour, tells the Emperours, that they might ſatisfie themſelves in the truth of theſe things from the *Acts* written under *Pontius Pilat*. It being cuſtomary not only at *Rome* to keep the *Acts* of the *Senate* and the People, but for the Governors of Provinces to keep account of what memorable things happened in their Government, the *Acts* whereof they tranſmitted to the Emperour. And thus did *Pilat* during the Procuratorſhip of his Province. How long theſe *Acts* remained in being, I know not: but in the controverſie about *Eaſter*, we find the *Quartodecimans* [e] juſtifying the day on which they obſerved it from the *Acts of Pilat*, wherein they gloried that they had found the truth. Whether theſe were the *Acts of Pilat*, to which *Juſtin* appealed, or rather thoſe *Acts of Pilat* drawn up and publiſhed by the command of [f] *Maximinus*, *Diocleſians* ſucceſſor, in diſparagement of our Lord and his Religion, is uncertain, but the latter of the two far more probable. However *Pilats* Letter to *Tiberius* (or, as he is there called *Claudis*) at this day extant in the *Anacephalæoſis* [g] of the younger *Egeſippus*, is of no great credit, though that Author challenges greater antiquity then ſome allow him, being probably contemporary with S. *Ambroſe*, and by many, from the great conformity of ſtile and phraſe, thought to be S. *Ambroſe* himſelf, who with ſome few additions compiled it out of *Joſephus*. But then it is to be conſidered, whether that *Anacephalæoſis* be done by the ſame, or (which is moſt probable) by a much later hand. Some other particular paſſages concerning our Saviour are taken notice of by *Gentile* Writers, the appearance of the Star by *Calcidius*, the murder of the Infants by *Macrobius*, the Eclips at our Saviours Paſſion by *Phlegon Trallianus* (not to ſpeak of his miracles frequently acknowledged by *Celſus*, *Julian*, and *Porphyry*) which I ſhall not inſiſt upon.

[a] *Annal. l.* 15. *c.*44. *p.*319.

[b] *H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.*2. *p.*40. *vid. Oroſ. adv. Pag. l.*7. *c.*4. *fol.*293.

[c] *Apolog. c.*5. *p.* 6. *& c.*21. *p.* 20.

[d] *Apolog.* II. *p.* 76.

[e] *Ap. Epiph. Hæreſ. L. p.*182.

[f] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l.*8. *c.*5. *p.*350.

[g] *Ad calcem l. de Excid. urb. Hieroſ. p.*683.

VI. IM-

VI. IMMEDIATELY after our Lords Aſcenſion (from whence we date the next period of the Church) the Apoſtles began to execute the Powers intruſted with them. They preſently filled up *Judas* his vacancy by the election of a new Apoſtle, the *lot falling upon Matthias, and he was numbred with the eleven Apoſtles.* Being next endued with power from on high (as our Lord had promiſed them) furniſhed with the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, they ſet themſelves to preach in places of the greateſt concourſe, and to the faces of their greateſt enemies. They who but a while before fled at the firſt approach of danger, now boldly plead the cauſe of their crucified Maſter, with the immediate hazard of their lives. And that nothing might interrupt them in this imployment, they inſtituted the Office of *Deacons*, who might attend the inferiour Services of the Church while they devoted themſelves to what was more immediately neceſſary to the good of ſouls. By which prudent courſe Religion got ground apace, and innumerable Converts were daily added to the Faith: till a Perſecution ariſing upon S. *Stephen*'s Martyrdom, baniſhed the Church out of *Jeruſalem*, though this alſo proved its advantage in the event and iſſue, Chriſtianity being by this means the ſooner ſpread up and down the neighbour Countries. The Apoſtles notwithſtanding the rage of the Perſecution, remained ſtill at *Jeruſalem*, onely now and then diſpatching ſome few of their number to confirm and ſetle the Plantations, and to propagate the Faith, as the neceſſities of the Church required. And thus they continued for near twelve years together, our Lord himſelf having commanded them not to depart *Jeruſalem* and the parts thereabouts, till twelve years after his Aſcenſion, as the ancient Tradition mentioned both by [a] *Apollonius*, and [b] *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us. And now they thought it high time to apply themſelves to the full execution of that Commiſſion which Chriſt had given them, *to go teach and baptize all Nations.* Accordingly having ſetled the general affairs and concernments of the Church, they betook themſelves to the ſeveral Provinces of the *Gentile* World, preaching the Goſpel to every Nation under Heaven, ſo that even in a literal ſenſe, *their ſound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the World.* "Infinite multitudes of peo- "ple in all Cities and Countries (ſays [c] *Euſebius*) like Corn into a well- "filled Granary, being brought in by that grace of God that brings ſal- "vation. And they whoſe minds were heretofore diſtempered and "over-run with the errour and idolatry of their Anceſtors, were cured "by the Sermons and Miracles of our Lords Diſciples, and ſhaking off "thoſe chains of Darkneſs and Slavery which the mercileſs *Dæmons* had "put upon them, freely embraced and entertained the knowledge "and ſervice of the onely true God, the great Creator of the World, "whom they worſhiped according to the holy Rites and Rules of that di- "vine and wiſely contrived Religion which our Saviour had introduced "into the World. But concerning the Apoſtles travels, the ſucceſs of their Miniſtry, the Places and Countries to which they went, the Churches they planted, their Acts and Martyrdoms for the Faith, we have given an account in a Work peculiar to that Subject, ſo far as the Records of thoſe times have conveyed any material notices of things to us. It may ſuffice to obſerve, that God was pleaſed to continue S. *John* to a very great age, beyond any of the reſt, that he might ſuperintend and cultivate, confirm and eſtabliſh what they had planted, and be as a ſtand-

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18. p. 186.*
[b] *Stromat. l. 6. p. 636. vid.* Life of S. *Peter, Sect. 11. num. 5.*
[c] *Lib. 2. c. 3. p. 41.*

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ing and lively Oracle, to which they might from all parts have recourſe in any conſiderable doubts and exigences of the Church, and that he might ſeal and atteſt the truth of thoſe things, which men of corrupt and perverſe minds, even then began to call in queſtion.

VII. HENCE then we paſs on to ſurvey the ſtate of the Church from the Apoſtolic Age till the times of *Conſtantine*, for the ſpace of at leaſt two hundred years. And under this period we ſhall principally remarque two things. What progreſs the Chriſtian Religion made in the World. Secondly, What it was that contributed to ſo vaſt a growth and increaſe of it. That Chriſtianity from the nature of its precepts, the ſublimeneſs of its principles, its contrariety to the eſtabliſhed Rites and Religions of the World, was likely to find bad entertainment, and the fierceſt oppoſition, could not but be obvious to every impartial conſiderer of things; which accordingly came to paſs. For it met with all the diſcouragement, the ſecret undermining, and open aſſaults which malice and prejudice, wit and parts, learning and power were able to make upon it. Notwithſtanding all which, it lift up its head, and proſpered under the greateſt oppoſitions. And the triumph of the Chriſtian Faith will appear the more conſiderable, whether we regard the number and quality of its Converts, or the vaſt circumference to which it did extend and diffuſe it ſelf. Though it appeared under all manner of diſadvantages to recommend it ſelf, yet no ſooner did it ſet up its Standard, but perſons from all parts, and of all kind of principles and educations began to flock to it, ſo admirably affecting very many both of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* (as *Origen* [a] tells *Celſus*) and they both wiſe and unwiſe, that they contended for the truth of their Religion even to the laying down their lives, a thing not known in any other Profeſſion in the World. And [b] elſewhere he challenges him to ſhew ſuch an unſpeakable multitude of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* repoſing ſuch a confidence in *Æſculapius*, as he could of thoſe that had embraced the Faith of the holy *Jeſus*. And when [c] *Celſus* objected that Chriſtianity was a clandeſtin Religion, that ſculked and crept up and down in corners; *Origen* anſwers, That the Religion of the Chriſtians was better known throughout the whole World, then the dictates of their beſt Philoſophers. Nor were they onely mean and ignorant perſons that thus came over, but (as [d] *Arnobius* obſerves) men of the acuteſt parts and learning; *Orators*, *Grammarians*, *Rhetoricians*, *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, *Philoſophers*, deſpiſing their formerly-beloved ſentiments, ſate down here. [e] *Tertullian* addreſſing himſelf to the *Roman* Governours in behalf of the Chriſtians, aſſures them, that although they were of no long ſtanding, yet that they had filled all places of their Dominions, their Cities, Iſlands, Caſtles, Corporations, Councils, Armies, Tribes, Companies, the Palace, Senate, and Courts of Judicature: that if they had a mind to revenge themſelves, they need not betake themſelves to clancular and ſculking Arts, their numbers were great enough to appear in open Arms, having a Party not in this or that Province, but in all quarters of the World: nay, that naked as they were, they could be ſufficiently revenged upon them; for ſhould they but all agree to retire out of the *Roman* Empire, the World would ſtand amazed at that ſolitude and deſolation that would enſue upon it, and they would have more Enemies then Friends or Citizens left among them. And he [f] bids the *Preſident Scapula* conſider, that if he went on with the Perſecution, what he would do with thoſe many thouſands both of men and

[a] *Contr. Celſ. l.* 1. *p.* 21, 22.

[b] *Ibid. l.* 3. *p.* 124.

[c] *Ib. l.* 1. *p.* 7.

[d] *Adv. Gent. l.* 2. *p.* 21.

[e] *Apol. c.* 37. *p.* 38.

[f] *Ad Scapul. c.* 4. *p.* 71.

and women, of all ranks and ages, that would readily offer themſelves, what Fires and Swords he muſt have to diſpatch them. Nor is this any more then what [a] *Pliny* himſelf confeſſes to the Emperour, that the caſe of the Chriſtians was a matter worthy of deliberation, eſpecially by reaſon of the multitudes that were concerned, for that many of each Sex, of every age and quality were and muſt be called in queſtion, this *Superſtition* having infected and over-run not the City onely, but Towns and Countries, the Temples and Sacrifices being generally deſolate and forſaken.

[a] *Ad Traj. lib. 10. Epiſt. 97.*

VIII. NOR was it thus onely in ſome Parts and Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, but in moſt Nations and Countries. [b] *Juſtin Martyr* tells the *Jew*, that whatever they might boaſt of the univerſality of their Religion, there were many places of the World whither neither they nor it ever came: whereas there was no part of mankind, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, or by what name ſoever they were called, even the moſt rude and unpoliſhed Nations, where Prayers and Thankſgivings were not made to the great Creator of the World through the name of the crucified *Jeſus*. The ſame *Bardeſanes* [c] the *Syrian*, *Juſtins* contemporary, affirms, that the followers of the Chriſtian Inſtitution, though living in different parts of the World, and being very numerous in every Climat and Countrey, were yet all called by the name of Chriſtians. So [d] *Lactantius*, the Chriſtian Law (*ſays he*) is entertained from the riſing of the Sun to the going down thereof, where every Sex, and Age, and Nation, and Countrey does with one heart and ſoul worſhip God. If from generals we deſcend to particular Places and Countries, [e] *Irenæus*, who entered upon the See of *Lyons Ann. Chr.* CLXXIX. affirms, that though there were different languages in the World, yet that the force of Tradition, (or that Doctrin that had been delivered to the Church) was but one and the ſame; that there were Churches ſetled in *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, in the *Eaſt*, in *Egypt* and *Lybia*, as well as in the middle of the World. [f] *Tertullian*, who probably wrote not above twenty years after *Irenæus*, gives us in a larger account. "*Their ſound* "(ſays he) *went through all the Earth, and their words to the ends of the* "*World.* For in whom but Chriſt did all Nations believe? *Parthians*, "*Medes, Elamites, the inhabitants of Meſopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, and* "*Cappadocia, of Pontus, Aſia, and Pamphylia*, thoſe who dwell in *Egypt*, "*Afric*, and beyond *Cyrene*, ſtrangers at *Rome*, *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, and "other Nations; as alſo now the *Getuli*, and the *Mauri*, the *Spaniards*, "and the *Gauls*, yea and thoſe places of *Britain*, which were unap- "proachable by the *Roman* Armies, are yet ſubdued to Chriſt; the *Sar-* "*matæ* alſo and the *Daci*, the *Germans* and the *Scythians*, together with "many undiſcovered Countries, many Iſlands and Provinces unknown "to us, which he profeſſes himſelf unable to reckon up. In all which "places (ſays he) the name of Chriſt reigns, as before whom the Gates "of all Cities are ſet open, and to whom none are ſhut; before whom "Gates of Braſs fly open, and bars of iron are ſnapt aſunder. To which [g] *Arnobius* adds the *Indians*, the *Perſians*, the *Seræ*, and all the Iſlands and Provinces, which are viſited by the riſing or ſetting Sun, yea, and *Rome* it ſelf, the Empreſs of all.

[b] *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 345.*

[c] *Lib. de Fat. ap. Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. 6. c. 10. p. 279.*

[d] *De Juſtit. l. 5. c. 13. p. 494.*

[e] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 1. c. 3. p. 52.*

[f] *Adv. Judæos c. 7. p. 189.*

[g] *Lib. 2. p. 23.*

IX. FROM *Tertullians* account we have a moſt authentic teſtimony how early Chriſtianity ſtretched it ſelf over this *other World*, having before his time conquered the moſt rough and inacceſſible parts of *Britain*

tain to the banner of the Croſs, which may probably refer to the converſion of King *Lucius* (the firſt Chriſtian King that ever was) a potent and conſiderable Prince in this Iſland, who embraced the Chriſtian Religion about the year CLXXXVI. and ſent a ſolemn Embaſſie to *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, for ſome who might further inſtruct him and his people in the Faith; who accordingly diſpatched *Faganus* and *Derwianus* hither upon that errand. Not that this was the firſt time that the Goſpel made its way through the ὠκεανὸς ἀπέρατος (as *Clemens* [a] calls the *Britiſh Ocean*, and ſo the Ancients conſtantly ſtile it) *the unpaſſable Ocean, and thoſe worlds which are beyond it*; that is, the *Britannic* Iſlands: it had been here many years before, though probably ſtifled and overgrown with the ancient Paganiſm and Idolatry. St. *Clemens* [b] tells us of St. *Paul*, that he preached both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; and having inſtructed the whole world in righteouſneſs, made his way to the utmoſt bounds of the *Weſt*: by which he muſt either mean *Spain*, or more probably *Britain*, and it may be both. Accordingly *Theodoret* [c] ſpeaking of his coming into *Spain*, ſays, that beſides that, he brought great advantage to the Iſles of the Sea; and he reckons [d] the *Cimbri* and the *Britains* among the Nations which the Apoſtles (and he particularly mentions the *Tent-maker*) converted to the Chriſtian Faith. If after all this, it were neceſſary to enter into a more minute and particular diſquiſition, I might enquire not only in what Countries, but in what Towns and Cities in thoſe Countries Chriſtianity fixed it ſelf, in what places Epiſcopal Sees were erected, and what ſucceſſion of Biſhops are mentioned in the Records of the Church; but that this would not well conſiſt with the deſigned ſhortneſs of this Introduction, and would be more perhaps than the Readers patience would allow.

[a] *Epiſt. ad Corinth. p.* 28.

[b] *Ibid. p.* 8.

[c] *Comment. in Pſal.* 116.

[d] *De curand. Græcor. affect. Serm.* IX. *p.* 125.

X. THE ſhadows of the night do not more naturally vaniſh at the riſing of the Sun, than the darkneſs of Pagan Idolatry and Superſtition fled before the Light of the Goſpel; which the more it prevailed, the clearer it diſcovered the folly and impiety of their worſhip: Their ſolemn Rites appeared more trifling and ridiculous, their Sacrifices more barbarous and inhumane, their *Dæmons* were expelled by the meaneſt Chriſtian, their Oracles became mute and ſilent, and their very Prieſts began to be aſhamed of their Magic Charms and Conjurations; and the more prudent and ſubtle heads among them, who ſtood up for the Rites and Solemnities of their Religion, were forced to turn them into myſtical and allegorical meanings, far enough either from the apprehenſion or intention of the vulgar. The truth is, the Devil, who for ſo many ages had uſurped an Empire and tyranny over the ſouls of men, became more ſenſible every day, that his Kingdom ſhaked; and therefore ſought, though in vain, by all ways to ſupport and prop it up. Indeed ſome time before our Saviours Incarnation the moſt celebrated Oracle at *Delphos* had loſt its credit and reputation, as after his appearance in the world they ſunk and declined every day; whereof their beſt Writers univerſally complain, that their gods had forſaken their Temples, and Oracular Receſſes, and had left the world in darkneſs and obſcurity; and that their Votaries did in vain ſolicit their Counſels and anſwers. *Plutarch*, who lived under *Trajan*, wrote a particular Tract (ſtill extant) *concerning the ceaſing of Oracles*, which he endeavours to reſolve partly into natural, partly into moral, partly into political cauſes, though all his Philoſophy was too ſhort to give a juſt and ſatisfactory account of it.

One cause he assigns of it is, the death and departure of those *Dæmons*, that heretofore presided over these Oracles. To which purpose he relates a memorable passage, concerning a voice that called three times aloud to one *Thamus* an *Egyptian* Ship-master and his company, as they sailed by the *Echinadæ* Islands, commanding him when they came near to *Palodes* to make Proclamation, that *the great Pan was dead*, which he did; and the news was entertained not with the resentment of one or two, but of many, who received it with great mourning and consternation. The circumstances of this story he there reports more at large, and adds, that the thing being published at *Rome*, *Thamus* was sent for by *Tiberius*, to whom he gave an account, and satisfied him in the truth of it. Which circumstance of time *Eusebius* [a] observes corresponds with our Lords conversing in the world, when he began openly to dispossess *Dæmons* of that power and tyranny which they had gained over mankind. And (if the calculation which some make, hit right) it fell in about the time of our Saviours Passion, who *led captivity captive, spoiled principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his Cross, and by his Death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil.*

Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπ. Κρηστηρ. p. 419.

[a] *Præpar. Evang. l. 5. c. 17. p. 207.*

XI. HOWEVER that the silence of Oracles, and the enervating the power of *Dæmons* was the effect of the Christian Religion in the world, we need no more then the plain confession of *Porphyry* himself (truth will sometimes extort a confession out of the mouth of its greatest enemy) who says, that *now its no wonder if the City for so many years has been overrun with sickness, Æsculapius and the rest of the gods having withdrawn their converse with men: For that since* Jesus *began to be worshipped, no man hath received any public help or benefit by the gods.* A great argument, as *Eusebius* well urges, of our Saviours Divine authority, and the truth of his Doctrine. For, when (says he a little before) such numbers of fictitious deities fled at our Lords aprearance, who would not with admiration behold it as an uncontroulable demonstration of his truly saving and excellent Religion, whereby so many Churches and Oratories through all the world both in Cities and Villages, and even in the Desarts and Solitudes of the most barbarous Nations have been erected and consecrated to the great Creator, and the only Sovereign of the World: when such multitudes of Books have been written, containing the most incomparable rules and institutions to form mankind to a life of the most perfect Virtue and Religion, precepts accommodate not to men only, but to women and children: when he shall see that the Oracles and Divinations of the *Dæmons* are ceased and gone; and that the Divine and Evangelical virtue of our Saviour no sooner visited mankind, but they began to leave off their wild and frantic ways of worship, and to abhor those humane sacrifices (many times of their dearest relations) wherewith they had been wont to propitiate and atone their bloody and merciless *Dæmons*, and into which their wisest and greatest men had been bewitched and seduced. I add no more but S. *Chrysostoms* [b] challenge, "Judge "now with me, O thou incredulous *Jew*, and learn the excellency of the "truth; what Impostor ever gathered to himself so many Churches "throughout the world, and propagated his worship from one end of it

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μηκέτι δύνασθαί τι καὶ ἰσχύειν τοὺς φαύλους δαίμονας, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους πάροδον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν δαιμόνων προήγορος, ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ τοῦτόν που λέγων μαρτυρεῖ τὸν τρόπον. Νυνὶ δὲ θαυμάζουσιν, εἰ τοσούτων ἐτῶν κατείληφε τὴν πόλιν ἡ νόσος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν μηκέτ' οὔσης. Ἰησοῦ γὰρ τιμωμένου, οὐδεμιᾶς τις Θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας ἤσθητο. Ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πορφύριος. *Euseb. ubi supr. c. 1. p. 179.*

[b] *Orat. III. adv. Judæos, p. 420. Tom. I.*

"it to the other, and ſubdued ſo many Subjects to his Crown, even "when thouſands of impediments lay in the way to hinder him? cer- "tainly, no man: a plain evidence that Chriſt was no Impoſtor, but a "Saviour and Benefactor, and the Author of our life and happineſs.

XII. WE have ſeen with what a mighty ſucceſs Chriſtianity diſplayed its banners over the world; let us next conſider what it was that contributed to ſo vaſt an increaſe and propagation of it. And here not to inſiſt upon the bleſſing of the Divine Providence, which did immediately ſuperintend its proſperity and welfare, nor upon the intrinſic excellency of the Religion it ſelf, which carried eſſential characters of Divinity upon it, ſufficient to recommend it to every wiſe and good man, there were five things among others that did eſpecially conduce to make way for it; the miraculous powers then reſident in the Church, the great learning and abilities of its champions and defenders, the indefatigable induſtry uſed in propagating of it, the incomparable lives of its profeſſors, and their patience and conſtancy under ſufferings. It was not the leaſt means that procured the Chriſtian Religion a juſt veneration from the world, the miraculous atteſtations that were given to it. I ſhall not here concern my ſelf to ſhew, that miracles truly and publicly wrought are the higheſt external evidence that can be given to the truth of that Religion, which they are brought to confirm; the force of the argument is ſufficiently pleaded by the Chriſtian Apologiſts. That ſuch miraculous powers were then ordinary in the Church, we have the concurrent teſtimonies of all the firſt Writers of it. *Juſtin Martyr* [a] tells the Emperor and the Senate, that our Lord was born for the ſubverſion of the *Dæmons*, which they might know from the very things done in their ſight; for that very many who had been vexed and poſſeſſed by *Dæmons*, throughout the world, and in this very City of theirs, whom all their exorciſts and conjurers were not able to relieve, had been cured by ſeveral Chriſtians through the name of *Jeſus* that was crucified under *Pontius Pilate*; and that at this very time they ſtill cur'd them, diſarming and expelling the *Dæmons* out of thoſe whom they had poſſeſs'd. The ſame he affirms in his diſcourſe with *Trypho* [b] the *Jew*, more than once, that the Devils trembled and ſtood in awe of the power of Chriſt; and to this day being adjured by the name of *Jeſus Chriſt* crucified under *Pontius Pilat* the *Procurator* of *Judæa*, they were obedient to Chriſtians. *Irenæus* [c] aſſures us that in his time, the Chriſtians enabled by the Grace of Chriſt, raiſed the dead, ejected *Dæmons*, and unclean ſpirits; the perſons ſo diſpoſſeſſed coming over to the Church: others had Viſions and the gift of Propheſie; others by Impoſition of hands healed the Sick, and reſtored them to perfect health. But I am not able (ſays he) to reckon up the number of thoſe gifts, which the Church throughout the world receiving from God, does every day freely exerciſe in the name of *Jeſus Chriſt* crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, to the benefit of the world. *Tertullian* [d] challenges the *Roman* Governors to let any poſſeſſed perſon be brought before their own Tribunals, and they ſhould ſee, that the ſpirit being commanded to ſpeak, by any Chriſtian, ſhould as truly confeſs himſelf to be a Devil, as at other times he falſly boaſted himſelf to be a God. And he tells *Scapula*, [e] that they rejected, diſgraced, and expelled *Dæmons* every day, as moſt could bear them witneſs. *Origen* [f] bids *Celſus* take notice, that whatever he might think of the reports which the Goſpel makes concerning our Saviour; yet that it was the great and mag-

[a] *Apol. I. p. 45.*

[b] *Dial. cum Typh. p. 247. & p. 302.*

[c] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 2. c. 56. p. 215. c. 57. p. 218.*

[d] *Apol. c. 23. p. 22.*

[e] *Ad Scap. c. 2. p. 6.*

[f] *Contr. Celſ. l. 2. p. 80.*

nificent work of *Jeſus*, by his name to heal even to this day, whom God
[a] *Ib. l. 3. p. 124.* pleaſed; that he [a] himſelf had ſeen many, who by having the name of God and Chriſt called over them, had been delivered from the greateſt evils, frenzy and madneſs, and infinite other diſtempers, which neither men nor devils had been able to cure. What influence theſe miraculous effects had upon the world, he lets us know elſewhere. "The Apoſtles
[b] *Lib. 1. p. 34.* "of our Lord (*ſays* [b] *he*) without theſe miraculous powers would never "have been able to have moved their Auditors, nor perſwaded them to "deſert the inſtitutions of their Country, and to embrace their new "Doctrine; and having once embraced it, to defend it even to death, in "defiance of the greateſt dangers. Yea even to this day the foot-ſteps "of that Holy Spirit, which appeared in the ſhape of a Dove, are pre-"ſerved among the Chriſtians; they exorcize *Dæmons*, perform many "cures, and according to the will of God foreſee and foretel things to "come. At which, though *Celſus* and his perſonated *Jew* may laugh, "yet I affirm further, that many even againſt their inclinations have been "brought over to the Chriſtian Religion, their former oppoſition of it "being ſuddenly changed into a reſolute maintaining of it unto death, "after they have had Viſions communicated to them; ſeveral of which "nature we our ſelves have ſeen. And ſhould we only reckon up thoſe "at which we our ſelves have been preſent and beheld, it may be it would "only make the Infidels merry; ſuppoſing that we like themſelves did "forge and feign them. But God bears witneſs with my conſcience, that "I do not endeavour by falſly-contrived ſtories, but by various power-"ful inſtances to recommend the Divine Religion of the Holy Jeſus. More teſtimonies of this kind I could eaſily produce from *Minucius Felix*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*; but that theſe are enough to my purpoſe.

XIII. ANOTHER advantage that exceedingly contributed to the triumph of Chriſtianity, was the ſingular learning of many, who became champions to defend it: For it could not but be a mighty ſatisfaction, eſpecially to men of ordinary capacities, and mean employments (which are the far greateſt part of mankind) to ſee perſons of the moſt ſmart and ſubtil reaſonings, of the moſt acute and refined underſtandings, and conſequently not eaſily capable of being impoſed upon by arts of ſophiſtry and plauſible ſtories, trampling upon their former ſentiments and opinions, and not only entertaining the Chriſtian Faith, but defending it againſt its moſt virulent oppoſers. 'Tis true indeed the Goſpel at its firſt ſetting out was left to its own naked ſtrength, and men of the moſt unpoliſht breeding made choice of to convey it to the world, that it might not ſeem to be an humane artifice, or the ſucceſs of it be aſcribed to the parts and powers of man. But after that for an hundred years together it had approved it ſelf to the world, and a ſharper edge was ſet upon the malice and keenneſs of its adverſaries, it was but proper to take in external helps to aſſiſt it. And herein the care of the Divine providence was very remarkable, that as miracles became leſs common and frequent in the Church, God was pleaſed to raiſe up even from among the *Gentiles* themſelves, men of profound abilities, and excellent learning,
[c] *Theod. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 8. p. 131.* who might τοῖς οἰκείοις πλεονεξίαις ἐάλλειν, (as *Julian* [c] ſaid of the Chriſtians of his time) beat them at their own weapons, and wound them with arrows drawn out of their own quiver; and it was high time to do ſo: for the *Gentiles* did not only attaque the Chriſtians and their Religion by

methods

methods of cruelty, and by arts of inſinuation, not only object what wit and ſubtilty could invent, to bear any ſhadow and pretence of reaſon, but load them with the blackeſt crimes, which nothing but the utmoſt malice and prejudice could ever ſuſpect to be true. This gave occaſion to the Chriſtian Apologiſts, and the firſt Writers againſt the *Gentiles*, who by their learned and rational diſcourſes aſſoil'd the Chriſtians from the things charged againſt them, juſtified the reaſonableneſs, excellency, and divinity of their Religion; and expos'd the folly and falſhood, the brutiſhneſs and impiety, the abſurd and trifling rites of the *Pagan* Worſhip; by which means prejudices were removed, and thouſands brought over to the Faith. In this way they that rendred themſelves moſt renowned, and did greateſt ſervice to the Chriſtian cauſe, were eſpecially theſe, *Quadratus* Biſhop of *Athens*, and *Ariſtides*, formerly a famous Philoſopher of that City, a man wiſe and eloquent, dedicated each an *Apologetic* to the Emperor *Adrian*: *Juſtin* the *Martyr*, beſides ſeveral Tracts againſt the *Gentiles*, wrote two Apologies; the firſt preſented to *Antoninus Pius*, the ſecond to *M. Aurelius*, and the Senate: about which time alſo *Athenagoras* preſented his Apology to *M. Aurelius*, and *Aurelius Commodus*: not to mention his excellent diſcourſe concerning the Reſurrection. To the ſame *M. Aurelius*, *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis* exhibited his Apologetic Oration for the Chriſtians: under this Emperor alſo flouriſhed *Apollinaris*, Biſhop of *Hierapolis* in *Aſia*, and dedicated to him an incomparable diſcourſe in defence of the Chriſtian Faith; beſides five Books which he wrote againſt the *Gentiles*, and two concerning the *truth*. Not long after *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch* compos'd his three excellent Books for the conviction of *Autolycus*: and *Miltiades* preſented an Apology (probably) to the Emperor *Commodus*. *Tatian* the *Syrian*, Scholar to *Juſtin Martyr*, a man learned and eloquent, among other things wrote a Book againſt the *Gentiles*, which ſufficiently evidences his great abilities. *Tertullian*, a man of admirable learning, and the firſt of the *Latins* that appeared in this cauſe, under the Reign of *Severus*, publiſhed his *Apologetic*, directed to the Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Empire; beſides his Books, *Ad Nationes*, *De Idololatria*, *Ad Scapulam*, and many more. After him ſucceeded *Origen*, whoſe eight Books againſt *Celſus* did not greater ſervice to the Chriſtian cauſe, than they did honour to himſelf. *Minucius Fælix*, an eminent advocate at *Rome*, wrote a ſhort, but moſt elegant *Dialogue* between *Octavius* and *Cæcilius*, which (as *Lactantius*[a] long ſince obſerved) ſhews, how fit and able an advocate he would have been to aſſert the truth, had he wholly applied himſelf to it. About the time of *Gallus* and *Voluſian*, *Cyprian* addreſſed himſelf in a diſcourſe to *Demetrian* the *Proconſul* of *Afric*, in behalf of the Chriſtians and their Religion, and publiſhed his Tract *De Idolorum vanitate*, which is nothing but an Epitome of *Minucius* his Dialogue. Towards the cloſe of that Age under *Dioclefian*, *Arnobius* taught Rhetoric with great applauſe at *Sicca* in *Afric*; and being convinc'd of the truth of Chriſtianity, could hardly make the Chriſtians at firſt believe that he was real. In evidence therefore of his ſincerity, he wrote ſeven Books againſt the *Gentiles*, wherein he ſmartly and rationally pleads the Chriſtian cauſe: as not long after his Scholar *Lactantius*, who under *Dioclefian* profeſſed Rhetoric at *Nicomedia*, ſet himſelf to the compoſing ſeveral diſcourſes in defence of the Chriſtian, and ſubverſion of the *Gentile* Religion. A man witty and eloquent, but more happy in attacquing his Adverſaries, then

[a] *De Inſtit. l. 5. c. 1. p. 459.*

then in eſtabliſhing the Principles of his own Religion, many whereof he ſeems not very diſtinctly to have underſtood. To all theſe I may add *Apollonius*, a man verſed in all kind of learning and Philoſophy; and (if St. *Hierom* ſay right) a *Senator* of *Rome*, who in a ſet Oration with ſo brave and generous a confidence, eloquently pleaded his own, and the cauſe of Chriſtianity before the Senate it ſelf; for which he ſuffered as a Martyr in the Reign of *Commodus*.

XIV. AND as they thus defended Chriſtianity on the one hand from the open aſſaults and calumnies of the *Gentiles*, ſo were they no leſs careful on the other to clear it from the errors and Hereſies, wherewith men of perverſe and evil minds ſought to corrupt and poyſon it. And the chief of thoſe that ingaged in this way were theſe, *Agrippa Caſtor*, a man of great learning, in the time of *Adrian*, wrote an accurate Refutation of *Baſilides* and his Principles in xxiv. Books. *Theophilus* of *Antioch* againſt *Hermogenes* and *Marcion*; *Apollinaris*, *Philip* Biſhop of *Gortyna* in *Crete*, *Muſanus*, *Modeſtus*, *Rhodon*, *Tatian*'s Scholar, *Miltiades*, *Apollonius*, *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and hundreds more, who engag'd againſt the *Marcionites*, *Montaniſts*, and other Heretics of thoſe times. But the principal of all was *Irenæus*, who took to task the moſt noted Hereſies of thoſe Ages, and with incomparable induſtry and quickneſs of reaſoning unravelled their Principles, expoſed their practices, refuted their errors, whereby (as he frequently intimates) many were reduced and recovered to the Church. I might alſo mention ſeveral others, who though not known to have particularly adventured in either of theſe ways, are yet renowned for their excellent skill in all Arts and Sciences, whereby they became eminently uſeful to the Church. Such (beſides thoſe whereof an account is given in the following work) were *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, *Bardeſanes* the *Syrian*, whoſe learning and eloquence were above the common ſtandard, though he alſo wrote againſt almoſt all the Hereſies of the Age he lived in. *Ammonius* the celebrated Philoſopher of *Alexandria*, *Julius Africanus*, a man peculiarly eminent for Hiſtory and Chronology; *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, famous for his skill in *Hebrew*, as well as other parts of learning; *Anatolius* the *Alexandrian*, whom *Euſebius* magnifies ſo much as the moſt learned man, and acute Philoſopher of his age, exquiſitely skill'd in Arithmetic, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Logic, Phyſic, Rhetoric, and indeed what not? *Pierius*, Presbyter of *Alexandria*, an eloquent Preacher, and ſo great a Scholar, that he was commonly ſtyled *Origen Junior*. But this is a field too large to proceed any further in, and therefore I ſtop here. By all which it is evident, what St. *Hierom* [a] remarques, how little reaſon *Celſus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian* had to clamour againſt the Chriſtians, as a rude and illiterate generation, who had no Learning, no Eloquence, or Philoſophy to recommend them.

[a] *Diſcant ergo* Celſus, Porphyrius, Julianus, *rabidi adverſus Chriſtum canes, diſcant eorum ſectatores, qui putant Eccleſiam, nullos Philoſophos & eloquentes, nullos habuiſſe Doctores, quanti & quales viri eam fundaverint, extruxerint, & oraverint, & deſinant fidem noſtram ruſticæ tantum ſimplicitatis arguere, ſuamque potius imperitiam agnoſcunt.* S. Hieron. præf. ad Catalog. de ſcript. Eccleſ.

XV. A third advantage that helpt on the progreſs of Chriſtianity, was the indefatigable zeal and induſtry uſed in the propagation of it. No ſtone was left unturn'd, no method unattempted, whereby they might reclaim men from error, and bring them over to the acknowledgment of the truth. Hence in an ancient Inſcription [b] ſaid to be ſet up in *Spain*,

[b] *Ap. Gruter. Inſcript. p.238. N. IX.*

Spain, to the honour of *Nero*; they are deſcribed under this Character; *QUI NOVAM GENERI HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. Thoſe who inculcated and obtruded a new Superſtition upon mankind.* Indeed they were infinitely zealous to gain Proſelytes to the beſt Religion in the world. They preached it boldly, and prayed heartily for the converſion and reformation of mankind, ſolicited their neighbours that were yet ſtrangers to the Faith, inſtructed and informed new converts, and *built them up on the moſt holy Faith.* Thoſe that were of greater parts and eminency erected and inſtituted Schools, where they publicly taught thoſe that reſorted to them, grounding them in the rudiments of the Faith, and antidoting them both againſt Heathens on the one ſide, and Heretics on the other. Among us (ſays *Tatian* [a]) not only the rich and the wealthy learn our Philoſophy, but the poor are freely diſciplined and inſtructed: we admit all that are willing to learn, whether they be old or young. And what the ſucceſs was, he tells [b] us a little after, that all their Virgins were ſober and modeſt, and were wont to diſcourſe concerning divine things, even while they were ſitting at their Diſtaffs. Nor did they content themſelves only to do thus at home, many of them freely expoſing themſelves to all manner of hazards and hardſhips: no pains were thought great, no dangers conſiderable, no difficulties inſuperable, that they might enlarge the bounds of the Goſpel, travelling into the moſt barbarous Nations, and to the remoteſt corners of the world. "The divine and admirable Diſciples of the Apoſtles (ſays "[c] *Euſebius*) built up the ſuperſtructures of thoſe Churches, the foun- "dations whereof the Apoſtles had laid in all places where they came: "they every where promoted the publication of the Goſpel, ſowing the "ſeeds of that heavenly Doctrine throughout the whole world. For "their minds being inflamed with the love of a more divine Philoſophy, "according to our Lords counſel, they diſtributed their eſtates to the "poor; and leaving their own Countries, took upon them the office of "*Evangeliſts*; preaching Chriſt, and delivering the Evangelical Wri- "tings to thoſe who had not yet ſo much as heard of the Chriſtian Faith. "And no ſooner had they founded the Faith in any forein Countries, and "ordained guides and Paſtors, to whom they committed the care of "thoſe new Plantations, but they preſently betook themſelves to other "Nations, ratifying their Doctrine with the miraculous powers of that "Divine Spirit that attended them: ſo that as ſoon as ever they began "to preach, the people univerſally flocked to them, and chearfully and "heartily embraced the worſhip of the true God, the great Creator of "the world. In the number of theſe Evangelical Miſſionaries, that were of the firſt Apoſtolical ſucceſſion, were *Silas*, *Sylvanus*, *Creſcens*, *Andronicus*, *Trophimus*, *Marcus*, *Ariſtarchus*, &c. as afterwards *Pantænus* who went into *India*, *Pothinus* and *Irenæus* from *Smyrna* into *France*, each ſucceſſively becoming Biſhop of *Lyons*, and infinite others mentioned in the Hiſtories and Martyrologies of the Church, who *counted not their lives to be dear unto them, ſo that they might finiſh their courſe with joy*, and make known the myſtery of the Goſpel to the ends of the earth.

[a] *Orat. contr. Græc. p.* 167.

[b] *Ibid. p.* 168.

[c] *H. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 37. *p.* 109.

XVI. FOURTHLY, Chriſtianity recommended it ſelf to the world by the admirable lives of its profeſſors, which were ſo truly conſonant to all the laws of virtue and goodneſs, as could not but reconcile the wiſer and more unprejudiced part of the *Gentile* world to a better opinion of it, and vindicate it from thoſe abſurd and ſenſleſs cavils

that

that were made againſt it. For when they ſaw Chriſtians every where ſo ſeriouſly devout and pious, ſo incomparably chaſt and ſober of ſuch humble and mortified tempers, ſo ſtrictly juſt and righteous, ſo kind and charitable, not to themſelves only, but to all mankind, they concluded there muſt be ſomething more than humane in it: as indeed no argument is ſo convictive, as a demonſtration from experience. Their ſingular piety, and the diſcipline of their manners weighed down all the diſadvantages they were under. The divine and moſt admirable Apoſtles of Chriſt (ſays *Euſebius*[a]) how rude ſoever they were in ſpeech, were yet τὸν βίον ἄκρως κεκοσμημένοι, & ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς κεκοσμημένοι, of the moſt pure and holy lives, and had their minds adorned with all ſorts of virtue. And ſuch generally were the Chriſtians of the ſucceeding Ages; they did not entertain the world with a parcel of good words and a plauſible ſtory, but ſhewed their Faith by their works, and proved the divinity of their Religion by the heavenlineſs of their lives. We (ſays the Chriſtian in *Minucius Fælix*[b]) deſpiſe the pride and ſupercilioufneſs of Philoſophers, whom we know to be debauched perſons and always eloquent againſt thoſe vices of which themſelves are moſt guilty. For we meaſure not wiſdom by mens garbs and habits, but by their mind and manners; nor do we ſpeak great things ſo much as live them, glorying that we have attained what they earneſtly ſought, but could never find. Chriſtians were then the only perſons that really were what they pretended to, men heartily reformed from vice to virtue: "Being perſuaded (as *Juſtin Martyr* tells[c] the Emperors) by *the* "*Word*, we have renounced the *Dæmons*, and through the Son worſhip "the only and unbegotten Deity: and we who heretofore took pleaſure "in adulteries, do now embrace the ſtricteſt chaſtity; and who were ad"dicted to magic arts, have devoted our ſelves to the benign and immor"tal God: we who valued eſtate and riches before all things in the "world, do now caſt what we have in common, diſtributing to every "one according to his need: we who by hatred and ſlaughters mutually "raged againſt each other, and refus'd to ſit at the ſame fire with thoſe "who were not of our own tribe, ſince Chriſt's appearing in the world, "familiarly converſe together, pray for our enemies, and for the conver"ſion of thoſe that unjuſtly hate us, endeavouring to perſuade them to "live according to the excellent precepts of Chriſt, that ſo they may "have juſt ground to hope for the ſame rewards with us from the great "judge of the world. Indeed ſtrange was the efficacy of the Chriſtian Doctrine over the minds of men, which the Chriſtian Apologiſts at every turn plead as an uncontroulable evidence of their Religion; that it made all ſorts of perſons that complied with it, chaſt and temperate, quiet and peaceable, meek and modeſt, and afraid of the leaſt appearance and colour of what was evil. When the Heathens derided them for the mean and unpompous ſolemnities of their Religion, they univerſally declared, that God reſpected no man for any external excellencies or advantages, it was the pure and the holy ſoul he delighted in; that he ſtood in no need of blood or ſmoke, perfumes and incenſe; that the greateſt and beſt ſacrifice was to offer up a mind truly devoted to him: that meekneſs and kindneſs, an humble heart, and an inno-

[a] *ubi ſupr. c. 24. p. 94.*

[b] *M. Fæl. Dial. non longe à fin. p. 31.*

[c] *Apol. II. p. 61.*

Tertul. Apol. c. 3. p. 4. ad Nation. c. 1. p. 41. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. 1. p. 9. 15, 21, 36, 50, 53. lib. 2. p. 61. 85, 88, 110. lib. 3. p. 128, 147, 152, 157. lib. 4. p. 167. lib. 6. p. 306. lib. 7. p. 364. lib. 8. p. 409. & alibi paſſim. Lactant. lib. 3. c. 26. p. 328. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 351.

J. Mart. Orat. ad Græc. p. 40. Athenag. Legat. p. 13. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7. p. 706, 709, 714, 719, 728. Minuc. Fæl. p. 26. 30 Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 7. p. 104. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. 8. p. 385, 389, 392. Lactant. l. 1. c. 20. p. 108. l. 6. c. 1. p. 540. c. 24. p. 636. Epitom. c. 2. p. 736.

innocent life, was the ſacrifice with which God was well pleaſed, and infinitely beyond all *Holocauſts* and Oblations; that a pious and devout mind was the fitteſt Temple for God to dwell in, and that to do ones duty, to abſtain from ſin, to be intent upon the offices and miniſtrations of Prayer and Praiſe, is the trueſt Feſtival; yea, that the whole life of a good man is nothing elſe but a holy and feſtival ſolemnity. This was the Religion of Chriſtians then, and it rendred their profeſſion amiable and venerable to the world; and forced many times its moſt violent opoſers to fall down, and ſay *that God was in them of a truth.* But the leſs of this argument is ſaid here, a full account having been given of it in a work peculiar to this ſubject.

XVII. FIFTHLY, the Diſciples of this holy and excellent Religion gained innumerable Proſelytes to their party by their patience and conſtancy under ſufferings. They were immutably reſolved to maintain their ſtation, notwithſtanding all the attempts made to beat them from it. They entertained the fierceſt threatnings with an unſhaken mind, and fearleſly beheld the racks and engins prepared for them; they laugh'd at torments, and courted flames, and went out to meet Death in its blackeſt dreſs: they died rejoycing, and triumphed in the midſt of the greateſt tortures; which hapning for ſome ages almoſt every day, could not but convince their enemies that they were in good earneſt, that they heartily believed their Religion to be true, and that there muſt be a divine and ſupernatural power going along with it, that could ſupport them under it; which *Juſtin Martyr* confeſſes, was one main inducement of his converſion to Chriſtianity. What particular methods of cruelty were uſed towards the Primitive Chriſtians, and with how brave and generous a patience, with what evenneſs and tranquillity of mind they bore up under the heavieſt and acuteſt torments, we have ſufficiently declared in another place: and therefore ſhall here only take a ſhort ſurvey of thoſe ten famous *Perſecutions*, that ſo eminently exerciſed the faith and patience of the Primitive Saints, and then collect the force of the argument reſulting from it. And this the rather, becauſe it will preſent us with the beſt proſpect of the ſtate of the Church in thoſe early ages of it. As to the particular dates and periods of ſome of theſe perſecutions, different accounts are aſſigned by *Sulpitius Severus*, *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, *Hierom*, and others; we ſhall follow that which ſhall appear to be moſt likely and probable.

Prim. Chriſt. Part. II. Ch. 7.

XVIII. THE firſt that raiſed a general Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, was *Nero*, as *Tertullian*[a] tells the *Gentiles*; and for the truth of it, offers them to their own public *Archives* and Records. A Prince of that wild and ungovernable temper, of ſuch brutiſh and extravagant manners, that their own Writers ſcruple not to ſtyle him, a beaſt in humane ſhape, and the very monſter of mankind. He was guilty of the moſt unbounded Pride and Ambition, Drunkenneſs, Luxury, and all manner of debauchery, Sodomy and Inceſt, which he attempted to commit with his own Mother. But cruelty ſeemed to predominate among his other vices; beſides infinite others, he diſpatched the greateſt part of the Senate, put to death his Tutor *Seneca* and his Wife, *Lucan* the Poet; nay, violated all the Laws of Nature, in falling upon his own near Relations: he was privy to, if not guilty of the death of his Father *Claudius*; kill'd his two Wives, *Octavia* and *Poppæa*, and murdered *Antonia*, becauſe refuſing to ſucceed in their bed; he poiſoned his Brother *Britannicus*:

[a] *Apol. c. 5. p. 6.*

and to compleat all his villanies, fell next upon his own Mother *Agrippina*, whom he hated for her free reproving his looſeneſs and extravagancy; and having firſt ſpoil'd her of all public honors, and cauſed her to be openly diſgraced and derided, then thrice attempted her life by poiſon, he at laſt ſent an aſſaſſinate to ſtab her. And the tradition then went, that not content to do this, he himſelf came and beheld her naked corps, contemplating and handling its ſeveral parts; commending ſome and diſpraiſing others. And if thus barbarous and inhumane towards his own Kindred and Subjects, we cannot think he was overfavourable to Chriſtians; wanting this title (ſays *Euſebius* [a]) to be added to all the reſt, to be ſtyled the firſt Emperor that became an enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, publiſhing Laws and Edicts for the ſuppreſſing of it; and proſecuting thoſe that profeſſed it, with the utmoſt rigor in every place; and that upon this occaſion. Among infinite other inſtances of this madneſs and folly, he took up a reſolution to burn *Rome*, either as being offended with the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and the deformity of the buildings, or ambitious to become the author of a more ſtately and magnificent City, and to call it after his own name. But however it was, he cauſed it to be ſet on fire, about the XIX. of *July*, *Ann. Chriſt. LXIV.* The conquering flames quickly prevailed over that City, that had ſo often triumphed over the reſt of the world, in ſix or ſeven days ſpoiling and reducing the far greateſt part of it (ten *Regions* of fourteen) into aſhes; laying waſte Houſes and Temples, and all the venerable Antiquities and Monuments of that place, which had been preſerved with ſo much care and reverence for many ages; himſelf in the mean while from *Mecænas* his Tower beholding the ſad ſpectacle with pleaſure and delight, and in the habit of a Player, ſinging the deſtruction of *Troy*. And when the people would but have ſearched the ruines of their own houſes, he forbad them, not ſuffering them to reap what the mercy of the flames had ſpared. This Act (as well it might) expos'd him to all the hatred and deteſtation, wherewith an injur'd and abuſed people could reſent it, which he endeavoured to remove by large promiſes, and great rewards, by conſulting the *Sibylline* Books, and by public ſupplications and ſacrifices to the gods. Notwithſtanding all which, *Tacitus* [b] tells us, the people ſtill believed him to be the author of the miſchief. This not ſucceeding, he ſought to clear himſelf by deriving the *odium* upon the Chriſtians, whom he knew to be ſufficiently hateful to the people, charging them to have been the incendiaries, and proceeding againſt them with the moſt exquiſite torments. Having apprehended ſome, whom they either forced or perſuaded to confeſs themſelves guilty, by their means great numbers of others were betrayed; whom *Tacitus* confeſſes, that not the burning of the City, but the common hatred made criminal. They were treated with all the inſtances of ſcorn and cruelty; ſome of them were wrapt up in the skins of Wild Beaſts, and worried by Dogs; others crucified; others burnt alive, being clad in paper coats, dipt in pitch, wax, and ſuch combuſtible matter; that when day-light fail'd, they might ſerve for torches in the night. Theſe ſpectacles *Nero* exhibited in his own Gardens, which yet the people entertained with more pity than pleaſure; knowing they were done not for the public benefit, but meerly to gratifie his own private rage and malice. Little better uſage did the Chriſtians meet with in other parts of the Empire, as appears from the inſcription [c] found at *Clunia* in *Spain*, dedicated

[a] *H. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 25. p. 67.*

[b] *Annal. l. 15. c. 44. p. 319.*

[c] *Ap. Gruter. loc. ſupr. citat.*

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to *Nero* in memory of his having cleared the Province of thoſe that had introduced a new Superſtition amongſt mankind. Under this Perſecution ſuffered *Tecla*, *Torques*, *Torquatus*, *Marcellus*, and ſeveral others mentioned in the antient Martyrologies, eſpecially the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*; the one upon the Croſs, the other by the Sword.

XIX. THE troubleſome viciſſitudes and revolutions of affairs that hapned under the ſucceeding Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; and the mild and merciful diſpoſition of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, gave ſome reſt to the Chriſtians: till *Domitian* ſucceeding, began a SECOND PERSECUTION. A man of a temper vaſtly different from that of his Father, and his Brother; for though at firſt he put on a plauſible carriage, yet he ſoon left off the *vizor*, and appeared like himſelf; lazy and unactive, ill-natur'd and ſuſpicious, griping and covetous, proud and inſolent: yea, ſo vainly ambitious as to affect Divinity, in all public Edicts aſſuming to himſelf, and in all Petitions and Addreſſes requiring from others the titles of *Lord* and *God*. He never truly loved any man; and when he moſt pretended it, it was a ſure ſign of that mans ruine. His cruelty he exercis'd firſt upon flies, thouſands whereof he diſpatched every day; next upon men, and thoſe of all ranks and ſtates: putting to death the moſt illuſtrious Senators, and perſons of the greateſt honour and nobility upon the moſt trifling pretences; and many times for no cauſe at all. In the fierceneſs and brutality of his temper he equall'd *Nero*, *Portio Neronis de crudelitate*, as *Tertullian* ſtiles him; nay, in this exceeded him: that *Nero* was content to command execution to be done at a diſtance, while *Domitian* took pleaſure in beholding his cruelties exerciſed before his eyes: An argument of a temper deeper died in blood. But the Chriſtians, alas, bore the heavieſt load of his rage and malice, whom he every where perſecuted either by death or baniſhment. Under him S. *John* the *Evangeliſt* was ſent for to *Rome*, and by his command thrown into a Cauldron of boiling oil: in the midſt whereof, when the Divine Providence had miraculouſly preſerved him, he immediately baniſhed him into *Patmos*. He put to death his couſin-german *Fl. Clemens* (at that time *Conſul*) for being a Chriſtian, and baniſhed his Wife *Fl. Domitilla* (his own kinſwoman alſo) upon the ſame account into the Iſland *Pandataria*. At length his brutiſh and bloody practices rendred him intolerable to his own friends and ſervants, who conſpir'd againſt him (his own Wife *Domitia* being of the confederacy) and ſlew him. His ſucceſſor *Nerva* abrogated his Acts, and recalled thoſe whom he had proſcribed and baniſhed; among whom S. *John* taking the benefit of that *Act* of Revocation, quitted *Patmos*, and returned to *Epheſus*.

Loc. ſuper. citat.

XX. THE THIRD PERSECUTION commenced under *Trajan*, whom *Nerva* had adopted to be his Succeſſor. A Prince he was of excellent and incomparable virtues, whoſe juſtice and impartiality, gentleneſs and modeſty, munificence and liberality, kindneſs and affability rendred him infinitely dear and acceptable to the people; the extravagancies of his Predeceſſors not a little contributing to ſweeten his Government to them. He was mild and dif-paſſionate, familiar and courteous; he ſhewed a great reverence to the Senate, by whoſe advice he uſually acted; and they to requite him, gave him the title of *Optimus*, as whom they judged the beſt of all their Princes. He converſed freely and innocently with all men, being deſirous rather to be beloved, than

than either fear'd or honour'd by the people. The glory of all which is exceedingly ſtain'd in the Records of the Church by his ſevere proceedings againſt the Chriſtians. He looked upon the Religion of the Empire as daily undermin'd by this new way of Worſhip, that the numbers of Chriſtians grew formidable, and might poſſibly endanger the peace and tranquillity of the *Roman* State; and that there was no better way to ſecure to himſelf the favour of the gods, eſpecially in his Wars, than to vindicate their cauſe againſt the Chriſtians. Accordingly therefore he iſſued out orders to proceed againſt them, as *illegal Societies*, erected and acting contrary to the Laws; in which number all Colleges and Corporations were accounted, that were not [a] ſettled either by the Emperors conſtitution, or the Decree of the Senate; and the perſons [b] frequenting them adjudged guilty of High Treaſon. Indeed the Emperors (as we have elſewhere obſerved) were infinitely ſuſpicious of ſuch meetings, as which might eaſily conſpire into Faction and Treaſon: and therefore when *Pliny* [c] interceded with *Trajan* in behalf of the City of *Nicomedia*, that being ſo ſubject to fires, he would conſtitute a corporation of *Smiths*, though but a ſmall number, which might be eaſily kept in order, and which he promiſed to keep a particular eye upon: The Emperor anſwered, By no means, for we ought to remember (*ſays he*) that that Province, and eſpecially thoſe Cities are greatly diſturbed by ſuch kind of Factions; and whatever the title or the occaſion be, if they meet together, they will be *Heteriæ*, though leſs numerous than the reſt. That they look'd upon the Chriſtian Aſſemblies as in the number of theſe unlawful Corporations; and that under this pretence *Trajan* endeavoured to ſuppreſs them, will appear from *Pliny*'s Letter to him. In the mean time he commanded them either to offer ſacrifice to the gods, or to be puniſhed as contemners of them. The people alſo in ſeveral places by popular tumults falling foul upon them. The chief of thoſe who obtained the Crown of Martyrdom under him, were S. *Clemens* Biſhop of *Rome*, S. *Simeon* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and S. *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, whom *Trajan* himſelf condemned, and ſent to *Rome*, there to be thrown to wild Beaſts.

[a] *L. 1. & 3. ff. de Colleg. & corp. Lib. 47. tit. 22.*

[b] *Ulpian de off. proconſ. l. 6. ib. l. 2.*

[c] *Lib. 10. Epiſt. 42, & 43.*

XXI. THE Perſecution rag'd, as in the other parts of the Empire, ſo eſpecially in the Provinces of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, where *Pliny* the *younger* (who had ſome time ſince been *Conſul*) then governed as *Pro-Prætor* with *Conſular* power and dignity. Who ſeeing vaſt multitudes of Chriſtians indicted by others, and preſſing on of themſelves to execution, and that to proceed ſeverely againſt all that came, would be in a manner to lay waſte thoſe Provinces, he thought good to write to the Emperor about this matter; to know his pleaſure in the caſe. His Letter, becauſe acquainting us ſo exactly with the ſtate of the Chriſtians, and the manner of proceeding againſt them, and giving ſo eminent a teſtimony to their innocency and integrity, we ſhall here inſert.

C. PLI-

C. PLINIUS to the Emperor TRAJAN.

IT is my cuſtom, Sir, *in all affairs wherein I doubt, to have recourſe to you. For who can better either ſway my irreſolution, or inſtruct my ignorance? I have never been heretofore preſent at the examination and trial of Chriſtians; and therefore know not what the crime is, and how far it is wont to be puniſhed, or how to proceed in theſe enquiries. Nor was I a little at a loſs, whether regard be to be had to difference of age, whether the young and the weak be to be diſtinguiſhed from the more ſtrong and aged? whether place may be allowed to repentance, and it may be of any advantage to him, who once was a Chriſtian, to ceaſe to be ſo? Whether the name alone without other offences, or the offences that go along with the name, ought to be puniſhed? In the mean time towards thoſe who as Chriſtians have been brought before me, I have taken this courſe; I asked them whether they were Chriſtians? if they confeſſed it, I asked them once and again, threatning puniſhment; if they perſiſted, I commanded them to be executed. For, I did not at all doubt but that, whatever their confeſſion was, their ſtubbornneſs and inflexible obſtinacy ought to be puniſhed. Others there were guilty of the like madneſs, whom becauſe they were* Roman *Citizens, I adjudged to be tranſmitted to* Rome. *While things thus proceeded, the error, as is uſual, ſpreading farther, more caſes did enſue. A nameleſs* Libel *was preſented, containing the names of many who denied themſelves to to be, or to have been Chriſtians. Theſe, when after my example they invocated the gods, and offered Wine and Incenſe to your Statue (which for that purpoſe I had commanded to be brought together with the images of the gods) and had moreover blaſphemed Chriſt (which its ſaid none that are true Chriſtians can be compelled to do) I diſmiſs'd; others mentioned in the* Libel *confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, but preſently denied it, that they had indeed been ſuch, but had renounced it; ſome by the ſpace of three years, others many years ſince, and one five and twenty years ago. All which paid their reverence and veneration to your Statue, and the images of the gods, and blaſphemed Chriſt. They affirmed that the whole ſum of that Sect or error lay in this, that they were wont upon a ſet ſolemn day to meet together before Sun-riſe, and to ſing among themſelves a Hymn to Chriſt, as the God whom they worſhipped, and oblige themſelves by an Oath, not to commit any wickedneſs, but to abſtain from Theft, Robbery, Adultery, to keep Faith, and when required, to reſtore any pledge intruſted with them. Which done, then to depart for that time, and to meet again at a common meal, to partake of a promiſcuous and harmleſs food; which yet they laid aſide, after I had publiſhed an Edict, forbidding, according to your order, the* Heteriæ *(or unlawful Aſſemblies) to be kept. To ſatisfie my ſelf in the truth hereof, I commanded two Maidens called* Deaconeſſes, *to be examined upon the Wrack. But I perceived nothing but a lewd and immoderate Superſtition, and therefore ſurceaſing any farther proceſs, I have ſent to pray your advice: For the caſe ſeemed to me very worthy to be conſulted about; eſpecially conſidering the great numbers that are in danger: for very many of all ages and ranks, both men and women are, and will be called in queſtion: the contagion of this Superſtition having over-ſpread not only Cities, but Towns and Country Villages, which yet ſeems poſſible to be ſtopt and cur'd. It's very evident that the Temples, which were almoſt quite forſaken, begin*

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to be frequented, that the holy Rites and Solemnities of a long time neglected are ſet on foot again, and that Sacrifices are from all parts brought to be ſold, which hitherto found very few to buy them. Whence 'tis eaſie to conjecture, what multitudes of perſons might be reclaim'd, if place be given to repentance.

This Letter was written, as is probable, about the year of our Lord CVII. *Traj.* IX. *Trajan* lying then at *Antioch*, in order to his Wars in the *Eaſt*, and where the Perſecution was very hot. By which 'tis evident, what unreaſonable and inveterate prejudices even the more moderate and ingenuous part of the *Gentile*-world had entertained againſt the Chriſtian Religion; that though ſo innocent and unblamable, as to extort an honourable Character from its greateſt enemies, and moſt malicious Apoſtates, though wracks and tortures could force out nothing to its diſadvantage; yet rather than not expreſs their reſentments (what was unbecoming men of parts and breeding) they loaded it with ill names and hard words. *Pliny* we ſee here ſcruples not to ſtyle it not only an *error*, but *madneſs*, and a *wicked and immoderate Superſtition*, charging the conſtant profeſſion of it, for *ſtubbornneſs*, and an incurable *obſtinacy*, what in it ſelf was the effect of the moſt brave and generous reſolution. And the very ſame civility it found from his two intimate friends, *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, the one whereof calls it a [a] *deteſtable*, the other a [b] *novel and miſchievous Superſtition*. By this account alſo we ſee, that though the ſeverity of the Perſecution might tempt ſome to turn *Renegades*, yet that ſo vaſt was the ſpread which Chriſtianity had made in thoſe parts, that this great man knew not how to deal with them. To direct him therefore in this affair, the Emperor returned this following *Reſcript*.

[a] *Tacit. Annal. l.* 15. *c.* 44. *p.* 319.
[b] *Sueton. in Neron. c.* 16. *p.* 571.

TRAJAN to *PLINY*, Greeting.

AS to the manner of your procedure, my Secundus, *in examining the cauſes of thoſe who have been brought before you for being Chriſtians, you have taken the courſe which you ought to take: for no certain and general Law can be ſo framed, as ſhall provide for all particular caſes. Let them not be ſought for; but if they be accus'd and convicted, let them be puniſhed: yet ſo, that if any denies himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſhall give evidence of it by doing ſacrifice to our gods, although heretofore he has been ſuſpected, let him be pardoned upon his repentance. But as for* Libels, *publiſhed without the name of the Authors, let them not be valid as to the Crimes they charge; for that were an ill precedent, and is not the uſage of our Reign.*

[c] *Apol. c.* 2. *c.* 3. *Tertullian* [c] ſpeaking of this Imperial Edict, calls it "A ſentence con-
"founded by a ſtrange neceſſity: it allows them not to be ſought for,
"as if they were innocent, and yet commands them to be puniſhed, as
"if they were guilty: it ſpares and rages, diſſembles, and yet puniſhes.
"Why does he intangle himſelf in his own cenſure? if he condemns
"them, why does he not hunt them out? if he thinks them not to be
"ſearch'd out, why does he not acquit them? Where *Tertullian* ſeems

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to argue more like an Orator than Logician. For *Trajan* might be unwilling the Christians should be nicely hunted out, and yet not think them innocent: he could not find them guilty of any enormous crime, but only of a strange and novel Superstition: and therefore while they conceal'd themselves, did not think it reasonable that they should be left to the malice and rapine of busie under-officers, who acted under the Presidents and Governours of Provinces, meer Sycophants and calumniators, ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐραστάι, as [a] *Melito* styles them in his Apology to *M. Antoninus*, impudent accusers, and ravenous devourers of other mens estates, of whom he complains, that under a pretence of the Imperial Edicts they day and night openly spoil and plunder the harmless and the innocent. These *Trajan* might think fit to restrain; but where there was notoriety of fact, where Christians were duly cited before the public Tribunals, and the charge substantially made good, there they were to be left to the sentence of the Law. But however it was, by this means the edg of their enemies fury was taken off; and though the popular rage might in some particular places still continue, yet the general force and rigour of the Persecution did abate and cease.

[a] *Ap. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.*

XXII. *TRAJAN* dying at *Selinus* in *Cilicia*, *Adrian* (whom he had adopted) succeeded in the Empire. A Prince of excellent parts, and no inconsiderable learning, μουσικώτατος βασιλεὺς, as [b] *Athenæus* calls him, a Prince greatly devoted to the Muses, and yet one in whom 'tis hard to say, whether vice or virtue had the upper hand; and which is more, who seemed to reconcile most vices with their contrary virtues. He highly honoured the Senate, without whose Authority he would never transact any affairs of moment; and upon solemn days would condescend to wait upon the *Consuls* to their own houses; and yet was proud and vainglorious, and ambitious of honour, which he greedily catcht at upon every little occasion. He was magnificent in his works, and liberal in his gifts; but withal, envious, detracting from the glory of his Predecessor, censuring and discommending the most eminent Artists in all kind of faculties. He familiarly conversed with his friends, visited them in their sickness many times twice or thrice a day, treated them with the freedom and kindness of companions; and yet he was fierce and cruel: as is evident by the many persons of nobility and renown whom he put to death. But we have noted enough of his character elsewhere, in the life of S. *Quadratus*. He was addicted to Magic, and a great zealot for Religion; especially the Rites of *Greece*: but despis'd and hated all other Religions, upon which account he was no good friend to Christians. In his time, a FOURTH PERSECUTION was rais'd against them, and so *Sulpitius Severus* [c] positively calls it. I know *Eusebius* followed by *Orosius* and some others, assigns the *fourth* Persecution to the Reign of *M. Aurelius*; but whoever impartially considers the state of things, will see that it ought to be fixed here. 'Tis true, we do not find any new Laws which this Emperor made against the Christians, but the Laws of his Predecessors were still in force, and the people in most places were ready enough to run upon this errand of their own accord, and to sacrifice the poor innocent Christians to their own spight and malice. Whence *Eusebius* speaking of the Apologies presented to this Emperor, says, [d] it was because wicked and ill-minded men began to vex and disturb the Christians. And S. *Hierom* [e] more particularly

[b] *Deipnos. l. 8. c. 16. p. 361.*

[c] *H. Sacr. l. 2. p. 142.*

[d] *H. Eccles. l. 4. c. 3. p. 116.*

[e] *De script in Quadrat.*

larly tells us, that the zeal which the Emperor ſhewed in b[illegible] initiated into the holy myſteries and the Rites of *Greece*, gave opp[illegible]unity and encouragement to the people (though without any particula[illegible] Warrant) to fall upon them: and this he elſewhere [a] calls a *moſt grievous Perſecution*. And ſo indeed it was, as is evident, not only from the Apologies which both *Quadratus* and *Ariſtides* preſented to the Emperor in behalf of the Chriſtians, but that when *Arrius Antoninus* [b] (whom moſt ſuppoſe to have been the ſame with him that ſucceeded *Adrian*) was *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, and ſeverely proſecuted the Chriſtians there, all the Chriſtians of the City where he reſided as one man beſet his Tribunal, openly confeſſing themſelves to be Chriſtians. He amazed at the multitude, caus'd ſome few of them to be executed, telling the reſt, that if they had a mind to end their lives, they had Precipices and Halters enough at home, and need not crowd thither for an execution. Nay ſo high did it ariſe, that *Serenius Granianus*, one of the following *Proconſuls* was forced to write to *Adrian* for its mitigation: which the Emperor accordingly commanded by a *Reſcript*, directed to *Minucius Fundanus*, *Granianus* his Succeſſor in that Province, as he did alſo to ſeveral others; as *Melito* particularly tells us in his Apology. But though the fire ſeemed to be pretty well quenched at preſent, yet did it break out again in the ſucceeding Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, devouring many, whoſe ſufferings are recorded in the Martyrologies of the Church; and and for the ſtopping whereof, *Juſtin Martyr* exhibited an Apology to this Emperor, which produced that excellent Letter of his to the *Common Council* of *Aſia*, in favour of the Chriſtians, which we have exemplified in the life of *Juſtin Martyr*.

[a] *Epiſt. ad Magn. Orat. p. 327. Tom. 2.*

[b] *Tertull. lib. ad Scapul. c. 4. p. 71.*

XXIII. TO *Antoninus Pius* ſucceeded *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and his Brother *L. Verus*. *M. Aurelius* was a perſon of whom the Writers of his life deſervedly ſpeak great things. He was a good man, and a great Philoſopher, and whom the Hiſtorian [c] ſays, 'tis eaſier to admire, than to commend. But he was infinitely ſuperſtitious in his Religion, and therefore eaſily blown up by the Prieſts and Philoſophers that were about him into a prejudice againſt Chriſtianity, and perſuaded to ſet on foot the FIFTH PERSECUTION againſt the Chriſtians, whom he endeavoured to curb and ſuppreſs by new Laws and Edicts, expoſing them to all the malice and fierceneſs of their enemies. The Perſecution began in the *Eaſtern* parts about the ſeventh year of his Reign, where it continued almoſt all his time; and not content to ſtay there, ſpread it ſelf into the *Weſt*, eſpecially *France*, where it rag'd with great ſeverity. That the conflict was very ſharp and fierce, may be gueſſed at by the crowd of Apologies that were preſented to him by *Juſtin Martyr*, *Melito*, *Athenagoras*, and *Apollinaris*. In *Aſia* S. *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna* was firſt condemned to the fire, and then run through with a Sword, with twelve more from *Philadelphia*, who ſuffered with him, and *Germanicus* who a little before was devoured by wild Beaſts. At *Rome*, beſides *Ptolomy* and *Lucius*, *Juſtin* the *Martyr* with his ſix companions, *Charito*, *Charitina*, *Euelpiſtus*, *Hierax*, *Peon*, and *Valerianus* were beheaded. In the *French* perſecution ſuffered *Vettius Epagathus*, a young man of incomparable piety and magnanimity; *Blandina* a Lady of ſingular virtue, who after infinite and inexpreſſible torments was tied to a beam in faſhion of a Croſs, and thrown to wild Beaſts; *Biblis*, who though at firſt through frailty ſhe denied the Faith, yet recovered

[c] *Eutrop. H. Rom. lib. 8. p. 191.*

her

her courage, and expir'd in the midſt of the acuteſt tortures. *Pothinus* Biſhop of *Lyons* above XC. years old beaten and ſton'd to death. *Sanctus* a Deacon of *Vien*, together with *Maturus*, expos'd in the *Amphitheater*, tormented, and impriſoned ſeveral days together, preſented to wild Beaſts, plac'd in an iron chair red hot, and at laſt run through with a Spear. *Attalus* a *Roman* Citizen diſgracefully led up and down in triumph, roaſted in an iron chair, and then beheaded; as was alſo *Alexander* the Phyſician, a *Phrygian*, who readily profeſs'd himſelf a Chriſtian: and *Ponticus* a youth of fifteen years of age, who through all the methods of cruelty and torment, which might have ſhaken a maturer age, entred into the Kingdom of heaven. A larger and more particular account of all whoſe Martyrdoms is recorded in the Letter written by the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vien* in *France*, to thoſe of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, yet extant in *Euſebius*. At length the Emperor ſeems to have relaxed the Perſecution, inclined to it, as is thought, by the remarkable victory which he gained in his German Wars, by the Prayers of the Chriſtian Legion, when the fortunes of the *Roman* Empire lay at ſtake, and the Chriſtians ſo ſignally, ſo immediately engaged heaven in its reſcue and deliverance, by ſupplying them with rain, and fighting againſt the enemy with lightning and thunder. Whereupon the Emperor is ſaid to have written to the Senat, acknowledging the greatneſs of the bleſſing, and commanding all juſt favour and indulgence to be ſhewed to the Chriſtians. The ſubſtance of the ſtory is univerſally own'd by the *Gentile* Writers, though out of ſpight to the Chriſtians they either aſcribe it to the power of Magic, or the prevalency of the Emperors own prayers. That there were ſuch Letters written, is plain, in that *Tertullian* [a] who liv'd but a little after, cites them, and appeals to them; though I confeſs little ſtreſs can be laid upon the Epiſtle that is extant at this day. There is ſtill extant [b] a Law of *M. Aurelius*, and his Brother *Verus*, permitting thoſe who follow the *Jewiſh Superſtition* to obtain honours, and granting them guards to defend them from wrong and injury. By this very learned men [c] underſtand Chriſtians, at leaſt equally with the *Jews*; theſe two being commonly confounded by the Writers of thoſe times, and *Superſtition* the word by which they uſually denote Chriſtianity. But however it was, this Law was made before that *German* Victory, *M. Aurelius* not being engaged in that War, till after the death of his Brother *Verus*.

[a] *Apol. c. 5. p. 6. vide lib. ad Scap. c. 4. p. 71.*
[b] *Ap. Ulpian. l. 3. ff. §. 3. lib. 50. Tit. 2.*
[c] *Alciat. diſpunct. l. 3. c. 8. A. Auguſt. ad Modeſt. p. 336. Petit. de jur. Princip. c. 6. vide Selden de Synedr. l. 1. c. 8. p. 233. Raynaud. Indic. SS. Lugd. proleg. 3. p. 52.*

XXIV. THE Chriſtian Affairs were tolerably quiet and peaceable during the reigns of *Commodus*, *Æl. Pertinax*, and *Julian*, till *Severus* got into the Throne; A Prince witty and learned, prudent and politic, hardy and valiant, but withal crafty and ſubtil, treacherous and unfaithful, bloody and paſſionate, and as the Hiſtorian [d] obſerves, of a nature truly anſwering to his name, *Vere Pertinax*, *vere Severus*. Under him began the SIXTH PERSECUTION: for though at firſt he ſhewed himſelf favourable to the Chriſtians, yet afterwards he changed his mind, and gave ear to thoſe who traduced them as an impious and infamous generation; a people that deſigned nothing but Treaſon and Rebellion againſt the State. Whereupon he not only ſuffered his Miniſters and Governours of Provinces to treat them with all imaginable cruelty; but he himſelf gave out Edicts, forbidding any under the moſt terrible penalties to profeſs either the *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian* Religion; which were executed with that rigor and inhumanity, that the Chriſtians of thoſe days verily believed that the times of *Antichriſt* did then

[d] *Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 14. p. 349.*

take place. Martyrs of note whom this Persecution sent to heaven, were *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, *Leonidas Origen*'s Father beheaded at *Alexandria*, *Serenus*, *Heraclides*, *Heron*, another *Serenus*, and *Herais* a *Catechumen*, all *Origen*'s Scholars, *Potamiæna* an illustrius Virgin, and her Mother *Marcella*, after various torments, committed to the flames: and *Basilides* one of the Officers that had led them to execution. *Fælicitas* and *Perpetua* two noble Ladies, at *Tuburbis* in *Mauritania*, the one brought to bed but the day before, the other at that time a Nurse. *Speratus* and his companions beheaded at *Carthage*, by the command of *Saturninus* the *Proconsul*. *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons*, and many thousands of his people martyred with him, whose names and sufferings though unknown to us, are honourably *written in the Book of life*.

XXV. THE next that created any disturbance to the Christians, was *Maximinus*, by birth a *Thracian*; a man of base and obscure originals, of a mean and sordid education: he had been first a Shepherd, then a High-way man, and last of all a Souldier: He was of strength and stature beyond the ordinary size and standard; and his manners were as robust and boisterous as his constitution, and savoured wholly of the rudeness of his Education. Never did a more cruel Beast (says the Historian [a]) tread upon the earth, relying altogether upon his strength, and upon that account reckoning himself almost immortal. He seiz'd upon whatever came in his way, plundering and destroying without any difference, without any Process or form of Law: his strength was the law of justice, and his will the measure of his actions. He spared none, but especially killed all that knew any thing of his mean descent, that none might reproach him with the obscurity of his birth. Having slain his Master *Alexander Mammæus*, that excellent and incomparable Prince, he usurped the Government, and manag'd it suitable to his own maxim, that *the Empire could not be maintained but by cruelty*. The SEVENTH PERSECUTION was raised by him. Indeed *Sulpitius Severus* admits not this into the number, and therefore makes no more than nine *Pagan* Persecutions, reserving the *tenth* for the times of *Antichrist*. But *Eusebius* [b] expresly affirms, that *Maximinus* stirr'd up a Persecution against the Christians, and that out of hatred to his Predecessor, in whose Family many Christians had found shelter and patronage, but that it was almost wholly levelled against the Bishops and Ministers of Religion, as the prime authors and propagators of Christianity. Whence *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, in his Letter to S. *Cyprian*, [c] says of it, that it was not a general, but a local Persecution, that rag'd in some particular places, and especially in that Province where he liv'd, *Serenianus* the President driving the Christians out of all those Countries. He adds, that many dreadful Earthquakes happening in those parts, whereby Towns and Cities were overturned and swallowed up, added life and vigor to the Persecution, it being usual with the *Gentiles*, if a Famine or Pestilence, an Earthquake or Inundation happened, presently to fall foul upon the Christians, and conclude them the causes of all those evils and mischiefs that came upon the world. And this *Origen* [d] meant when he tells us, that he knew some places overturned with earthquakes, the cause whereof the Hea-

Ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν, πολλὴν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ φοβοῦ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος· ἐκ τῆς πραείας καὶ πάνυ ἡμέρου βασιλείας, εἰς τυραννίδος ὠμότητα μετάγειν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο, δυσμένειαν ἑαυτῷ συνειδῶς, ὅτι τῆς πρῶτος ἐξ εὐτελείας τῆς ἐσχάτης εἰς τοσαύτην τύχην ἤλασε· φύσει δὲ ἦν τὸ ἦθος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γένος, βάρβαρος. τό τε φονικὸν πάτριον ἔχων καὶ ἐπιχώριον, πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο δι' ὠμότητος τὴν ἀρχὴν βεβαιῶσαι. Herod. lib. 7. in Maxim. p. 253.

[a] *Capitol. in vit. Maxim. c. 9. p. 609.*

[b] *H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 38. p. 228.*

[c] *Inter Epist. Cypr. p. 146.*

[d] *Hom. xxviii. in Matth. fol. 55. p. 2.*

Heathens caſt upon the Chriſtians; for which their Churches were perſecuted and burnt to the ground, and that not only the common people, but the wiſer ſort among them did not ſtick openly to affirm, that theſe things came for the ſake of the Chriſtians. Hereupon he wrote his Book *De Martyrio*, for the comfort and ſupport of thoſe that ſuffered in this evil time.

XXVI. AFTER *Maximinus* reign'd *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*, to them ſucceeded *Gordian*, and to him *Philip*: all which time for at leaſt ten years together, the Church enjoy'd a competent calmneſs, and tranquillity; when *Decius* was in a manner forced in his own defence to take the Empire upon him. A man of great activity and reſolution, a ſtout Commander, a wiſe and prudent Governour, ſo univerſally acceptable for his modeſt and excellent carriage, that by the Sentence of the Senate he was voted not inferiour to *Trajan*, and had the Title of *Optimus* adjudged to him. But he was a bitter and implacable enemy to Chriſtians, againſt whom he rais'd the EIGHTH PERSECUTION, which proved, though the ſhorteſt, the hotteſt of all the Perſecutions that had hitherto afflicted and oppreſſed the Church. The Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtorians generally put it upon the account of *Decius* his hatred to his Predeceſſor *Philip*, for being a Chriſtian; whereas it is more truly to be aſcribed to his zeal for the cauſe of declining Paganiſm, which he ſaw fatally undermin'd by Chriſtianity, and that therefore there was no way to ſupport the one, but by the ruine of the other. We have more than once taken notice of it in ſome of the following Lives, and therefore ſhall ſay the leſs here. *Decius* reigned ſomewhat above two years, during which time the ſtorm was very black and violent, and no place but felt the dreadful effects of it. They were every where driven from their houſes, ſpoil'd in their eſtates, tormented in their bodies, whips and priſons, fires and wild beaſts, ſcalding pitch and melted wax, ſharp ſtakes and burning pincers were but ſome of the methods of their treatment; and when the old ones were run over, new were daily invented and contriv'd. The laws of nature and humanity were broken down, friend betray'd his friend, and the neareſt relative his own Father or Brother. Every one was ambitious to promote the Imperial Edicts, and thought it meritorious to bring a Chriſtian to the ſtake. This Perſecution ſwept away at *Alexandria*, *Julian*, *Chronion*, *Epimachus*, *Alexander*, *Ammon*, *Zeno*, *Ptolomy*, *Ammonaria*, *Mercuria*, *Iſidore*, and many others mentioned by *Dionyſius* Biſhop of that Church; at *Carthage*, *Mappalicus*, *Baſſus*, *Fortunio*, *Paulus*, *Donatus*, *Martialis*, &c. it crown'd *Babylas* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Alexander* of *Jeruſalem*, *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Victoria*, *Anatolia*, *Parthenius*, *Marcellianus*, and thouſands more: *Nicephorus* affirming it to be eaſier to count the Sands of the ſhore, than to reckon up all the Martyrs that ſuffered under this Perſecution. Not to ſay any thing of thoſe incredible numbers of Confeſſors that were beaten, impriſoned, tormented; nor of the far greater number of thoſe who betook themſelves to a voluntary exile; chuſing rather to commit themſelves to the barrenneſs of Rocks and Mountains, and the mercy of wild beaſts, than to thoſe that had put off all reaſon and humanity. Among whom was *Paul* of *Thebais*, a youth of XV. years of age, who withdrew himſelf into the *Egyptian* Deſarts, where finding a large and convenient Cavern in a Rock (which heretofore had been a

[a] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 39. p. 234. chron. ad Ann. CCLII. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 21. fol. 310. Niceph. l. 5. c. 27. p. 377.*

[b] *Lib. 5. c. 29. p. 379.*

private mint-house in the time of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*) he took up his abode and residence, led a solitary and Anchoretic course of life, and became the Father of *Hermites*, and those who afterwards were desirous to retire from the world, and to resign up themselves to solitude, and a more strict mortified life. In this pious and devout retirement he continued till he was CXIII. years of age, and in the last period of his life was visited by *Antonius*, who had spent the greatest part of XC. years in those desart places, and who now performed the last offices to him in committing his dead body to the earth.

XXVII. *GALLUS* succeeded *Decius* as in his Government, so in his enmity to Christians, carrying on what the other had begun. But the cloud soon blew over; for he being cut off, was succeeded by *Valerian*, who entered upon the Empire with an universal applause and expectation. In the beginning of his reign he was a great Patron of Christians, whom he treated with all offices of kindness and humanity, entertaining them in his own family; so that his Court seemed to be a little Church for Piety, and a Sanctuary for refuge to good men. But, alas, this pleasant Scene was quickly over; seduced by a chief Magician of *Egypt*, who persuaded him that the only way to prosper his affairs, was to restore the *Gentile* Rites, and to suppress Christianity, so hateful to the gods, he commenced a NINTH PERSECUTION, wherein he prosecuted the Christians with all imaginable fury in all parts of the Empire. With what fierceness it rag'd in *Egypt*, is largely related by *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and we have in a great part noted in his Life. It's needless (says he[a]) particularly to reckon up the Christians that suffered in this Persecution: only this you may observe, that both men and women, young and old, Souldiers and Country people, persons of all ranks and ages, were some of them scourg'd and whipped, others beheaded, others overcoming the violence of flames, received the crown of Martyrdom. *Cyprian* elegantly and passionately bewails the miseries and sufferings which the Martyrs underwent, in his Letter to *Nemesian*, and the rest that were condemned to the mines. Nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at *Carthage*, as *Xistus* and *Quartus* had been before him, and the three hundred Martyrs *De Massa Candida*, who rather than do Sacrifice, chearfully leapt into a mighty pit of burning Lime, kindled for that purpose, and were immediately stifled in the smoke and flames. In *Spain* suffered *Fructuosus* Bishop of *Tarragon*, together with his two Deacons, *Augurius* and *Eulogius*, at *Rome*, *Xistus* the Bishop, and S. *Laurence* his Deacon and Treasurer of that Church; at *Cæsarea*, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, who asham'd to think that they lay idle and secure, while so many others were contending for the Crown, unanimously went to the Judg, confess'd they were Christians, received their Sentence, and underwent their Martyrdom. But the Divine Providence, which sometimes in this world pleads the cause of oppressed innocence, was resolved to punish the Emperor for his causless cruelty towards those, whose interest with heaven (while he continued favourable to them) had secured his happiness: and therefore did not only suffer the *Northern* Nations to break in upon him, but he himself was taken prisoner by *Sapor* King of *Persia*, who treated him below the rate of the meanest slave, used him as his foot-stool to get on horse-back, and after several years captivity caus'd him to be flay'd alive, and rub'd with salt, and so put a period to his

[a] *Epist. ad Domit. & Did. ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 260.*

his miserable life. A fair warning to his Son *Gallienus*, who growing wiser by the mischiefs and miscarriages of his Father, stopt the Persecution, and restor'd peace and security to Christians.

Ἀλλὰ σύγε, Οὐαλεριανὲ, τὴν μιαφονίαν ἐνδειξάμενος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ὁσίαν κρίσιν ἐξεφήνας, ἁλοὺς αἰχμαλωτός τε καὶ δέσμιος ἀχθεὶς σὺν αὐτῇ πορφυρίδι καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βασιλικῷ κόσμῳ. Τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ Σαπώρου Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐκδαρῆναι κελευσθεὶς καὶ ταριχευθεὶς, τρόπαιον τῆς σαυτοῦ δυστυχίας ἔστησας αἰώνιον. Constant. M. Orat. ad SS. Coelum, cap. 24. pag. 600.

XXVIII. A long peace and prosperity (for except a little disturbance in the time of *Aurelian*, they met with no opposition through the reigns of *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, *Tacitus*, *Florianus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and *Numerian*) had somewhat corrupted the manners of Christians, and therefore God was pleased to permit a TENTH PERSECUTION to come upon them to purge and winnow the rubbish and the chaff: the Ulcer began to putrifie, and it was time to call for the Knife and the Caustic. It began under *Dioclesian* and his Colleague *Maximian*. *Dioclesian* was a Prince active and diligent, crafty and subtil, fierce in his nature, but which he knew how cunningly to dissemble. His zeal for the *Pagan* Religion engag'd him with all possible earnestness to oppose Christianity, which he carried on with a high hand, it being as the last, so the fiercest Persecution, like the last efforts of a dying enemy, that summons all his strength to give the parting blow. *Dioclesian* then residing at *Nicomedia* published his Edicts about the very solemnity of our Saviours Passion, commanding the Christian Churches to be pulled down, their Bibles to be burnt, the better sort of them to be branded with infamy, the vulgar to be made slaves; as by subsequent orders he commanded the Bishops to be every where imprisoned, and forced to Sacrifice. But these were but a *præludium* to what followed after, other Proclamations being put forth, commanding those that refus'd to offer Sacrifice to be expos'd to all manner of torments. 'Twere endless to reckon up particular persons that suffered in this evil time. *Eusebius* who liv'd under this very Persecution, has recorded a vast number of them, with the Acts of their Martyrdom; too many to account for in this place. It may suffice to note from him, that they were scourged to death, had their flesh torn off with pincers, or rak'd off with pieces of broken pots, were cast to Lions and Tygers, to wild Boars and Bears, provoked and enrag'd with fire to set upon them, burnt, beheaded, crucified, thrown into the Sea, torn in pieces by the distorted boughs of Trees, or their legs miserably distended in the Stocks, roasted at a gentle fire, or by holes made on purpose had melted lead poured into their bowels. But impossible it is to conceive, much more to express the cruelties of that time. *Eusebius* himself who saw them, tells [a] us, that they were innumerable, and exceeded all relation. All which he assures they endured with the most admirable and undaunted patience; they throng'd to the Tribunals of their Judges, and freely told them what they were; despis'd the threatnings and barbarity of their enemies, and received the fatal and decretory Sentence with a smile; when persuaded to be tender of their lives, and to compassionate the case of their Wives and Children, they bore up against the temptation with a manly and Philosophic mind, μᾶλλον δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ, as he adds, yea rather with a soul truly pious and devoted unto God; so that neither fears nor charms could take hold upon them, at once giving undeniable evidences both of their own courage and fortitude, and of that Divine and unconceivable power of our Lord that went along with them.

[a] *Lib.* 8. *c.* 12. *p.* 307.

them. The acuteſt torments did not ſhake the firmneſs and ſtability of their minds, but they could with as much unconcernedneſs lay down their lives (as *Origen* [a] tells *Celſus*) as the beſt Philoſopher could put off his coat. They valued their innocency above their eaſe, or life it ſelf, and ſufficiently ſhewed they believed another ſtate, by an argument beyond what any inſtitution of Philoſophy could afford. "The great Philoſophers of "the *Gentiles* (as *Euſebius* [b] reaſons in this matter) as much as they talk "of immortality, and the happineſs of the future ſtate, did yet ſhew that "they look'd upon it only as a childiſh and a trifling report: whereas "amongſt us even boys and girls, and as to outward appearance, the mean"eſt and rudeſt perſons, being aſſiſted by the power and aid of our Bleſ"ſed Saviour, do by their actions, rather than their words, demonſtrate "the truth of this great Principle, the immortality of the Soul. Ten years this Perſecution laſted in its ſtrength and vigor, under *Diocleſian* in the *Eaſt*, and *Maximian* in the *Weſt*; and they thought, it ſeems, they had done their work, and accordingly tell the world in ſome ancient Inſcriptions, [c] that they had utterly defaced the name and ſuperſtition of the Chriſtians, and had reſtored and propagated the worſhip of the gods. But were miſerably miſtaken in the caſe; and as if weary of the work, laid down their purple, and retir'd to the ſolitudes of a private life. And though *Galerius*, *Maximianus*, *Jovius Maximinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius* did what they could to ſet the Perſecution on foot again, yet all in vain; both they and it in a very few years expiring and dwindling into nothing.

XXIX. THUS we have ſeen the hardſhips and miſeries, the torments and ſufferings which the Chriſtians were expoſed to for ſeveral ages, and with how invincible a patience they went through with them. Let us now a little review the argument, and ſee what force and influence it had to convince the world of the truth of their Religion, and bring in Converts to the Faith. *Tertullian* [d] tells the *Gentiles*, "That all their cruelty was "to no purpoſe, that it was but a ſtronger invitation to bring over others "to the party; that the oftner they mowed them down, the faſter they "ſprang up again; and that the blood of Chriſtians was a ſeed that grew "up into a more plentiful harveſt; that ſeveral among the *Gentiles* had "exhorted their auditors to patience under ſuffering, but could never "make ſo many Proſelytes with all their fine diſcourſes, as the Chriſtians "did by their actions: that that very obſtinacy which was ſo much charged "upon them was a tutor to inſtruct others. For who when they beheld ſuch "things, could not but be powerfully mov'd to enquire what really was "within? who when he had once found it, would not embrace it? and "having once embraced it, not be deſirous to ſuffer for it; that ſo he "may obtain the full Grace of God, and the pardon of his ſins aſſured "by the ſhedding of his blood. *Lactantius* [e] mannages this argument with incomparable eloquence and ſtrength of reaſon: his diſcourſe is ſomewhat long, but not unworthy the Readers conſideration. "Since "our number (*ſays he*) is always increaſed from amongſt the Votaries of "the Heathen deities, and is never leſſened, no not in the hotteſt Perſe"cution, who is ſo blind and ſtupid, as not to ſee in which party true Wiſ"dom does reſide? But they, alas, are blinded with rage and malice, and "think all to be fools, who when 'tis in their power to eſcape puniſhment, "chuſe rather to be tortured and to die; when as they might perceive "by this, that that can be no ſuch folly, wherein ſo many thouſands "throughout the whole world do ſo unanimouſly conſpire. Suppoſe

that

[a] *contr. Celſ. l. 7. p. 357.*

[b] *Præpar. Evan. l. 1. c. 4. p. 13.*

[c] *Ap. Gruter. pag. CCLXXX. num. 3. & 4.*

[d] *Apolog. c. ult. p. 40.*

[e] *De Juſtit. l. 5. c. 13. p. 494.*

"women through the weakneſs of their Sex may miſcarry (and they are "pleaſed ſometimes to ſtyle this Religion an *effeminate* and *old-wives Su-*"*perſtition*) yet certainly men are wiſer. If children and young men may "be raſh, yet at leaſt thoſe of a mature age and old men have a more ſta-"ble judgment. If one City might play the fool, yet innumerable "others cannot be ſuppoſed to be guilty of the ſame folly. If one "Province, or one Nation ſhould want care and providence, yet "all the reſt cannot lack underſtanding to judge what is right. But "now when the Divine Law is entertain'd from the riſing of the Sun, "to the going down thereof, and every Sex, Age, Nation and Country "ſerves God with one heart and Soul; when there is every where "the ſame patience, and contempt of death, they ought to conſider that "there is ſome reaſon for it, and that it is not without cauſe, that it "is maintained even unto death: that there is ſome fixed foundation "when a Religion is not only not ſhattered by injuries and perſecutions, "but always increaſed and rendred more firm and ſtable. When the very "common people ſee men torn in pieces by various engins of torment, and "yet maintain a patience unconquerable in the midſt of their tir'd tor-"mentors; they cannot but think what the truth is, that the conſent of "ſo many, and their perſeverance unto death, cannot be in vain, nor that "patience it ſelf, without the Divine aſſiſtance, ſhould be able to over-"come ſuch exquiſit tortures. High-way men and perſons of the moſt ro-"buſt conſtitutions are not able to bear ſuch pulling aſunder; they roar, "and groan, and ſink under pain, becauſe not furniſhed with a Divine "patience. But our very children (to ſay nothing of our men) and our "tender women, do by ſilence conquer their tormentors; nor can the "flames extort one ſigh from them. Let the *Romans* go now, and boaſt "of their *Mutius* and their *Regulus*, one of which delivered up himſelf "to be put to death by his enemies, becauſe he was aſhamed to live a pri-"ſoner; the other thruſt his hand into the fire when he ſaw he could not "eſcape death. Behold, with us the weaker Sex, and the more delicate "age ſuffers the whole body to be torn and burnt; not becauſe they could "not avoid it if they would, but voluntarily, becauſe they truſt in God. "This is true virtue, which Philoſophers in vain only talk of, when they "tell us, that nothing is ſo ſuitable to the gravity and conſtancy of a wiſe "man, as not by any terrors to be driven from his ſentiments and opini-"ons; but that it is vertuous, and great indeed, to be tortur'd and die, ra-"ther than betray ones Faith, or be wanting in his duty, or do any thing "that's unjuſt or diſhoneſt, though for fear of death, or the acuteſt tor-"ment, unleſs they thought their own Poet rav'd, when he ſaid, *Horat. Carm. l.3.Od.3.p.154.*

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
Mente qualit ſolida.

The Juſt man that reſolved ſtands,
Not Tyrants frowns, nor fierce commands;
Nor all the peoples rage combin'd,
Can ſhake the firmneſs of his mind.

"Than which nothing can be more truly ſaid, if meant of thoſe, "who refuſe no tortures, nor death it ſelf, that they may preſerve fi-

"delity

"delity and juſtice; who regard not the command of Tyrants, nor "the Swords of the Governors, that they may with a conſtant mind pre- "ſerve real and ſolid liberty, wherein true Wiſdom alone is to be maintained. Thus far that elegant Apologiſt. And certainly the truth of his reaſonings was abundantly verified by the experience of the World, Chriſtians getting ground, and conquering oppoſition by nothing more, than their patience and their conſtancy, till they had ſubdued the Empire it ſelf to the acknowledgment of the truth. And when once the great *Conſtantine* had entertained Chriſtianity, it went along with wind and tide, and bore down all before it. And ſurely it might be no unpleaſant ſurvey, to conſider what was the true ſtate of *Paganiſm* under the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, and how and by what degrees that Religion, which for ſo many ages had governed the world, ſlunk away into obſcurity and ſilence. But this is a buſineſs without the bounds of my preſent enquiry to ſearch into.

The end of the INTRODUCTION.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. STEPHEN THE PROTOMARTYR.

Act. VII. LIX. And they stoned STEPHEN, calling vpon God. and saying, Lord Iesus receive my spirit. M. Burghers sculpsit

The violent opposition that Christianity at its first appearance met with both from Jews *and* Gentiles. *St.* Stephens *Kindred unknown. One of the Seventy. The great Charity of the Primitive Believers. Dissention between*

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the Hebrews *and* Grecians. Helleniſts *who. The Original of Deacons in the Chriſtian Church. The nature of their Office: the number and qualification of the Perſons.* Stephens *eminent accompliſhments: the place. The envy and oppoſition of the* Jews *againſt him. The Synagogue of the* Libertines, *what. Of the* Cyrenians, Alexandrians, *&c. Their diſputation with St.* Stephen, *and the ſucceſs of it. Falſe Witneſſes ſuborned to depoſe againſt him. The ſeveral parts of their charge conſidered. The mighty veneration of the* Jews *for their Temple and the Moſaic Inſtitutions. Its deſtruction by* Titus; *and their attempts to rebuild it under* Julian *fruſtrated by a miracle.* Stephens *Apology before the* Sanhedrin. *The* Jews *rage againſt him. He is encouraged by a viſion. Stoning to death, what kind of puniſhment; the manner of it among the* Jews. *St.* Stephens *Martyrdom. His Character, and excellent vertues. The time and place of his ſuffering. The place and manner of his burial. His body firſt diſcovered, when and how. The Story of its tranſlation to* Conſtantinople. *The miracles ſaid to be done by his Reliques, and at his* Memoriæ. *Several reported by St.* Auguſtin. *What credit to be given to them. Miracles how long, and why continued in the Church. The vain pretences of the Church of* Rome.

I. THE Chriſtian Religion being deſigned by God for the reformation of Mankind, and the rooting out that Barbariſm and Idolatry wherewith the World was ſo over-grown, could not but meet with oppoſition, all corrupt Intereſts conſpiring to give it no very welcom entertainment. Vice and Errour had too long uſurped the Throne, to part with it by a tame and eaſie reſignation, but would rather ſummon all their Forces againſt a Doctrin, that openly proclaimed the ſubverſion and ruine of their Empire. Hence *this Sect was every where ſpoken againſt*, equally oppoſed both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. The *Gentiles* deſpiſed it for its lateneſs and novelty, as having no antiquity to recommend it, nor could they endure that their Philoſophy, which then every where ruled the Chair, ſhould be controlled by a plain ſimple Doctrine, that pretended to no elaborate Schemes, no inſinuative ſtrains of Eloquence, no nice and ſubtile arts of Reaſoning, no abſtruſe and ſublime Speculations. The *Jews* were vexed to ſee their expectations of a mighty Prince who ſhould greatly exalt their State, and redeem it from that oppreſſion and ſlavery under which it groaned, fruſtrated by the coming of a *Meſſiah*, who appeared under all the circumſtances of meanneſs and diſgrace; and who was ſo far from reſcuing them from the power of the *Roman* Yoke, that for their obſtinacy and unbelief he threatned the final and irrevocable ruine of their Countrey, and by the Doctrine he publiſhed plainly told them he intended to aboliſh thoſe ancient *Moſaick* Inſtitutions, for which they had ſuch dear regards, and ſo ſolemn a Veneration. Accordingly when he came amongſt them, they entertained him with all the inſtances of cruelty and contempt, and whatever might expoſe him to the ſcorn and *odium* of the People; they vilified and reproached his perſon, as but the ſon of a Carpenter, a Glutton and a Drunkard, a Traitor and an *Enemy unto Cæſar*; they ſleighted his Doctrine as the talk onely of a rude and illiterate perſon, traduced his Miracles as tricks of Impoſture, and

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the effects of a black Confederacy with the infernal Powers. And when all this would not do, they violently laid hands upon him, and took away his life. And now one would have thought their ſpite and fury ſhould have cooled and died: but malice and revenge are too fierce and hot to ſtop at the firſt attempt. On they reſolve to go in theſe bloody methods, and to let the World ſee that the Diſciples and Followers muſt expect no better then their Maſter, it was not many Moneths before they took occaſion to refreſh their rage in St. *Stephens* Martyrdom: the Hiſtory of whoſe Life and Death we now come to relate, and to make ſome brief Remarks upon it.

II. THE ſacred Story gives us no particular account either of the Countrey or Kindred of this Holy man. That he was a *Jew* is unqueſtionable, himſelf ſufficiently owns the relation in his Apology to the People, but whether originally deſcended of the ſtock of *Abraham*, or of Parents incorporated and brought in by the gate of Proſelytiſm; whether born at *Jeruſalem*, or among the diſperſed in the Gentile Provinces is impoſſible to determine. *Baronius* (grounding his conjecture upon an Epiſtle of *Lucian*, of which more afterwards) makes him to have been one of *Gamaliels* Diſciples, and fellow-Pupil with St. *Paul*, who proved afterwards his mortal enemy: but I muſt confeſs, I find not in all that Epiſtle the leaſt ſhadow of probability to countenance that conjecture. Antiquity * makes him, probably enough, to have been one of the LXX Diſciples, choſen by our Lord as Co-adjutors to the Apoſtles in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel: and indeed his admirable knowledge in the Chriſtian Doctrine, his ſingular ability to defend the cauſe of Chriſts Meſſiaſhip againſt its moſt acute oppoſers, plainly argue him to have been ſome conſiderable time trained up under our Saviours immediate inſtitutions. Certain it is, that he was a man of great zeal and piety, endowed with extraordinary meaſures of that divine Spirit that was lately ſhed upon the Church, and incomparably furniſhed with miraculous powers, which peculiarly qualified him for a place of honour and uſefulneſs in the Church, whereto he was advanced upon this occaſion.

Ad Ann. XXXIV. n. 275, 298.

* *Epiph. Hæreſ.* XX. *p.* 27. *Doroth. Synopſ. de Vit. App. in Bibl. PP. Tom.* 3. *p.*

III. THE Primitive Church among the many inſtances of Religion for which it was famous and venerable, was for none more remarkable then their Charity, they lived and loved as Brethren, *were of one heart and one ſoul, and continued together with one accord.* Love and Charity were the common ſoul that animated the whole body of Believers, and conveyed heat and vital ſpirits to every part. They prayed and worſhipped God in the ſame place, and fed together at the ſame table. None could want, for *they had all in common.* The rich ſold their eſtates to miniſter to the neceſſities of the poor, and depoſited the money into one common Treaſury, the care whereof was committed to the Apoſtles, to ſee diſtribution made as every ones caſe and exigency did require. But in the exacteſt harmony there will be ſome jars and diſcord, heaven onely is free from quarrels, and the occaſions of offence. The Church increaſing every day by vaſt numbers of Converts to the Faith, the Apoſtles could not exactly ſuperintend the diſpoſure of the Churches ſtock, and the making proviſion for every part, and were therefore probably forced to take in the help of others, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs, to aſſiſt in this affair. By which means a due equality and proportion was not obſerved, but either through favour and partiality, or the overſight of

thoſe that managed the matter, ſome had larger portions, others leſs relief then their juſt neceſſities called for. This begat ſome preſent heats and animoſities in the firſt and pureſt Church that ever was, *the Grecians murmuring againſt the Hebrews, becauſe their Widows were neglected in the daily miniſtration.*

Act. 6. 1.

IV. WHO theſe *Grecians* or *Helleniſts* were, oppoſed here to the *Hebrews*, however a matter of ſome difficulty and diſpute, it may not be unuſeful to enquire. The opinion that has moſt generally obtained, is that they were originally *Jews* born and bred in *Grecian* or Heathen Countries, of *the diſperſed among the Gentiles* (the διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the word Ἕλληνες in the ſtile of the New Teſtament, as alſo in the Writings of the Fathers, being commonly uſed for the Gentile World) who accommodated themſelves to their manner of living, ſpake the Greek Language, but altogether mixed with *Hebraiſms* and *Jewiſh* forms of ſpeech, (and this called *Lingua Helleniſtica*) and uſed no other Bible but the *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*. A notion which *Salmaſius* has taken a great deal of pains to confute, by ſhewing that never any People went under that notion and character, that the *Jews* in what parts of the World ſoever they were, were not a diſtinct Nation from thoſe that lived in *Paleſtine*; that there never was any ſuch peculiar diſtinct *Helleniſtic* Dialect, nor any ſuch ever mentioned by any ancient Writer; that the Phraſe is very improper to expreſs ſuch a mixt Language, yea rather that Ἑλληνιστὴς implies one that expreſſeth himſelf in better *Greek* then ordinary, as Ἀττικιστὴς denotes one that ſtudies to ſpeak pure *Attic* Greek. Probable therefore it is, that they were not of the *Hebrew* race, but *Greek* or *Gentile* Proſelytes, who had either themſelves, or in their Anceſtors deſerted the Pagan Superſtitions, and imbodied themſelves into the *Jewiſh* Church, taking upon them Circumciſion and the obſervation of the Rites of the *Moſaic* Laws (which kind the *Jews* call גרי הצדק *Proſelytes of Juſtice*,) and were now converted to Chriſtianity. That there were at this time great numbers of theſe Proſelytes at *Jeruſalem*, is evident; and ſtrange it were, if when at other times they were deſirous to have the Goſpel preached to them, none of them ſhould have been brought over to the Faith. Even among the *ſeven* made choice of to be *Deacons* (moſt, if not all, of whom we may reaſonably conclude to have been taken out of theſe *Grecians*) we find one expreſly ſaid to have been *a Proſelyte of Antioch*, as in all likelihood ſome if not all the other might be Proſelytes of *Jeruſalem*. And thus where ever we meet with the word Ἑλληνιστὴς or *Grecians* in the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtolic Acts* (as 'tis to be met with in two places more) we may, and in reaſon are to underſtand it. So that theſe *Helleniſts* (who ſpake *Greek*, and uſed the Tranſlation of the *LXX*) were *Jews* by Religion, and *Gentiles* by deſcent; with the Ἕλληνες or *Gentiles* they had the ſame common Original, with the *Jews* the ſame common Profeſſion; and therefore are not here oppoſed to *Jews*, (which all thoſe might be ſtiled, who embrace *Judaiſm* and the Rites of *Moſes*, though they were not born of *Jewiſh* Anceſtors) but to the *Hebrews*, who were *Jews* both by their Religion and their Nation. And this may give us ſome probable account, why the Widows of theſe *Helleniſts* had not ſo much care taken of them as thoſe of the *Hebrews*, the perſons with whom the Apoſtles in a great meaſure intruſted the miniſtration, being kinder to thoſe of their own Nation, their Neighbours, and it may be Kindred, them

Joh. 7. 35.

comment. de Helleniſt. Qu. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. præcipuè pag. 232. &c. vid. etiam inter alios Bez. & Camer. in loc.

Act. 19. 1. 20.

then to those who onely agreed with them in the profession of the same Religion, and who indeed were not generally so capable of contributing to the Churches Stock as the native *Jews*, who had Lands and Possessions, which they *sold and laid at the Apostles feet.*

V. THE peace and quiet of the Church being by this means a little ruffled and discomposed, the Apostles, who well understood how much Order and Unity conduced to the ends of Religion, presently called the Church together, and told them, that the disposing of the Common Stock, and the daily providing for the necessities of the Poor, however convenient and necessary, was yet a matter of too much trouble and distraction to consist with a faithful discharge of the other parts and duties of their Office, and that they did not judge it fit and reasonable to neglect the one, that they might attend the other; that therefore they should chuse out among themselves some that were duly qualified, and present them to them, that they might set them apart peculiarly to superintend this affair, that so themselves being freed from these incumbrances, might the more freely and uninterruptedly devote themselves to prayer and preaching of the Gospel. Not that the Apostles thought the care of the Poor an Office too much below them, but that this might be discharged by other hands, and they, as they were obliged, the better attend upon things of higher importance, Ministeries more immediately serviceable to the souls of men. This was the first original of *Deacons* in the Christian Church, they were to *serve Tables*, that is, to wait upon the necessities of the Poor, to make daily provisions for their public Feasts, to keep the Churches Treasure, and to distribute to every one according to their need. And this admirably agrees to one ordinary notion of the word Διάκονος in Foreign Writers, where 'tis used for that peculiar Servant who waited at Feasts, whose Office it was to distribute the portions to every Guest, either according to the command of the Ἀρχιτρίκλινος, the *Orderer* of the Feast, or according to the rule of Equality, to give every one alike. But though 'tis true this was a main part of the *Deacons* Office, yet was it not the whole. For had this been all, the Apostles needed not to have been so exact and curious in their choice of persons, seeing men of an ordinary rank and of a very mean capacity might have served the turn, nor have used such solemn Rites of Consecration to Ordain them to it. No question therefore but their *serving Tables* implied also their attendance at the *Table* of the Lords Supper. For in those days their *Agapæ* or common *Love-Feasts*, (whereat both Rich and Poor sate down together) were at the same time with the Holy Eucharist, and both administred every day, so that their ministration respected both the one and the other. And thus we find it was in the practice of the Church: for so *Justin Martyr* tells us it was in his time, that when the President of the Assembly had consecrated the Eucharist, the Deacons distributed the Bread and the Wine to all that were present, and after carried them to those who were necessarily absent from the Congregation. Nor were they restrained to this one particular Service, but were in some cases allowed to Preach, Baptize, and Absolve Penitents, especially where they had the peculiar warrant and authority

Μοῖρα χρεῶν, καὶ ἴσον ἅπασιν· οἱ Διάκονοι θεὸς χάριν μηδενὶ μηδέν. Μὴ τῷ μὲ μεγάλα, τῷ δ' κομιδῇ μικρὰ φροντιδέω, ἀλλ' ἰσότης ὅτι πᾶσιν. Lucian. Chronosol. seu de Legg. Saturnal. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 823.

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν (h. e. non solum) εἰσὶν Διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται. δεῖ οὖν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ. Ignat. Epist. ad Trall. Append. Usser. *p.* 17.

Apol. II. *p.* 97.

rity of the Biſhop to bear them out: nor need we look far beyond the preſent Story to find St. *Philip*, one of the Deacons here elected, both preaching the Goſpel, and baptizing Converts with great ſucceſs.

VI. THAT this excellent Office might be duly managed, the Apoſtles directed and enjoined the Church to nominate ſuch perſons as were fitted for it, pious and good men, men of known honeſty and integrity, of approved and untainted reputations, furniſhed and endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, wiſe and prudent men, who would diſcreetly diſcharge the truſt committed to them. The number of theſe perſons was limited to *ſeven*, probably for no other reaſon but becauſe the Apoſtles thought theſe ſufficient for the buſineſs; unleſs we will alſo ſuppoſe the whole body of Believers to have been diſpoſed into ſeven ſeveral Diviſions, for the more orderly and convenient managery of their common Feaſts, and diſtributions to the Poor, and that to each of theſe a Deacon was appointed to ſuperintend and direct them; without further deſigning any peculiar Myſtery, which * ſome would fain pick out of it. However the Church thought good for a long time to conform to this Primitive Inſtitution, inſomuch that the Fathers of the † *Neo-Cæſarean* Council ordained, that in no City, how great ſoever, there ſhould be more then ſeven *Deacons*, a Canon which they found upon this place: and ∴ *Sozomen* tells us that in his time, though many other Churches kept to no certain number, yet that the Church of *Rome* in compliance with this *Apoſtolical* example, admitted no more then ſeven Deacons in it. The People were infinitely pleaſed with the order and determination which the Apoſtles had made in this matter, and accordingly made choice of ſeven, whom they preſented to the Apoſtles, who (as the ſolemnity of the thing required) firſt made their addreſs to Heaven by Prayer for the divine bleſſing upon the undertaking, and then laid their hands upon them, an ancient ſymbolic Rite of Inveſtiture and Conſecration to any extraordinary Office. The iſſue of all was, that the Chriſtian Religion got ground and proſpered, Converts came flocking over to the Faith, yea very many of the *Prieſts* themſelves, and of their Tribe and Family, of all others the moſt zealous and pertinacious aſſerters of the *Moſaic* Conſtitutions, the bittereſt adverſaries of the Chriſtian Doctrine, the ſubtleſt defenders of their Religion, laid aſide their prejudices, and embraced the Goſpel. So uncontroulable is the efficacy of divine truth, as very often to lead its greateſt enemies in triumph after it.

* *Vid. Baron. ad Ann.* 112. *n.* 7. *Tom.* 2.

† *Conc. Neo-Cæſ. can.* 15. *Conc. Tom.* 1. *Col.* 1484. ∴ *Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 7. *c.* 19. *p.* 734.

VII. THE firſt and chief of the perſons here elected, (who were all choſen out of the LXX Diſciples, as * *Epiphanius* informs us,) and whom the Ancients frequently ſtile *Arch-deacon*, as having the τὸ πρωτεῖον (as † *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks) the Primacy and Precedence among theſe new-elected Officers, was our St. *Stephen*, whom the Author of the Epiſtle to ∴ *Hero* under the name of *Ignatius*, as alſo the *Interpolator* of that to the ·· *Trallians* makes in a more peculiar manner to have been Deacon to St. *James*, as Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. He is not onely placed firſt in the Catalogue, but particularly recommended under this character, *a manfull of Faith, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; he was exquiſitly skilled in all parts of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and fitted with great eloquence and elocution to declare and publiſh it; enriched with many miraculous gifts and powers, and a ſpirit of courage and reſolution to encounter the moſt potent oppoſition. He preached and pleaded the cauſe

* *Hæreſ.* XX. *p.* 27.

† *Homil.* XV. *in Act. p.* 555.

∴ *Epiſt. ad Heron. in Bibl. PP. Gr. Lat. p.* 37.

·· *Ep. ad Trall. p.* 6. *ibid.*

cauſe of Chriſtianity with a firm and undaunted mind, and that nothing might be wanting to render it effectual, he confirmed his doctrine by many publick and unqueſtionable miracles, plain evidences and demonſtrations of the truth and divinity of that Religion that he taught. But Truth and Innocency, and a better Cauſe, is the uſual object of bad mens Spight and Hatred. The zeal and diligence of his Miniſtry, and the extraordinary ſucceſs that did attend it, quickly awakened the malice of the *Jews*, and there wanted not thoſe that were ready to oppoſe and contradict him. So natural is it for Errour to riſe up againſt the Truth, as Light and Darkneſs mutually reſiſt and expel each other.

VIII. THERE were at *Jeruſalem* beſides the Temple, where Sacrifices and the more ſolemn parts of their Religion were performed, vaſt numbers of Synagogues for Prayer and Expounding of the Law, whereof the *Jews* themſelves tell us there were not leſs then CCCCLXXX in that City. In theſe, or at leaſt ſome apartments adjoining to them, there were *Schools* or Colledges for the inſtruction and education of Scholars in their Laws: many whereof were erected at the charges of the *Jews* who lived in Foreign Countries, and thence denominated after their names; and hither they were wont to ſend their Youth to be trained up in the knowledge of the Law, and the myſterious Rites of their Religion. Of theſe, five combined together to ſend ſome of their Societies to encounter and oppoſe St. *Stephen*. An unequal match! ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβεστάτων Πεντάπολις (as *Chryſoſtom* calls it) a whole Army of wicked adverſaries, the chief of five ſeveral Synagogues are brought out againſt one, and him but a ſtripling too, as if they intended to oppreſs him rather with the number of aſſailants, then to overcome him by ſtrength of Argument. *Orat. in S. Steph. Tom. 6. p. 276.*

IX. THE firſt of them were thoſe of the *Synagogue of the Libertines*; but who theſe Libertines were, is variouſly conjectured. Paſſing by *Junius* his conceit of *Labra* ſignifying in the *Ægyptian* Language the whole Precinct that was under one Synagogue, whence *Labratenu*, or corruptly (ſays he) *Libertini* muſt denote them that belonged to the *Synagogue of the Egyptians*, omitting this as altogether abſurd and fantaſtical, beſides that the *Synagogue of the Alexandrians* is mentioned afterwards; *Suidas* tells us 'twas the name of a Nation, but in what part of the World this People or Countrey were, he leaves us wholly in the dark. Moſt probably therefore it relates to the *Jews* that were emancipated and ſet at liberty. For the underſtanding whereof we muſt know that when *Pompey* had ſubdued *Judæa*, and reduced it under the *Roman* Government, he carried great numbers of *Jews* captive to *Rome*, as alſo did thoſe Generals that ſucceeded him, and that in ſuch multitudes, that when the *Jewiſh* State ſent an Embaſſy to *Auguſtus*, *Joſephus* tells us, that there were about eight thouſand of the *Jews* who then lived at *Rome*, that joined themſelves to the Embaſſadors at their arrival thither. Here they continued in the condition of Slaves, till by degrees they were manumitted and ſet at liberty, which was generally done in the time of *Tiberius*, who (as *Philo* informs) ſuffered the *Jews* to inhabit the *Tranſtiberin Region*: moſt whereof were *Libertines*, ſuch who having been made Captives by the Fortune of War, had been ſet free by their Maſters, and permitted to live after the manner of their Anceſtors. They had their *Proſeucha's* or Oratories, where they aſſembled, and performed their devotions according to the Religion of their Country: every year

Jun. in loc. & in Gen. 8. 4.

Suid. in voc. Λιβερτῖνοι.

Antiquit. Jud. lib. 17. c. 12. p. 610.

Phil. de legat. ad Gai. p. 785.

year they ſent a Contribution in ſtead of firſt-fruits to *Jeruſalem*, and deputed certain perſons to offer ſacrifices for them at the Temple. Indeed afterwards (as we find in * *Tacitus* and † *Suetonius*) by an Order of Senate he cauſed four thouſand *Libertini generis*, of thoſe *Libertine Jews*, ſo many as were young and luſty, to be tranſported into *Sardinia* to clear that Iſland of Robbers (the occaſion whereof is related by ∴ *Joſephus*) and the reſt, both *Jews* and Proſelytes, to be baniſhed the City, *Tacitus* adds, *Italy* it ſelf. This occaſion, I doubt not, many of theſe *Libertine-Jews* took to return home into their own Countrey, and at *Jeruſalem* to erect this Synagogue for themſelves and the uſe of their Countreymen who from *Rome* reſorted thither, ſtiling it from themſelves, the *Synagogue of the Libertines*; and ſuch queſtionleſs St. *Luke* means, when among the ſeveral Nations that were at *Jeruſalem* at the day of *Pentecoſt*, he mentions *Strangers of Rome*, and they *both Jews and Proſelytes*.

* *Tac. Annal. lib. 2. c. 85. p. 88.*
† *Sueton. in vit. Tib. c. 36. p. 334.*
∴ *Antiq. l. 18. c. 5. p. 623.*

X. THE next Antagoniſts were of the *Synagogue of the Cyrenians*, that is, *Jews* who inhabited *Cyrene*, a noted City of *Libya*, where (as appears from a *Reſcript* of *Auguſtus*) great numbers of them did reſide, and who were annually wont to ſend their holy Treaſure or accuſtomed Offerings to *Jeruſalem*, where alſo (as we ſee) they had their peculiar Synagogue. Accordingly we find among the ſeveral Nations at *Jeruſalem*, thoſe *who dwelt in the parts of Libya about Cyrene*. Thus we read of *Simon of Cyrene*, whom the *Jews* compelled to bear our Saviours Croſs; of *Lucius of Cyrene*, a famous Doctor in the Church of *Antioch*; *of men of Cyrene*, who upon the perſecution that followed St. *Stephens* death, *were ſcattered abroad from Jeruſalem, and preached as far as Phœnice, Cyprus, and Antioch*. The third were thoſe of the *Synagogue of the Alexandrians*, there being a mighty intercourſe between the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* and *Alexandria*, where what vaſt multitudes of them dwelt, and what great priviledges they enjoyed, is too well known to need inſiſting on. The fourth were them *of Cilicia*, a known Province of the leſſer *Aſia*, the Metropolis whereof was *Tarſus*, well ſtored with *Jews*; it was S. *Pauls* birth-place, whom we cannot doubt to have born a principal part among theſe aſſailants, finding him afterwards ſo active and buſie in S. *Stephens* death. The laſt were thoſe of the *Synagogue* of *Aſia*: where by *Aſia* we are probably to underſtand no more then part of *Aſia* properly ſo called, (as that was but part of *Aſia minor*) *viz.* that part that lay near to *Epheſus*, in which ſenſe 'tis plain *Aſia* is to be taken in the New Teſtament. And what infinite numbers of *Jews* were in theſe parts, and eſpecially at *Epheſus*, the Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Acts does ſufficiently inform us.

Ap. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 16. c. 10. p. 561.
Act. 2. 10.
Act. 13. 1. 11. 19, 20

XI. Theſe were the ſeveral parties that were to take the Field, perſons of very different Countries, men skilled in the ſubtleties of their Religion, who *all at once roſe up to diſpute with Stephen*. What the particular ſubject of the diſputation was, we find not, but may with St. *Chryſoſtom* conceive them to have accoſted him after this manner. "Tell us, "Young man, what comes into thy mind thus raſhly to reproach the "Deity? Why doeſt thou ſtudy with ſuch cunningly-contrived diſ-"courſes to inveigle and perſwade the People? and with deceitful mi-"racles to undo the Nation? Here lies the *criſis* of the Controverſie. "Is it like that he ſhould be God, who was born of *Mary*, that the ma-"ker of the World ſhould be the *ſon of a Carpenter*? was not *Bethlehem* "the place of his Nativity, and *Nazareth* of his education? can'ſt thou imagine

Loc. ſupra citat.

"imagine him to be God, that was born upon Earth? who was ſo poor "that he was wrapt up in ſwadling cloths and thrown into a manger? "who was forced to fly from the rage of *Herod*, and to waſh away his "pollution by being baptized in *Jordan*? who was ſubject to hunger "and thirſt, to ſleep and wearineſs? who being bound, was not able to "eſcape, nor being buffeted, to reſcue or revenge himſelf? who when "he was hanged, could not come down from the Croſs, but underwent "a curſed and a ſhameful death? wilt thou make us believe that he is "in Heaven, whom we know to have been buried in his Grave? that "he ſhould be the Life of the Dead, who is ſo near akin to Mortality "himſelf? Is it likely that God ſhould ſuffer ſuch things as theſe? would "he not rather with an angry breath have ſtruck his adverſaries dead at "the firſt approach, and ſet them beyond the reach of making attempts "upon his own perſon? either ceaſe therefore to delude the People "with theſe impoſtures, or prepare thy ſelf to undergo the ſame fate.

XII. IN anſwer to which we may imagine S. *Stephen* thus to have replied upon them. "And why, Sirs, ſhould theſe things ſeem ſo incre-"dible? have you not by you the Writings of the Prophets? do you "not read the Books of *Moſes*, and profeſs your ſelves to be his Diſci-"ples? did not *Moſes* ſay, *a Prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe up unto "you of your brethren, like unto me, him ſhall ye hear?* Have not the Pro-"phets long ſince foretold that he ſhould be born at *Bethlehem*, and "conceived in the womb of a Virgin? that he ſhould fly into *Egypt*, that "he ſhould *bear our griefs and carry our ſorrows*? that they ſhould *pierce "his hands and his feet*, and hang him on a tree? that he ſhould be bu-"ried, riſe again, and aſcend up to Heaven with a ſhout? Either now "ſhew me ſome other in whom all theſe Prophecies were accompliſhed, "or learn with me to adore as God our crucified Saviour. Blind and "ignorant that you are of the predictions of *Moſes*, you thought you "crucified a meer man, but had you known him, you would not have "crucified the Lord of Glory: you denied the Holy One, and the Juſt, "and deſired a Murderer to be granted to you, but put to death the "Prince of Life.

XIII. THIS is the ſum of what that ingenious and eloquent Father conceives S. *Stephen* did, or might have returned to their Enquiries. Which whatever it was, was delivered with that life and zeal, that evidence and ſtrength of reaſon, that freedom and majeſty of elocution, that his Antagoniſts had not one word to ſay againſt it; *they were not able to reſiſt the wiſdom and the ſpirit by which he ſpake.* So particularly did our Lord make good what he had promiſed to his Diſciples, *Setle it in your hearts, not to meditate before what you ſhall anſwer, for I will give you a mouth and wiſdom, which all your adverſaries ſhall not be able to gain-ſay nor reſiſt.* Hereupon the men preſently began to retreat, and departed the Liſts, equally divided between ſhame and grief. Aſhamed they were to be ſo openly baffled by one ſingle adverſary; vexed and troubled that they had not carried the day, and that the Religion which they oppoſed had hereby received ſuch ſignal credit and confirmation. And now being no longer able ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ (as the addition in ſome very ancient Manuſcript Copies does elegantly expreſs it) *with open face to reſiſt the truth*, they betake themſelves to clancular Arts, to ſly and ſiniſter Deſigns, hoping to accompliſh by craft and ſubtlety what they could not carry by fairneſs and force of reaſon.

Luke 21. 14, 15.

Cod. Bezæ MS. & 2 Codd. H. Steph.

XIV. TO this purpoſe they tamper with men of debauched profligate Conſciences, to undermine him by falſe accuſations, that ſo he might fall as a Sacrifice to their ſpight and malice, and that by the hand of public Juſtice. S. *Chryſoſtom* brings them in with ſmooth and plauſible inſinuations encouraging the men to this miſchievous attempt. *ubi ſupra, pag. 278.*

"Come on, worthy and honourable Friends, lend your aſſiſtance to our "declining cauſe, and let your Tongues miniſter to our Counſels and "Contrivances. Behold a new Patron and Advocate of the GALILÆAN is ſtarted up: one that worſhips a God that was buried, "and preaches a Creator ſhut up in a Tomb; who thinks that he whom "the Souldiers deſpiſed and mocked upon Earth, is now converſing "with the Hoſt of Angels in Heaven, and promiſes that he ſhall come "to judge the World, who was not able to vindicate and right himſelf: "His Diſciples denied him, as if they thought him an Impoſtor, and yet "this man affirms, that every tongue ſhall confeſs and do homage to him: "himſelf was not able to come down from the Croſs, and yet he talks of "his ſecond coming from Heaven; the vileſt miſcreants reproached him "at his death, that he could not ſave either himſelf or them, and yet this "man peremptorily proclaims him to be the Saviour of the World. "Did you ever behold ſuch boldneſs and impudence? or have you "ever heard words of ſo much madneſs and blaſphemy? Do you there"fore undertake the cauſe, and find out ſome ſpecious colour and pre"tence, and thereby purchaſe to your ſelves glory and renown from "the preſent Generation.

XV. THE Wretches were eaſily perſuaded to the undertaking, and to ſwear whatever their Tutors ſhould direct them. And now the cauſe is ripe for action, the caſe is divulged, the *Elders* and the *Scribes* are dealt with, (and a little Rhetoric would ſerve to perſuade them) the people poſſeſſed with the horrour of the Fact, the *Sanhedrim* is ſummoned, the Malefactor haled to the Bar, the Witneſſes produced, and the charge given in. *They ſuborned men which ſaid, we have heard him ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt Moſes and againſt God; the falſe witneſſes ſaid, this man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy place and the Law: for we have heard him ſay, that this Jeſus of Nazareth ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the cuſtoms which Moſes delivered us:* that is, (that we may ſtill proceed with that excellent man in opening the ſeveral parts of the charge) "he has dared to ſpeak againſt our wiſe and great Lawgiver, "and blaſphemed that *Moſes*, for whom our whole Nation has ſo juſt "a veneration; that *Moſes* who had the whole Creation at his beck, who "freed our Anceſtors from the houſe of bondage, and with his rod tur"ned the Waters into Walls, and by his prayer drowned the *Egyptian* "Army in the bottom of the Sea; who kindled a fiery Pillar for a light "by night, and without plowing or ſowing fed them with *Manna* and "*Bread from Heaven*, and with his rod pierced the Rock and gave them "drink. But what do we ſpeak of *Moſes*, when he has whetted his "tongue, and ſtretched it out againſt God himſelf, and ſet up one that "is dead as an Anti-god to the great Creator of the World? He has not "bluſhed to reproach the Temple, that holy place, where the divine "Oracles are read, and the Writings of the Prophets ſet forth, the Re"poſitory of the Shew-bread and the Heavenly Manna, of the Ark of "the Covenant, and the Rod of *Aaron*; where the hoary and venerable "heads of the High-prieſts, the dignity of the Elders, and the Honour

"of the Scribes is ſeen: this is the place which he has reviled and ſet "at naught; and not this onely, but the Law it ſelf; which he boldly "declares to be but a ſhadow, and the ancient Rites but types and fi- "gures: he affirms the *Galilean* to be greater then *Moſes*, and the Son "of *Mary* ſtronger then our Law-giver; he has not honoured the di- "gnity of the Elders, nor had any reverence to the ſociety of the Scribes. "He threatens us with a dead Maſter; the young man dreams ſure, "when he talks of *Jeſus of Nazareth* riſing again, and deſtroying this "holy place: he little conſiders with how much wiſdom it was con- "trived, with what infinite charges it was erected, and how long be- "fore it was brought to its perfection. And yet forſooth, this *Jeſus of* "*Nazareth* muſt *deſtroy it, and change the cuſtoms which Moſes delivered* "*to us*: our moſt holy *Sabbath* muſt be turned out of doors, Circumci- "ſion aboliſhed, the *New-Moons* rejected, and the Feaſt of Taberna- "cles laid aſide; our Sacrifices muſt no longer be accepted with God, "our Sprinklings and ſolemn Purgations muſt be done away: as if we "knew not this *Nazarens* end, and as if one that is dead could revenge "himſelf upon them that are living. How many of the ancient Pro- "phets and Holy men have been cruelly murdered, whoſe death none "ever yet undertook to revenge? and yet this man muſt needs appear in "the cauſe of this crucified *Nazarene*, and tell us of a dead man that ſhall "judge us: Silly Impoſtor! to fright us with a Judge who is himſelf "impriſoned in his own Grave.

XVI. This then is the ſum of the charge, that he ſhould threaten the ruine of the Temple, and the abolition of the *Moſaick* Rites, and blaſphe- mouſly affirm that *Jeſus of Nazareth* ſhould take away that Religion which had been eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*, and by God himſelf. Indeed the *Jews* had an unmeaſurable reverence and veneration for the *Moſaick* In- ſtitutions, and could not with any patience endure to hear of their being laid aſide, but accounted it a kind of blaſphemy ſo much as to mention their diſſolution. Little thinking in how ſhort a time theſe things which they now ſo highly valued ſhould be taken away, and their Tem- ple it ſelf laid level with the ground. Which a few years after came to paſs by the *Roman* Army under the Conduct of *Titus Veſpaſian* the *Roman* General, when the City was ſacked, and the Temple burnt to the ground. And ſo final and irrevocable was the ſentence by which it was doomed to ruine, that it could never afterwards be re- paired, Heaven it ſelf immediately declaring againſt it. Inſomuch that when *Julian* the Emperour, out of ſpight and oppoſition to the Chri- ſtians, was reſolved to give all poſſible encouragement to the *Jews*, and not only permitted but commanded them to rebuild the Temple, fur- niſhing them with all charges and materials neceſſary for the Work, (hoping that hereby he ſhould prove our Saviour a falſe Prophet) no ſooner had they begun to clear the Rubbiſh, and lay the Foundation, but a terrible Earthquake ſhattered the Foundation, killed the Undertakers, and ſhaked down all the buildings that were round about it. And when they again attempted it the next day, great balls of fire ſuddenly breaking out from under the Foundations conſumed the Workmen and thoſe that were near it, and forced them to give over the attempt. A ſtrange inſtance of the diſpleaſure of Heaven towards a place which God had fatally devoted to deſtruction. And this related not onely by Chriſtian *Writers, but as to the ſubſtance of it, by the Heathen

*Socrat. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 20. p. 193. Sozom. H. E. l. 5. c. 22. p. 631.

* *A. Marcell. l. 23. non longe ab init.*

† *Greg. Nyſſen. Orat. in S. Steph. Tom. 2. p. 791.*

* Hiſtorian himſelf. And the ſame curſe has ever ſince purſued and followed them, they having been deſtitute of Temple and Sacrifice for ſixteen hundred years together. "Were that bloody Sanhedrim now "in being, and here preſent, (ſays one of the † Ancients ſpeaking of this "accuſation) I would ask them about thoſe things for which they were "here ſo much concerned, what is now become of your once famous "and renowned Temple? where are thoſe vaſt ſtones, and incredible "Piles of building? where is that Gold that once equalled all the other "materials of the Temple? what are become of your legal Sacrifices? "your Rams and Calves, your Lambs and Heifers, Pigeons, Turtles, "and Scape-goats? if they therefore condemned *Stephen* to die, that "none of theſe miſeries might befal them, let them ſhew which of them "they avoided by putting him to death; but if they eſcaped none of "them, why then did they imbrue their hands in his innocent bloud?

XVII. THE Court being thus ſet, and the Charge brought in and opened, that nothing might be wanting to carry on their mock Scene of Juſtice, they give him liberty to defend himſelf. In order whereunto while the Judges of the *Sanhedrim* earneſtly lookt upon him, they diſcovered the appearances of an extraordinary ſplendor and brightneſs upon his face, the innocency of his cauſe and the clearneſs of his conſcience manifeſting themſelves in the brightneſs and chearfulneſs of his countenance. The High-prieſt having asked him whether guilty or not, he in a large diſcourſe pleaded his own cauſe to this effect: "That what "apprehenſions ſoever they might have of the ſtatelineſs and magnifi-"cence of their Temple, of the glory and *grandeur* of its ſervices and mi-"niſtrations, of thoſe venerable cuſtoms and uſages that were amongſt "them, as if they looked upon them as indiſpenſably neceſſary, and that "'twas blaſphemy to think, God might be acceptably ſerved without "them; yet that if they looked back to the firſt originals of their Na-"tion, they would find, that God choſe *Abraham* to be the Father and "Founder of it, not when he lived in *Jeruſalem*, and worſhipped God "with the pompous ſervices of a Temple, but when he dwelt among the "Idolatrous Nations: that then it was that God called him from the "impieties of his Fathers houſe, and admitted him to a familiar acquain-"tance and intercourſe with himſelf; wherein he continued for many "years without any of thoſe external and viſible Rites which they laid "ſo much ſtreſs upon; and that when at laſt God entered into Cove-"nant with him, to give his poſterity the Land of *Canaan*, and that in "*his ſeed all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed*, he bound it upon "him with no other ceremony, but onely that of Circumciſion, as the "Badge and Seal of that fœderal compact that was between them: "that without any other fixed Rite but this, the ſucceeding Patriarchs "worſhipped God for ſeveral Ages, till the times of *Moſes*, a wiſe, lear-"ned, and prudent perſon, to whom God particularly revealed himſelf "and appointed him Ruler over his People, to conduct them out of the "Houſe of Bondage, a great and famous Prophet, and who was conti-"nually inculcating this Leſſon to their Anceſtors, *A Prophet ſhall the "Lord your God raiſe up unto you of your Brethren like unto me, him ſhall "ye hear*; that is, that God in the latter days would ſend amongſt them "a mighty Prophet, who ſhould do as *Moſes* had done, introduce new "Rites, and ſet up more excellent Inſtitutions and ways of Worſhip, to "whom they ſhould yield all diligent attention, and ready obedience:

"that

"that when their fore-fathers had frequently lapſed into Idolatry, God "commanded *Moſes* to ſet up a *Tabernacle*, as a place of publick and ſo-"lemn Worſhip, where he would manifeſt himſelf, and receive the ad-"dreſſes and adorations of his People; which yet however was but a "tranſient and temporary miniſtration; and though erected by the im-"mediate order of God himſelf, was yet after ſome years to give place "to a ſtanding Temple deſigned by *David*, but built by *Solomon*; ſtate-"ly indeed and majeſtick, but not abſolutely neceſſary, ſeeing that infi-"nite Being that made the World, who *had the heaven for his throne, and* "*the earth for his footſtool*, could not be confined within a material Tem-"ple, nor tied to any particular way of worſhip; and that therefore there "could be no ſuch abſolute and indiſpenſable neceſſity for thoſe *Moſai-*"*cal* Rites and Ceremonies, as they pretended; eſpecially when God "was reſolved to introduce a new and better Scene and ſtate of things. "But it was the humour of this looſe and unruly, this refractory and "undiſciplinable generation, (as it ever had been of their Anceſtors) "to *reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt*, and oppoſe him in all thoſe methods, whereby "he ſought to reform and reclaim them; that there were few of the "Prophets whom their fore-fathers had not perſecuted, and ſlain them "that had foretold the *Meſſia's* coming, the *juſt and the holy Jeſus*, as they "their unhappy poſterity had actually betrayed and murdered him, "without any due reverence and regard to that *Law*, which had been "ſolemnly delivered to them by the miniſtry of Angels, and which he "came to fulfil and perfect."

XVIII. THE holy man was going on in the Application, when the patience of his Auditors, which had hitherto holden out, at this began to fail; that fire which gently warms at a diſtance, ſcorches when it comes too near; their conſciences being ſenſibly ſtung by the too near approach of the truths he delivered, they began to fume and fret, and expreſs all the ſigns of rage and fury. But he regardleſs of what was done below, had his eyes and thoughts directed to a higher and a nobler object, and looking up *ſaw the heavens opened*, and ſome bright and ſenſible appearances of the divine majeſty, and the *holy Jeſus* clothed in the robes of our glorified nature, not ſitting (in which poſture he is uſually deſcribed in Scripture) but *ſtanding* (as ready to protect and help, to crown and reward his ſuffering ſervant) *at the right hand of God*. So eaſily can Heaven delight and entertain us in the want of all earthly comforts, and divine conſolations are then neareſt to us, when humane aſſiſtances are fartheſt from us. The good man was infinitely raviſhed with the Viſion, and it inſpired his ſoul with a freſh zeal and courage, and made him long to arrive at that happy place, and little concerned what uſe they would make of it, he could not but communicate and impart his happineſs; the Cup was full, and it eaſily overflowed; he tells his adverſaries what himſelf beheld, *Behold, I ſee the heavens opened, and the ſon of man ſtanding on the right hand of God.*

XIX. THE Heavenly Viſion had very different effects, it encouraged *Stephen*, but enraged the *Jews*, who now taking it *pro confeſſo* that he was a blaſphemer, reſolved upon his death, without any further proceſs. How furious and impatient is miſ-guided Zeal! they did not ſtand to procure a Warrant from the *Roman* Governour (without whoſe leave they had not power to put any man to death) nay they had not the patience to ſtay for the judicial ſentence of the *Sanhedrim*, but acted

acted the part of *Zealots*, (who were wont to execute vengeance upon Capital Offenders without ſtaying for the ordinary formalities of Juſtice) and raiſing a great noiſe and clamour, and *ſtopping their ears*, that they might hear no further blaſphemies, and be deaf to all cries for mercy, they unanimouſly ruſhed upon him. But Zeal is ſuperſtitious in its maddeſt fury: they would not execute him within the Walls, leſt they ſhould pollute the holy City with his blood, but hurried him *without the City*, and there fell upon him with a ſhower of ſtones. Stoning was one of the four Capital puniſhments among the *Jews*, inflicted upon greater and more enormous crimes, eſpecially Blaſphemy, Idolatry, and ſtrange Worſhip: and the *Jews* tell us of many particular circumſtances uſed in this ſort of puniſhment. The Malefactor was to be led out of the Conſiſtory, at the door whereof a perſon was to ſtand with a Napkin in his hand, and a man on Horſe-back at ſome diſtance from him, that if any one came and ſaid, he had ſomething to offer for the deliverance of the Malefactor, upon the moving of the Napkin the Horſeman might give notice, and bring the offender back. He had two grave perſons to go along with him to exhort him to confeſſion by the way; a Crier went before him, proclaiming who he was, what his crime, and who the Witneſſes; being come near the place of execution (which was two cubits from the ground) he was firſt ſtripped, and then ſtoned, and afterwards hanged, where he was to continue till Sun-ſet, and then being taken down, he and his Gibbet were both buried together.

Vid. P. Fag. in Exod. 21. 16.

XX. SUCH were their cuſtoms in ordinary caſes, but alaſs their greedineſs of St. *Stephens* bloud would not admit theſe tedious proceedings; onely one formality we find them uſing, which the Law required, which was, that *the hands of the Witneſſes ſhould be firſt upon him, to put him to death, and afterward the hands of all the People:* a Law ſurely contrived with great Wiſdom and Prudence, that ſo the Witneſs, if forſworn, might derive the guilt of the bloud upon himſelf, and the reſt be free; *ſo thou ſhalt put the evil away from among you.* Accordingly here the Witneſſes *putting off their* upper *garments* (which rendred them leſs nimble and expedite, being looſe and long, according to the mode of thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries) *laid* them down at *Sauls* feet, a zealous Youth, at that time Student under *Gamaliel*, the fiery zeal and activity of whoſe temper made him buſie no doubt in this, as we find he was in the following Perſecution. An action which afterwards coſt him tears and penitent reflections, himſelf preferring the Indictment againſt himſelf; *When the bloud of thy Martyr Stephen was ſhed, I alſo was ſtanding by, and conſenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that ſlew him.* Thus prepared they began the Tragedy, whoſe example was ſoon followed by the multitude. All which time the innocent and holy man was upon his knees, ſending up his prayers faſter to Heaven then they could rain down Stones upon him, piouſly recommending his own ſoul to God, and charitably interceding for his Murderers, that God would not charge this guilt upon them, nor ſeverely reckon with them for it: and then gave up the Ghoſt, or as the ſacred Hiſtorian elegantly expreſſes it, *fell aſleep.* So ſoft a pillow is death to a good man, ſo willingly, ſo quietly does he leave the World, as a weary Labourer goes to bed at night. What Storms or Tempeſts ſoever may follow him while he lives, his Sun in ſpight of all the malice and cruelty of his enemies ſets ſerene and calm; *Mark the perfect and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.*

Deut. 17. 7.

Act. 22. 20.

XXI THUS

XXI. THUS died S. *Stephen*, the Protomartyr of the Christian Faith, obtaining ὃν ἀντὶ φερωνύμου Στέφανον (says *Eusebius*) a reward truly answering to his name, a **Crown**. He was a man in whom the Vertues of a divine life were very eminent and illustrious; *a man full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost.* Admirable his Zeal for God and for Religion, for the propagating whereof he refused no pains, declined no troubles or difficulties: his courage was not baffled either with the angry frowns, or the fierce threatnings of his enemies, nor did his spirit sink, though he stood alone, and had neither Friend nor Kinsman to assist and comfort him; his constancy firm and unshaken, notwithstanding temptations on the one hand, and the dangers that assaulted him on the other: in all the oppositions that he met with, under all the torments and sufferings that he underwent, he discovered nothing but the meek and innocent temper of a Lamb, never betraying one passionate and revengeful word, but calmly resigned up his soul to God. He had a charity large enough to cover the highest affronts, and the greatest wrongs and injuries that were put upon him; and accordingly after the example of his Master, he prayed for the pardon of his Murderers, even while they were raking in his bloud. And *the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availed much*; Heaven was not deaf to his Petition, as appeared in the speedy conversion of S. *Paul*, whose admirable change we may reasonably suppose to have been the birth of the good mans dying groans, the fruit of his Prayer and Interest in Heaven. And what set off all these excellencies, he was not elated with lofty and arrogant conceits, nor *thought more highly of himself then he ought to think*, esteeming meanly of, and preferring others before himself. And therefore the Author of the *Apostolic* [a] *Constitutions* brings in the Apostles commending S. *Stephen* for his humility, that though he was so great a person, and honoured with such singular and extraordinary Visions and Revelations, yet never attempted any thing above his place, did not consecrate the Eucharist, nor confer Orders upon any; but (as became a Martyr of Christ ἡ εὐταξίαν ἀποσῴζων, to preserve Order and Decency) he contented himself with the station of a *Deacon*, wherein he persevered to the last minute of his life.

H.Eccl. l.2.c.1. p.38.

Ego sum Jesus Nazarenus, quem tu persequeris. Quid mihi & tibi? Quare te erigis contra me, ad tanta mala quæ commisisti in me? Olim quidem debui perdere te, sed Stephanus meus oravit pro te. O Saule lupe rapax, comedisti; expecta paululum, & digeres. Dicam plane, elisus est filius perditionis. Nam si Sanctus STEPHANUS *sic non oraſſet, Ecclesia* PAULUM *non haberet. Sed ideo erectus est Paulus, quia in terra inclinatus exauditus est Stephanus. Quod fecit persecutor, patitur prædicator.* August. Serm. 1. de S. Steph. Tom. 10. col. 1168.

[a] *Lib. 8. cap. 46. Concil. Tom. 1. Col. 509.*

XXII. HIS Martyrdom hapned (say some) three years after our Saviours Passion, which *Euodius* Bishop of *Antioch* (if that Epistle were his cited by [b] *Nicephorus*, which 'tis probable enough was not) extends to no less then seven years. Doubtless a very wide mistake. Sure I am [c] *Eusebius* affirms, that it was not long after his ordination to his Deacons Office, and the Author of the *Excerpta Chronologica* published by [d] *Scaliger* more particularly, that it was some few days less then eight moneths after our Lords Ascension. He is generally supposed to have been young at the time of his Martyrdom; and [e] *Chrysostom* makes no scruple of styling him *young man* at every turn, though for what reason, I confess I am yet to learn. He was martyred without the Walls, near the Gate on the North side, that leads to *Cedar*, (as [f] *Lucian* tells us) and which was afterwards called S. *Stephens Gate*; anciently (say some) stiled the *Gate of Ephraim*, or as others the *Valley Gate*, or the *Fish Gate* which stood on the *East side* of the City, where the place we are told is still shewed, where S. *Paul* sate when he kept the

[b] *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 3. p. 134.*
[c] *Loc. supr. laudat.*
[d] *Ad calc. Chron. Euseb. pag. 82.*
[e] *Orat. in S. Steph. ubi supr.*
[f] *Ep. de Invent. S. Steph. ap. Sur. ad Aug. 3. Bed. de loc. S. c. 1. p. 363. T. 3. Broc. descript. Terr. f. p. m. 328. Convic. Itin. l. 2. c. 11. p. 259.*

the clothes of them that slew him. Over this place (where ever it was) the Empress [a] *Eudocia* Wife of *Theodosius*, when she repaired the Walls of *Jerusalem*, erected a beautiful and stately Church to the honour of S. *Stephen*, wherein she her self was buried afterwards. The great Stone upon which he stood while he suffered Martyrdom, is [b] said to have been afterwards removed into the Church built to the honour of the Apostles upon Mount *Sion*, and there kept with great care and reverence: yea one of the Stones wherewith he was killed, being preserved by some Christian, was afterwards (as we are [c] told) carried into *Italy*, and laid up as a choice Treasure at *Ancona*, and a Church there built to the memory of the Martyr.

[a] *Euagr. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 22. p. 280.*

[b] *Bed. ib. cap. 3. p. 364.*

[c] *Bar. not. in Martyr. Rom. ad Aug. 3. p. 475. ex Martyrol. S. Cyriac.*

XXIII. THE Church received a great wound by the death of this pious and good man, and could not but express a very deep resentment of it: *Devout men* (probably Proselytes) *carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation for him.* They *carried*, or as the word Συνεκόμιστ properly signifies, they *dressed* him up, and prepared the dead body for the burial. For we cannot reasonably suppose, that the *Jews* being at this time so mightily enraged against him, the *Apostles* would think it prudent further to provoke the exasperated humour by making a solemn and pompous Funeral. His burial (if we might believe [d] one of the Ancients, who pretends 'twas revealed to him in a Vision by *Gamaliel*, whom many of the Ancients make to have been a Christian Convert) was on this manner. The *Jewish Sanhedrim* having given order that his Carcass should remain in the place of its Martyrdom to be consumed by wild Beasts; here it lay for some time night and day, untouched either by Beast or Bird of prey. Till *Gamaliel* compassionating the case of the holy Martyr, persuaded some religious Christian Proselytes, who dwelt at *Jerusalem*, and furnished them with all things necessary for it, to go with all possible secrecy and fetch off his body. They brought it away in his own Carriage, and conveyed it to a place called *Caphargamala*, (corruptly, as is probable, for *Caphargamaliel*, otherwise כפר גמלא properly signifies the *Town of Camels*) that is, the *Village of Gamaliel*, twenty miles distant from *Jerusalem*; where a solemn mourning was kept for him seventy days at *Gamaliels* charge, who also caused him to be buried in the *East side* of his own Monument, where afterwards he was interred himself. The *Greek Menæon* adds, that his body was put into a Coffin made of the wood of the Tree called *Persea*, (this was a large beautiful *Egyptian* Tree, as [e] *Theophrastus* tells us, of which they were wont to make Statues, Beds, Tables, *&c.*) though how they came by such very particular intelligence (there being nothing of it in *Gamaliels* Revelation) I am not able to imagine. * *Johannes Phocas*, a *Greek* Writer of the middle Age of the Church, agrees in the relation of his Interment by *Gamaliel*, but adds, that he was first buried in Mount *Sion*, in the house where the Apostles were assembled when our Lord came in to them, *the doors being shut*, after his resurrection, and afterwards removed by *Gamaliel* to another place, which (says he) was on the left side the City, as it looks towards *Samaria*, where a famous Monastery was built afterwards.

[d] *Lucian. Ep. de invent. S. Steph. ubi supr. & apud Bar. ad Ann. 415. p. 371 vid. Niceph. l. 14 c. 9. Tom. 2. p. 454.*

[e] Ὁ θεῖος προτομάρτυς τὴν ἀντίπαλον καταλαβὼν, τὴν γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀνεπαύσατο· Συγκομίζετο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο σκήνωμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν εὐλαβῶν ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ Πρσίας· εἶδος δὲ τοῦτο φυτοῦ. Menæon Græcor. τῇ κς' τοῦ Δεκεμβρ. sub lit. Σ. 111.

[e] *Histor. Plant. l. 4. c. 2. p. 286.*

* Ἐκφρασ. τῶν ἁγ. τόπων &c. *c. 14. p. 19. Edit. Allat.*

Ibid. c. 15. p. 25.

XXIV. BUT where ever his body was interred, it rested quietly for several Ages, till we hear of its being found out in the reign of *Honorius*; for

for then as [a] *Sozomen* informs us, it was diſcovered at the ſame time with the bones of the Prophet *Zachary*, an account of both which he promiſes to give; and having ſpoken of that of the Prophet, there abruptly ends his Hiſtory. But what is wanting in him is fully ſupplied by other hands, eſpecially the forementioned [b] *Lucian*, Presbyter of the Town of *Caphargamala* in the Dioceſs of *Jeruſalem*, who is very large and punctual in his account, the ſum whereof (ſo far as concerns the preſent caſe, and is material to relate) is this. Sleeping one night in the *Baptiſterium* of his Church, (this was *Ann.* CCCCXV. *Honor. Imper.* XXI.) there appeared to him a grave venerable old man, who told him he was *Gamaliel*, bad him go to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and will him to remove his remains and ſome others (whereof S. *Stephen* was the principal) that were with him from the place where they lay. Three ſeveral times the Viſion appeared to him before he would be fully ſatisfied in the thing, and then he acquainted the Biſhop with it, who commanded him to ſearch after the place. After ſome attempts, he found the place of their repoſitory, and then gave the Biſhop notice, who came and brought two other Biſhops, *Eleutherius* of *Sebaſte*, and *Eleutherius* of *Hierichо*, along with him. The Monument being opened, they found an Inſcription upon S. *Stephens* Tomb-ſtone in deep Letters, *CELIEL*, ſignifying (ſays mine Author) the *Servant of God*; at the opening of the Coffin there was an Earthquake, and a very pleaſant and delightful fragrancy came from it, and ſeveral miraculous cures were done by it. The remains being cloſed up again (onely ſome few bones, and a little of the duſt that was taken out, and beſtowed upon *Lucian*) were with great triumph and rejoicing conveyed to the Church that ſtood upon Mount *Sion*, the place where he himſelf while alive had diſcharged the Office of a Deacon. I add no more of this, but that this Story is not onely mentioned by [c] *Photius*, and before him by [d] *Marcellinus Comes*, ſometimes *Chancellor* or Secretary to *Juſtinian*, afterwards Emperour (who ſets it down as done in the very ſame year, and under the ſame Conſuls wherein *Lucians* Epiſtle reports it) but before both by [e] *Gennadius* Presbyter of *Marſeilles*, who lived *Ann.* CCCCXC. and many years before, and conſequently not long after the time of *Lucian* himſelf; who alſo adds, that *Lucian* wrote a relation of it in *Greek* to all the Churches, which *Avitus* a *Spaniſh* Presbyter tranſlated into *Latine*, whoſe Epiſtle is prefixed to it, wherein he gives an account of it to *Balchonius* Biſhop of *Braga*, and ſent it by *Oroſius* into *Spain*.

[a] *H. Eccl. l. 9. c. 16, 17. p. 817.*

[b] *Vid. loc. ſupr. citat. & Phot. Cod.* CLXXI. *Col.* 383.

[c] *Loc. citat.*

[d] *Marcel. Chron. Indict.* XIII. *p. m.* 17.

[e] *De Script. Eccl. c.* 46, 47. *p.* 55.

XXV. THESE remains (whether before or after, the Reader muſt judge by the ſequel of the Story, though I queſtion whether he will have faith enough to believe all the circumſtances of it) were tranſlated to *Conſtantinople* upon this occaſion. [f] *Alexander* a Nobleman of the *Senatorian* Order, having a particular veneration for the *Protomartyr*, had erected an Oratory to him in *Paleſtine*, commanding that himſelf when dead being put into a Coffin like that of S. *Stephen*, ſhould be buried by him. Eight years after, his Lady (whoſe name, ſay ſome, was *Juliana*) removing to *Conſtantinople*, reſolved to take her husbands body along with her: but in a hurry ſhe chanced to miſtake S. *Stephens* Coffin for that of her husband, and ſo ſet forward on her journey. But it ſoon betrayed it ſelf by an extraordinary odor, and ſome miraculous effects: the fame whereof flying before to *Conſtantinople*, had prepared the people to conduct it with great joy and ſolemnity into the *Imperial* Palace.

[f] *Niceph. H. Eccl. lib.* 14. *c.* 9. *p.* 454. *Tom.* 2. *Eadem habet Menæon Græc.* Αὐγ. τῇ β'. *ſub. lit.* β'. 11.

Which yet could not be effected: for the ſturdy Mules that carried the Treaſure being come as far as *Conſtantines Baths*, would not advance one ſtep further. And when unreaſonably whipped and pricked, they ſpake aloud, and told thoſe that conducted them that the Martyr was to be repoſed and interred in that place. Which was accordingly done, and a beautiful Church built there. But certainly they that firſt added this paſſage to the Story, had been at a great loſs for invention had not the Story of *Balaams Aſs* been upon record in Scripture. I confeſs * *Baronius* ſeems not over-forward to believe this relation, not for the trifling and ridiculous improbabilities of it, but onely becauſe he could not well reconcile it with the time of its being firſt found out by *Lucian*. Indeed my Authors tell us, that this was done in the time of *Conſtantine*, *Metrophanes* being then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and that it was onely ſome part of his remains buried again by ſome devout Chriſtians, that was diſcovered in a Viſion to *Lucian*, and that the Empreſs *Pulcheria*, by the help of her Brother *Theodoſius*, procured from the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* the Martyrs right hand, which being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, was with ſingular reverence and rejoycing brought into the Palace, and there laid up, and a ſtately and magnificent Church erected for it, ſet off with all rich and coſtly ornaments and advantages.

* *Bar. ad Ann.* 439. *Tom.5. p.* 681.

XXVI. [a] AUTHORS mention another remove *Ann.*CCCCXXXIX. (and let the curious and inquiſitive after theſe matters reconcile the different accounts) of his remains to *Conſtantinople* by the Empreſs *Eudocia*, Wife to *Theodoſius*, who having been at *Jeruſalem* upon ſome pious and charitable deſigns, carried back with her to the Imperial City the remains of S. *Stephen*, which ſhe carefully laid up in the Church of S. *Laurence*. The *Roman* [b] Martyrology ſays, that in the time of Pope *Pelagius* they were removed from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, and lodg'd in the Sepulchre of S. *Laurence* the Martyr *in agro Verano*, where they are honoured with great piety and devotion. But I find not any Author near thoſe times mentioning their tranſlation into any of theſe *Weſtern* parts, except the little parcel which [c] *Oroſius* brought from *Jeruſalem* (whither he had been ſent by S. *Auguſtin* to know S. *Hieroms* ſenſe in the Queſtion about the Original of the Soul) which he received from *Avitus*, who had procured it of *Lucian*, and brought it along with him into the *Weſt*, that is, into *Afric*, for whether it went any further, I find not.

[a] *Marcell. Chro. Indict.* VII. *p.* 24. *Theodor. Lect. lib.2.p.*568.

[b] *Ad* VII. *Maii p.*284.

[c] *Vid. Avit. Ep. Præf. Ep. Lucian. Gennad. de ſcript. Eccl. in Oroſ. c.* 39. *p.* 53. *Marcell. chron. p.* 17.

XXVII. AS for the miracles reported to have been done by the remains of this Martyr, [d] *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, and the Writers of the following Ages have furniſhed the World with abundant inſtances, which I inſiſt not upon, Superſtition having been the peculiar *genius* and humour of thoſe middle Ages of the Church, and the Chriſtian World miſerably over-run with an exceſſive and immoderate Veneration of the Reliques of departed Saints. However I can venture the Readers diſpleaſure for relating one, and the rather becauſe 'tis ſo ſolemnly averred by [e] *Baronius* himſelf. S. *Gaudioſus* an *African* Biſhop, flying from the *Vandalic* Perſecution, brought with him a Glaſs Vial of S. *Stephens* blood to *Naples* in *Italy*, where it was famous eſpecially for one miraculous effect, that being ſet upon the *Altar*, at the time of *Maſs* it was annually wont upon the *third* of *Auguſt* (the day whereon S. *Stephens* body was firſt diſcovered) to melt and bubble, as if it were but newly ſhed.

[d] *De glor. Martyr. lib.* 1. *cap.* 33. *p.* 42. *&c.*

[e] *Annot. in Martyr. Rom. ad Aug.*III. *p.*474.

But

But the miracle of the miracle lay in this, that when Pope *Gregory* the XIII. reformed the *Roman Kalendar*, and made no leſs then ten days difference from the former, the bloud in the Vial ceaſed to bubble upon the third of *Auguſt* according to the old computation, and bubbled upon that that fell according to the new Reformation. A great juſtification I confeſs (as *Baronius* well obſerves) of the divine Authority of the *Gregorian Kalendar*, and the Popes Conſtitutions: but yet it was ill done to ſet the *Kalendars* at variance, when both had been equally juſtified by the miracle. But how eaſie it was to abuſe the World with ſuch tricks, eſpecially in theſe later Ages, wherein the Artifice of the Prieſts was arrived to a kind of perfection in theſe affairs, is no difficult matter to imagin.

XXVIII. LET us then look to the more early Ages, when Covetouſneſs and Secular Intereſts had not ſo generally put men upon Arts of craft and ſubtlety; and we are told both by *Lucian* and *Photius*, that at the firſt diſcovery of the Martyrs body many ſtrange miraculous cures were effected, ſeventy three healed onely by ſmelling the odor and fragrancy of the body; in ſome *Dæmons* were caſt out; others cured of Iſſues of Bloud, Tumours, Agues, Fevers, and infinite other diſtempers that were upon them. But that which moſt ſways with me, is what S. *Auguſtin* reports of theſe matters; who ſeems to have been inquiſitive about matters of Fact, as the Argument he managed did require. For being to demonſtrate againſt the Gentiles that miracles were not altogether ceaſed in the Chriſtian Church, among ſeveral others he produces many inſtances of Cures miraculouſly done at the remains of S. *Stephen*, brought thither (as before we noted) by *Oroſius* from *Jeruſalem*; all done thereabouts, and ſome of them in the place where himſelf lived, and of which (as he tells us) they made Books, which were ſolemnly publiſhed, and read to the People, whereof (at the time of his Writing) there were no leſs then ſeventy written of the Cures done at *Hippo* (the place where he lived) though it was not full two years ſince the memorial of S. *Stephens* Martyrdom had begun to be celebrated in that place, beſides many whereof no account had been given in writing. To ſet down all were to tire the Readers patience beyond all recovery, a few onely for a *ſpecimen* ſhall ſuffice. At the *Aquæ Tibilitanæ Projectus* the Biſhop bringing the remains of the Martyr, in a vaſt multitude of People a blind woman deſiring to be brought to the Biſhop, and ſome Flowers which ſhe brought being laid upon them, and after applied to her eyes, to the wonder of all ſhe inſtantly received her ſight. *Lucillus* Biſhop of *Synica* near *Hippo*, carrying the ſame remains, accompanied with all the people, was ſuddenly freed from a deſperate diſeaſe, under which he had a long time laboured, and for which he even then expected the Chirurgeons Knife. *Eucharius* a *Spaniſh* Preſbyter, then dwelling at *Calama* (whereof *Poſſidius* who wrote S. *Auguſtins* Life was Biſhop) was by the ſame means cured of the Stone, which he had a long time been afflicted with, and afterwards recovered of another diſtemper, when he had been given over for dead. *Martialis* an ancient Gentleman in that place of great note and rank, but a Pagan, and highly prejudiced againſt the Chriſtian Faith, had been often in vain ſollicited by his Daughter and her Husband (both Chriſtians) to turn Chriſtian, eſpecially in his ſickneſs, but ſtill reſented the motion with indignation. His Son-in-law went to the place dedicated to S. *Stephens*

Loc. ante citat.

De Civ. Dei. lib. 22. cap. 8. col. 1346. &c. Tom. 5.

Martyrdom, and there with prayers and tears paſſionately begged of God his Converſion. Departing he took ſome Flowers thence with him, which at night he put under his Fathers head; who ſlept well, and in the morning called for the Biſhop, in whoſe abſence (for he was at that time with S. *Auguſtin* at *Hippo*) the Presbyters were ſent for; at whoſe coming he acknowledged himſelf a Chriſtian, and to the joy and and admiration of all, was immediately baptized. As long as he lived he often had theſe words in his mouth, and they were the laſt words that he ſpake (for he died not long after) *O Chriſt receive my ſpirit*, though utterly ignorant that it was the Protomartyrs dying ſpeech.

XXIX. MANY paſſages of like nature he relates done at his own See at *Hippo*, and this among the reſt. Ten children of eminency at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* (all the children of one man) had for ſome notorious miſdemeanour after their Fathers death been curſed by their Mother, whereupon they were all ſeized with a continual trembling and ſhaking in all parts of their body. Two of theſe, *Paulus* and *Palladia*, came over into *Afric*, and dwelt at *Hippo*, notoriouſly known to the whole City. They arrived fifteen days before *Eaſter*, where they frequented the Church, eſpecially the place dedicated to the Martyrdom of S. *Stephen* every day, praying that God would forgive them, and reſtore them to their health. Upon *Eaſter-day* the Young man praying as he was wont at the accuſtomed place, ſuddenly dropt down, and lay like one aſleep, but without any trembling, and awaking found himſelf perfectly reſtored to health, who was thereupon with the joyful acclamations of the People brought to S. *Auguſtin*, who kindly received him, and after the public devotions were over, treated him at Dinner, where he had the whole account of the miſery that befel him. The day after, when the narrative of his Cure was to be recited to the People, his ſiſter alſo was healed in the ſame manner and at the ſame place, the particular circumſtances of both which S. *Auguſtin* relates more at large.

XXX. WHAT the judicious and unprejudiced Reader will think of theſe and more the like inſtances there reported by this good Father, I know not, or whether he will not think it reaſonable to believe, that God might ſuffer theſe ſtrange and miraculous cures to be wrought in a place where multitudes yet perſiſted in their *Gentiliſm* and infidelity, and who made this one great objection againſt the Chriſtian Faith, that whatever miracles might be heretofore pretended for the confirmation of Chriſtian Religion, yet that now they were ceaſed, when yet they were ſtill neceſſary to induce the World to the belief of Chriſtianity. Certain it is, that nothing was done herein, but what did very well conſiſt with the wiſdom and the goodneſs of God, who as he is never wont to be prodigal in multiplying the effects of his omnipotent power beyond a juſt neceſſity, ſo is never wanting to afford all neceſſary evidences and methods of conviction. That therefore the unbelieving World (who made this the great refuge of their infidelity) might ſee that his arm was not grown effœte and weak, that he had not left the Chriſtian Religion wholly deſtitute of immediate and miraculous atteſtations, he was pleaſed to exert theſe extraordinary powers, that he might baffle their unbelief, and ſilence their objections againſt the divinity of the Chriſtian Faith. And for this reaſon God never totally withdrew the power of working Miracles from the Church, till the World was in a manner wholly ſubdued to the faith of Chriſt. And then he left it

Vid. Aug. loc. cit. initio cap.

to

to be conducted by more humane and regular ways; and to preſerve its Authority over the minds of men by thoſe ſtanding and innate characters of Divinity, which he has impreſſed upon it. 'Tis true that the Church of *Rome* ſtill pretends to this power; which it endeavours to juſtifie by appealing to theſe and ſuch like inſtances. But in vain, and to no purpoſe; the pretended miracles of that Church being generally trifling and ludicrous, far beneath that gravity and ſerioufneſs that ſhould work upon a wiſe and conſidering mind; the manner of their operation obſcure and ambiguous, their numbers exceſſive and immoderate, the occaſions of them light and frivolous, and after all, the things themſelves for the moſt part falſe, and the reports very often ſo monſtrous and extravagant, as would choke any ſober and rational belief, ſo that a man muſt himſelf become the greateſt miracle that believes them. I ſhall obſerve no more, then that in all theſe caſes related by S. *Auguſtin*, we never find that they invocated or prayed to the Martyr, nor begged to be healed by his merits or intereceſſion, but immediately directed their addreſſes to God himſelf.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. PHILIP THE DEACON and EVANGELIST.

Act. 8. 38. *He commanded the Charet to stand still: and they went downe both into the water, both* PHILIP *and the* EVNVCH, *and he baptized him.*

His Birth-place. The confounding him with S. Philip *the Apoſtle. His election to the Office of a Deacon. The diſperſion of the Church at* Jeruſalem. Philips *preaching at* Samaria. *Inveterate prejudices between the* Samari-

Samaritans *and the* Jews. *The great ſucceſs of S.* Philips *Miniſtry. The Impoſtures of* Simon Magus, *and his embracing Chriſtianity. The Chriſtians at* Samaria *confirmed by* Peter *and* John. Philip *ſent to* Gaza. *His meeting with the* Æthiopian *Eunuch. What* Æthiopia *here meant.* Candace *who. The Cuſtom of retaining Eunuchs in the Courts of the Eaſtern Princes. This* Eunuch *who. His Office. His Religion and great piety. His Converſion and Baptiſm by S.* Philip. *The place where he was baptized. The Eunuchs return, and propagating Chriſtianity in his own Country.* Philips *journey to* Cæſarea, *and fixing his abode there. His four daughters Virgin-Prophetеſſes. His death.*

Epiſt. l. 1. *Ep.* 449. *ad Antioch. p.* 95.

I. S. PHILIP was born (as *Iſidore* the *Peleuſiot* plainly intimates) at *Cæſarea*, a famous Port-Town between *Joppa* and *Ptolemais* in the Province of *Samaria*; but whether he had any other warrant for it then his own conjecture, I know not, there being ſome circumſtances however that make it probable. He has been by ſome both formerly and of later times for want of a due regard to things and perſons, careleſly confounded with S. *Philip* the *Apoſtle*. A miſtake of very ancient date, and which ſeems to have been embraced by ſome of the moſt early Writers of the Church. But whoever conſiders that the one was an *Apoſtle*, and one of the *Twelve*, the other a *Deacon* onely, and one of the *Seven*, choſen out of the People, and ſet apart by the Apoſtles, that they themſelves might attend the more immediate Miniſteries of their Office, that the one was diſperſed up and down the Countrey, while the other remained with the Apoſtolical Colledge at *Jeruſalem*, that the one though commiſſionated to Preach and to Baptize, could not impart the Holy Ghoſt (the peculiar prerogative of the Apoſtolical Office) will ſee juſt reaſon to force him to acknowledge a vaſt difference between them. Our S. *Philip* was one of the *Seventy* Diſciples, and S. *Stephens* next Colleague in the Deacons Office, erected for the conveniency of the Poor, and aſſiſting the Apoſtles in ſome inferiour Services and Miniſtrations: which ſhews him to have been a perſon of great eſteem and reputation in the Church, endowed with miraculous powers, *full of Wiſdom, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; which were the qualifications required by the Apoſtles in thoſe who were to be conſtituted to this place. In the diſcharge of this Miniſtery he continued at *Jeruſalem* for ſome moneths after his election, till the Church being ſcattered up and down, he was forced to quit his ſtation: as what wonder if the Stewards be diſmiſſed, when the Houſhold is broken up?

II. THE *Protomartyr* had been lately ſacrificed to the rage and fury of his Enemies: but the bloudy Cloud did not ſo blow over, but increaſed into a blacker tempeſt. Cruelty and revenge never ſay it is enough, like the temper of the Devil, whoſe malice is inſatiable and eternal. *Stephens* death would not ſuffice, the whole Church is now ſhot at, and they reſolve (if poſſible) to extirpate the Religion it ſelf. The great Engineer in this Perſecution was *Saul*, whoſe active and fiery genius, and paſſionate concern for the Traditions of the Fathers, made him purſue the deſign with the Spirit of a *Zealot*, and the rage of a Mad-man. Having furniſhed himſelf with a Commiſſion from the *Sanhedrim*, he quickly put it in execution, broke open Houſes, ſeized whoever he met with

with, that looked but like a Diſciple of the crucified *Jeſus*, and without any regard to Sex or Age, beat, and haled them unto priſon, plucking the Husband from the boſom of his Wife, and the Mother from the embraces of her Children, blaſpheming God, proſecuting and being injurious unto men, breathing out nothing but ſlaughter and threatnings where-ever he came; whence *Euſebius* calls it the firſt and moſt grievous Perſecution of the Church. The Church by this means was forced to retire, the Apoſtles onely remaining privately at *Jeruſalem*, that they might the better ſuperintend and ſteer the affairs of the Church, while the reſt were diſperſed up and down the neighbouring Countries, publiſhing the glad tidings of the Goſpel, and declaring the nature and deſign of it in all places where they came; ſo that what their Enemies intended as the way to ruine them, by breaking the knot of their Fellowſhip and Society, proved an effectual means to enlarge the bounds of Chriſtianity. Thus excellent perfumes, while kept cloſe in a box, few are the better for them, whereas being once, whether caſually or maliciouſly ſpilt upon the ground, the fragrant ſcent preſently fills all corners of the houſe. *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. p. 39.*

III. AMONG them that were thus diſperſed was our *Evangeliſt*, ſo ſtiled not from his Writing, but preaching of the Goſpel. He directed his journey towards the Province of *Samaria*, *and came into a City of Samaria* (as thoſe words may be read) probably *Gitton*, the birth-place of *Simon Magus*; though it's ſafeſt to underſtand it of *Samaria* it ſelf. This was the *Metropolis* of the Province, had been for ſome Ages the Royal Seat of the Kings of *Iſrael*, but being utterly deſtroyed by *Hyrcanus*, had been lately re-edified by *Herod* the *Great*, and in honour of *Auguſtus* (Σεβαστος) by him ſtiled *Sebaſte*. The *Samaritans* were a mixture of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, made up of the remains that were left of the Ten Tribes which were carried away captive, and thoſe Heathen Colonies which the King of *Babylon* brought into their room; and their Religion accordingly was nothing but *Judaiſm* blended with *Pagan* Rites, though ſo highly prized and valued by them, that they made no ſcruple to diſpute place, and to vie with the Worſhip of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. Upon this account there had been an ancient and inveterate pique and quarrel between the *Jews* and them, ſo as utterly to refuſe all mutual intercourſe with each other. Hence the *Samaritan* Woman wondred, that our Lord *being a Jew, ſhould ask drink of her, who was a Woman of Samaria; for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.* They deſpiſed them at the rate of Heathens, devoted them under the moſt ſolemn execrations, allowed them not to become Proſelytes, nor to have any Portion in the Reſurrection of the Juſt, ſuffered not an *Iſraelite* to eat with them, no nor to ſay *Amen* to their Bleſſing, nor did they think they could faſten upon our Saviour a greater Character of reproach, then to ſay that he was a *Samaritan*, *and had a Devil.* But God regards not the prejudices of men, nor always with-holds his kindneſs from them, whom we are ready to baniſh the Lines of Love and Friendſhip. 'Tis true the Apoſtles at their firſt miſſion were charged *not to go in the way of the Gentiles, nor to enter into any City of the Samaritans.* But when Chriſt by his death had *broken down the partition wall, and aboliſhed in his fleſh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances*, then the Goſpel came *and preached peace as well to them that were afar off, as to them that were nigh.* *Philip* therefore freely *Joh. 4. 9.* *Matth. 10. 5.* *Eph. 2. 14, 15. & ſeq.*

preached the Goſpel to theſe *Samaritans*, ſo odious, ſo diſtaſtful to the *Jews:* to which he effectually prepared his way by many great and uncontrollable miracles, which being arguments fitted to the capacities, and accommodate to the ſenſes of the meaneſt, do eaſilieſt convey the truth into the minds of men. And the ſucceſs here was accordingly, the people generally embracing the Chriſtian Doctrine, while they beheld him curing all manner of diſeaſes, and powerfully diſpoſſeſſing *dæmons*, who with great horror and regret were forced to quit their reſidence, to the equal joy and wonder of that place.

IV. IN this City was one *Simon*, born at a Town not far off, who by Sorcery and *Magic* Arts had ſtrangely inſinuated himſelf into the reverence and veneration of the People. A man crafty and ambitious, daring and inſolent, whoſe Diabolical ſophiſtries and devices, had for a long time ſo amazed the eyes of the Vulgar, that they really thought him (and for ſuch no doubt he gave out himſelf) to be the ſupreme Divinity, probably magnifying himſelf as that divine Power, that was to viſit the *Jews* as the *Meſſia*, or the Son of God; among the *Samaritans*, giving out himſelf to be the Father, (as [a] *Irenæus* aſſures us,) ὃν πρῶτον Θεὸν, as his Countryman [b] *Juſtin Martyr* tells us the People worſhipped him, as the firſt and chiefeſt Deity; as afterwards among the *Gentiles* he ſtiled himſelf the *Holy Ghoſt*. And what wonder if by this train of Artifices the People were tempted and ſeduced to admire and adore him. And in this caſe things ſtood at S. *Philips* arrival, whoſe greater and more unqueſtionable miracles quickly turned the Scale. Impoſture cannot bear the too near approach of Truth, but flies before it, as darkneſs vaniſhes at the preſence of the Sun. The People ſenſible of their errour, univerſally flocked to S. *Philips* Sermons, and convinced by the efficacy of his Doctrine, and the power of his Miracles, gave up themſelves his Converts, and were by Baptiſm initiated into the Chriſtian Faith: Yea the *Magician* himſelf aſtoniſhed at thoſe mighty things which he ſaw done by *Philip*, profeſſed himſelf his Proſelyte and Diſciple, and was baptized by him; being either really perſuaded by the convictive evidence of Truth, or elſe for ſome ſiniſter deſigns craftily diſſembling his Belief and Profeſſion of Chriſtianity. A piece of Artifice which [c] *Euſebius* tells us, his Diſciples and Followers ſtill obſerved in his time, who in imitation of their Father, like a Peſt or a Leproſie, were wont to creep in among the Chriſtian Societies, that ſo they might with the more advantage poiſon and infect the reſt, many of whom having been diſcovered, had with ſhame been ejected and caſt out of the Church.

[a] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 20. *p.*115.
[b] *Apol.*II.*p.*69. *vid. Tert. de præſcr. Hæret. c.*46.*p.*219.
[c] *H.Eccl. lib.*2. *c.*1.*p.*39.

V. THE fame of S. *Philips* ſucceſs at *Samaria* quickly flew to *Jeruſalem*, where the Apoſtles immediately took care to diſpatch ſome of their own number to confirm theſe new Converts in the Faith. *Peter* and *John* were ſent upon this errand, who being come, prayed for them, and laid their hands upon them, ordaining probably ſome to be Governors of the Church, and Miniſters of Religion; which was no ſooner done, but the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt fell upon them. A plain evidence of the Apoſtolic Power: *Philip* had converted and baptiſed them, but being onely a *Deacon*, (as [d] *Epiphanius* and [e] *Chryſoſtom* truely obſerve) could not confer the Holy Ghoſt, this being a faculty beſtowed onely upon the Apoſtles. *Simon* the *Magician* obſerving this, that a power of working miracles was conveyed by the impoſition of the

[d] *Epiph. Hæreſ.* XXI.*p.*29.
[e] *Chryſ. Homil.* 18. *in Act. p.* 480.

the Apostles hands, hoped by obtaining it to recover his credit and reputation with the people; to which end he sought by such methods as were most apt to prevail upon himself, to corrupt the Apostles by a sum of money, to confer this power upon him. *Peter* resented the motion with that sharpness and severity that became him, told the Wretch of the iniquity of his offer, and the evil state and condition he was in, advised him by repentance to make his Peace with Heaven, that if possible, he might prevent the miserable fate that otherwise did attend him. But what passed between *Peter* and this *Magician* both here, and in their memorable encounter at *Rome* (so much spoken of by the Ancients) we have related more at large in another place [a].

[a] *Antiquit. App.* Life of S. *Pet. Sect.* 8. *n.* 1. *Sect.* 9. *n.* 4.

VI. WHETHER S. *Philip* returned with the Apostles to *Jerusalem*, or (as [b] *Chrysostom* thinks) staid at *Samaria*, and the parts thereabouts, we have no intimations left upon Record. But where-ever he was, an Angel was sent to him with a message from God, to go and instruct a Stranger in the Faith. The Angel one would have thought had been most likely himself to have managed this business with success. But the wise God keeps Method and Order, and will not suffer an Angel to take that Work which he has put into the hands of his Ministers. The sum of his Commission was to go toward the *South, unto the way that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza, which is desart*: A circumstance, which whether it relate to the way, or the City, is not easie to decide, it being probably true of both. *Gaza* was a City anciently famous for the strange efforts of *Sampsons* strength, for his captivity, his death, and the burial of himself and his enemies in the same Ruine. It was afterwards sacked and laid wast by *Alexander* the *Great*, and as [c] *Strabo* notes, remained wast and *desart* in his time; the Prophetical curse being truly accomplished in it, *Gaza shall be forsaken*; a Fate which the Prophet *Jeremy* had foretold to be as certain, as if he had seen it already done, *baldness is come upon Gaza*. So certainly do the divine threatnings arrest and take hold of a proud and impenitent People; so easily do they set open the Gates for ruine to enter into the strongest and best fortified Cities, where Sin has once undermined, and stript them naked of the divine protection.

[b] *Homil.* 19. *in Act. App. p.* 585.

Εἶδες ἀγγέλους συναντιλαμβανομένους τῷ κηρύγματι· καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐ κηρύττοντας, τούτους δὲ καλοῦντας; τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δείκνυσι. Chrysost. ibid. p. 586.

[c] *Geograph. l.* 16. *p.* 759. Zach. 2. 4. Jer. 47. 5.

VII. NO sooner had S. *Philip* received his Orders, though he knew not as yet the intent of his journey, but he addressed himself to it, *he arose and went*: he did not reason with himself whether he might not be mistaken, and that be a false and deluding Vision that sent him upon such an unaccountable errand, and into a Desart and a Wilderness, where he was more likely to meet with Trees and Rocks, and wild Beasts, then Men to preach to: but went however, well knowing God never sends any upon a vain or a foolish errand. An excellent instance of obedience; as 'tis also recorded to *Abrahams* eternal honour and commendation, that when God sent his Warrant, *he obeyed and went out, not knowing whither he went*. As he was on his journey, he espied coming towards him *a man of Æthiopia, an Eunuch of great authority under Candace Queen of the Æthiopians; who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem to worship*; though in what part of the World the Countrey here spoken of was situate (the word being variously used in Scripture) has been some dispute. [a] *Dorotheus* and [b] *Sophronius* of old, and some later Writers, place it in *Arabia* the *Happy*, not far from the *Persian Gulf*: but it's

[a] *Doroth. Synops. p.* 148.
[b] *Sophr. ap. Hier. de Scrip. Eccl. in Crescent.*

it's most generally conceived to be meant of the *African Æthiopia*, lying under or near the torrid Zone, the People whereof are described by *Homer*, to be ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, the remotest part of mankind; and accordingly [a] S. *Hierom* says of this *Eunuch*, that he came from *Æthiopia*, that is, *ab extremis mundi finibus*, from the farthest corners of the World. The Countrey is sometimes stiled *Cusch*, probably from a mixture of the *Arabians*, who inhabiting on the other side of the *Red Sea*, might send over Colonies hither, who setling in these parts, communicated the names of *Cush* and *Sabæa* to them. The manners of the People were very rude and barbarous, and the People themselves, especially to the *Jews*, contemptible even to a Proverb; *Are ye not as the children of the Æthiopians unto me, O children of Israel, saith the Lord?* nay the very meeting an *Æthiopian* was accounted an ill *omen*, and an unlucky prognostication. But no Country is a Bar to Heaven, *the grace of God that brings salvation* plucks up the enclosures, and *appears to all*; so that *in every Nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.*

[a] *Hier. ad Paul. Tom. 3. p. 7.*

Amos 9. 7.

VIII. BUT we cannot reasonably suppose that it should be meant of *Æthiopia* at large, especially as parallel at this day with the *Abyssine* Empire, but rather of that part of the Countrey whose *Metropolis* was called *Meroe*, and *Saba* (as 'tis called both by [b] *Josephus*, and the *Abyssines* themselves at this day) situate in a large Island, encompassed by the *Nile*, and the Rivers of *Astapus*, and *Astoborra*, as *Josephus* informs us,: for about these parts it was (as [c] *Pliny* tells us) that Queens had a long time governed under the title of *Candace*, a custom (as we find in *Strabo*) first commencing in the time of *Augustus*, when a Queen of that name having for her incomparable Vertues been dear to the People, her successors in honour of her took the title of *Candace*, in the same sense that *Ptolomy* was the common name of the Kings of *Egypt*, *Artaxerxes* of the Kings of *Persia*, and *Cæsar* of the *Roman* Emperours. Indeed *Oecumenius* was of opinion that *Candace* was onely the common name of the *Queen-mothers* of *Æthiopia*, that Nation not giving the name of Fathers to their Kings, as acknowledging the Sun onely for their Common Father, and their Princes the Sons of that common Parent. But in this I think he stands alone, and contradicts the general Vote and Suffrage of the Ancients, which affirms this Nation to have been subject to Women; sure I am [d] *Eusebius* expresly says, 'twas the custom of this Countrey to be governed by Queens even in his time. The name of the present Queen (they say) was *Lacasa*, daughter of King *Baazena*, and that she outlived the death of our Saviour four Years.

[b] *Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 5. p. 58.*

[c] *Hist. Nat. l. 6. c. 29. p. 105.*

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ πατέρα Αἰθίοπες οὐκ ἀναφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄντας υἱοὺς ἡλίου παραδιδόασιν, ἑκάστου δὲ τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην. Oecumen. Comment. in Act. VIII. p. 82.

[d] *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. p. 40.*

IX. Among the great Officers of her Court she had one (if not more) *Eunuch*, probably to avoid suspicion, it being the fashion of those Eastern Countries (as it still is at this day) to imploy Eunuchs in places of great trust and honour, and especially of near access to, and attendance upon Queens. For however among us the very name sounds vile and contemptible, yet in those Countries 'tis otherwise, among the *Barbarians* (says *Herodotus*) that is, the Eastern People, Eunuchs are persons of the greatest esteem and value. Our Eunuchs name (as we find it in the Confession made by [e] *Zaga Zabo* Embassador from the *Æthiopia*;

Παρὰ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροί εἰσι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πίστεως εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης, τῶν ἐνοχέων. Herod. lib. 8.

Auctor Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, & proxime huic Abdus, ademptæ virilitatis, non despectum id apud barbaros, ultroque potentiam habet. Tacit. Ann. l. 6. c. 31. p. 182.

[e] *Extat ad Bzov. Annal. Eccl. ad Ann.* 1524. *n.* XXXII. *p.* 543.

pian Emperour) was *Indich*; δυνάστης, a potent Courtier, an Officer of State of prime Note and Quality, being no leſs then High-Treaſurer to the Queen; nor do we find that *Philip* either at his Converſion or Baptiſm found fault with him for his place or greatneſs. Certainly Magiſtracy is no ways inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity, the Church and the State may well agree, and *Moſes* and *Aaron* go hand in hand. *Peter* baptized *Cornelius*, and S. *Paul Sergius* the *Proconſul* of *Cyprus* into the Chriſtian Faith, and yet neither of them found any more fault with them for their places of Authority and Power then *Philip* did here with the Lord Treaſurer of the *Æthiopian* Queen. For his Religion, he was, if not a *Proſelyte of Juſtice* (as ſome think) circumciſed, and under an obligation to obſerve the Rites and Precepts of the Law of *Moſes*, at leaſt a *Proſelyte of the Gate*, (in which reſpect it is that one of the Ancients calls him a *Jew*) [a] entered already into the knowledge of the true God, and was now come to *Jeruſalem* (probably at the ſolemnity of the *Paſsover*, or the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*) to give publick and ſolemn evidences of his devotion. Though an *Æthiopian*, and many thouſand miles diſtant from it, though a great Stateſman, and neceſſarily ſwallowed up in a croud of buſineſs, yet *he came to Jeruſalem for to worſhip*. No way ſo long, ſo rugged and difficult, no charge or intereſt ſo dear and great, as to hinder a good man from minding the concernments of Religion. No ſlender and trifling pretences, no little and ordinary occaſions ſhould excuſe our attendance upon places of public Worſhip; behold here a man that thought not much to take a journey of above four thouſand miles, that he might appear before God in the ſolemn place of divine adoration, the *place* which God had *choſen* above all other parts of the World, *to place his name there*.

[a] *Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 11.*

X. HAVING performed his homage and worſhip at the Temple, he was now upon his return for his own Countrey; nor had he left his Religion at Church behind him, or thought it enough that he had been there; but improved himſelf while travelling by the way: even while he ſate in his Chariot (as [b] *Chryſoſtom* obſerves) he read the Scriptures: a good man is not willing to loſe even common minutes, but to redeem what time is poſſible for holy uſes; whether ſitting or walking, or journying, our thoughts ſhould be at work, and our affections travelling towards Heaven. While the *Eunuch* was thus imployed, a Meſſenger is ſent to him from God: the beſt way to meet with divine communications, is to be converſant in our duty. By a voice from Heaven, or ſome immediate inſpiration, *Philip* is commanded to *go near the Chariot*, and addreſs himſelf to him. He did ſo, and found him reading a Section or Paragraph of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, concerning the death and ſufferings of the *Meſſia*, his meek and innocent carriage under the bloody and barbarous violences of his enemies, who dealt with him with all cruelty and injuſtice. This the *Eunuch* not well underſtanding, nor knowing certainly whether the Prophet meant it of himſelf or another, deſired S. *Philip* to explain it; who being courteouſly taken up into his Chariot, ſhewed him that all this was meant of, and had been accompliſhed in the Holy *Jeſus*, taking occaſion thence to diſcourſe to him of his Nativity, his Actions and Miracles, his Sufferings and Reſurrection from the dead, and his Aſcenſion into Heaven, declaring to him the whole *ſyſtem* of the Chriſtian Faith. His diſcourſe wanted not its deſired

[b] *Homil. 19. in Act. p. 585. Tantus amator Legis divinæq; ſcientiæ fuit, ut etiam in vehiculo ſacras literas legeret.* Hier. Epiſt. ad Paulin. T. 3. p. 7

fired effect; the *Eunuch* was fully satisfied in the *Messiaship* and Divine Authority of our Saviour, and wanted nothing but the solemn Rite of Initiation to make him a Christian Proselyte. Being come to a place where there was conveniency of Water, he desired that he might be baptized, and having professed his Faith in the Son of God, and his hearty embracing the Christian Religion, *they both went down into the Water*, where *Philip* baptized him, and washed this *Æthiopian* white.

XI. The place where this *Eunuch* was baptized, [a] *Beza* by a very wide mistake makes to be the River *Eleutherus*, which ran near the Foot of Mount *Lebanon* in the most Northern Borders of *Palestine*, quite at the other end of the Countrey: [b] *Brocard* places it near *Nehel Escol*, or the *Torrent of the Grape*, the place whence the Spies fetched the bunch of Grapes; on the left side of which Valley about half a League runs a Brook not far from *Sicelech*, in which this *Eunuch* was baptized. But [c] *Eusebius* and [d] S. *Hierom* (followed herein by [e] *Ado* the *Martyrologist*) more probably place it near *Bethsoron*, (where we are told [f] it is still to be seen at this day) a Village 20 miles distant from *Jerusalem* in the way between it and *Hebron*, near to which there was a Spring bubling up at the foot of a Hill. S. *Hierom* adds, that it was again swallowed up in the same ground that produced it, and that here it was that *Philip* baptized the *Ethiopian*. Which was no sooner done, but Heaven set an extraordinary seal to his Conversion and Admission into the Christian Faith, especially if it be true what some very ancient *Manuscripts* add to the passage, that being baptized, *the Holy Ghost fell upon him*, furnishing him with miraculous gifts and powers, and that *Philip* was immediately snatched away from him.

[a] *Annot. in Act.* 8.36.
[b] *Descript. Terr. Sanct. p. m.* 330.
[c] *Euseb. de loc. Hebr. in voc.* Βεδσούρ. p. 66.
[d] *Hieron. de loc. Hebr. in voc. Besur.*
[e] *Ad. Martyr.* VIII. *Idus Jun.*
[f] *Cotovic. Itin. l.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 247.

V. 39. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐνοῦχον, ἄγγελος δὲ Κυρίου ἥρπασε τὸν Φίλιππον. Cod. Alexand. in Bibl. Reg. Angl. aliique plures Codd. MSs.

XII. Though the *Eunuch* had lost his Tutor, yet he rejoiced that he had found so great a treasure, the knowledge of Christ, and of the true way to Heaven, and he went on his journey with infinite Peace and Tranquillity of mind, satisfied with the happiness that had befallen him. Being returned into his Country, he preached and propagated the Christian Faith, and spread abroad the glad tidings of a Saviour: in which respect [g] S. *Hierom* stiles him the *Apostle of the Ethiopians*, and the [h] Ancients generally make that prediction of *David* fulfilled in him, *Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God*, and hence the *Ethiopians* are wont to glory (as appears by the [i] Confession made by the *Abyssin* Embassador) that by means of this *Eunuch* they received Baptism almost the first of any Christians in the World. Indeed they have a constant tradition that for many Ages they had the knowledge of the true God of *Israel*, from the time of the Queen of *Sheba* (and *Seba* being the name of this Countrey, as we noted before, makes it probable she might govern here) her name (they tell us) was *Maqueda*, who having learnt from *Solomon* the knowledge of the *Jewish* Law, and received the Books of their Religion, taught them her Subjects, and sent her Son *Meilech* to *Solomon* to be instructed and educated by him; the Story whereof may be read in that Confession more at large. I add no more concerning the *Eunuch* then what [k] *Dorotheus* and others relate, that he is reported to have suffered Martyrdom, and to have been honourably buried, and that diseases were cured, and other miracles done at his Tomb even in his time. The Traditions of the Countrey more particularly tell us, [l] that the *Eunuch* being returned home, first converted his Mistress *Candace* to the

[g] *Com. in Esai.* 53. *T.* 5. *p.* 195.
[h] *Euseb. H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c. p.* 40 *Cyril. Catech.* XVII. *p.* 457. *Psal.* 68. 31.
[i] *Apud Bzov. ubi supr. vid. Godign. de rebus Abyssin. l.* 1. *c.* 18 *p.* 113.
[k] *Synops. ubi supr. vid. etiam Sophr. ap. Hier. in Cresc.*
[l] *Ap. Godign. loc. citat. p.* 117

Christian Faith, and afterwards by her leave propagated it throughout *Æthiopia*, till meeting with S. *Matthew* the Apostle, by their joint-endeavours they expelled Idolatry out of all those parts. Which done, he crossed the Red Sea, and preached the Christian Religion in *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, and many other of those Eastern Nations, till at length in the Island *Taprobana*, since called *Ceilon*, he sealed his Doctrine with his blood.

XIII. GOD, who always affords what is sufficient, is not wont to multiply means farther then is necessary. *Philip* having done the errand upon which he was sent, was immediately caught and carried away, no doubt by the ministry of an Angel, and landed at *Azotus*, anciently *Ashdod*, a *Philistin* City in the borders of the Tribe of *Dan*, famous of old for the Temple and residence in it of the Idol *Dagon*, and the captivity of the *Ark* kept for some time in this place, and now enlightned with S. *Philips* preaching, who went up and down publishing the Gospel in all the parts hereabouts till he arrived at *Cæsarea*. This City was heretofore called *Turris Stratonis*, and afterwards rebuilt and enlarged by *Herod* the *Great*, and in honour of *Augustus Cæsar*, to whom he was greatly obliged, by him called *Cæsarea*; for whose sake also he erected in it a stately palace of Marble, called *Herods Judgment Hall*, wherein his Nephew ambitious of greater honours and acclamations then became him, had that fatal execution served upon him. It was a place remarkable for many devout and pious men; here dwelt *Cornelius*, who together with his Family being baptized by *Peter*, was in that respect the first fruits of the Gentile World: hither came *Agabus* the Prophet, who foretold S. *Paul* his imprisonment and martyrdom: here S. *Paul* himself was kept prisoner, and made those brave and generous Apologies for himself, first before *Felix*, as afterwards before *Festus* and *Agrippa*. Here also our S. *Philip* had his House and Family, to which probably he now retired, and where he spent the remainder of his life: for here many years after we find S. *Paul* and his company, coming from *Ptolemais* in their journey to *Jerusalem*, *entering into the house of Philip the Evangelist, which was one of the seven, and abiding with him; and the same man had four daughters, Virgins, which did prophesie.* Act. 21. 8, 9. These Virgin-Prophetesses were endowed with the gift of foretelling future events; for though prophecy in those times implied also a faculty of explaining the more abstruse and difficult parts of the Christian Doctrine, and a peculiar ability to demonstrate Christs *Messiaship* from the predictions of *Moses* and the Prophets, and to express themselves on a sudden upon any difficult and emergent occasion, yet can we not suppose these Virgins to have had this part of the prophetic faculty, or at least that they did not publicly exercise it in the Congregation. This therefore unquestionably respected things to come, and was an instance of Gods accomplishing an an ancient promise, that in the times of the *Messia*, he would *pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, on their sons, and daughters, servants and handmaidens, and they should prophecy.* Act. 2. 17, 18. The names of two of these daughters the Greek *Menæon* tells us were *Hermione* and *Eutychis*, who came into *Asia* after S. *Johns* death, and the first of them died, and was buried at *Ephesus*.

XIV. HOW long S. *Philip* lived after his return to *Cæsarea*, and whether he made any more excursions for the propagation of the Faith, is not certainly known. [a] *Dorotheus*, I know not upon what ground, will

[a] *Synops. de Vit. App. loc. citat.*

have

have him to have been *Biſhop* of *Trazellis*, a City in *Aſia*: [b] others confounding him with S. *Philip* the Apoſtle, make him reſident at *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, where he ſuffered Martyrdom, and was buried (ſay they) together with his Daughters. Moſt probable it is that he died a peaceable death at *Cæſarea*, where his Daughters were alſo buried, as ſome ancient [c] *Martyrologies* inform us; where his Houſe and the apartments of his Virgin-Daughters were yet to be ſeen in [d] S. *Hierom's* time, viſited and admired by the noble and religious *Roman* Lady *Paula* in her journey to the Holy Land.

[b] *Polycrat. ap. Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 31. *p.* 102. *Procul. ib. p.* 103

[c] *Martyr. Rom. ad* VI. *Jun. p.* 309. *Martyr. Adon.* VIII. *Id. Jun.*

[d] *Hier. Epitaph. Paul. ad Euſtoch. T.* 1. *p.* 172.

The End of S. PHILIP'S *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. BARNABAS THE APOSTLE.

S. BARNABAS APOSTOLUS.

His Sirname Joſes. *The Title of* Barnabas *whence added to him. His Countrey and Parents. His Education and Converſion to Chriſtianity. His generous charity.* S. Pauls *addreſs to him, after his Converſion. His*

Commiſſion to confirm the Church of Antioch. *His taking* S. Paul *into his aſſiſtance. Their being ſent with contributions to the Church at* Jeruſalem. *Their peculiar ſeparation for the miniſtry of the Gentiles. Impoſition of hands the uſual Rite of Ordination. Their travels through ſeveral Countries. Their ſucceſs in* Cyprus. Barnabas *at* Lyſtra *taken for* Jupiter, *and why. Their return to* Antioch. *Their Embaſſy to* Jeruſalem *about the controverſie concerning the legal Rites.* Barnabas *ſeduced by* Peters *diſſimulation at* Antioch. *The diſſenſion between him and* S. Paul. Barnabas *his journey to* Cyprus. *His voyage to* Rome, *and preaching the Chriſtian Faith there. His Martyrdom by the* Jews *in* Cyprus. *His Burial. His body when firſt diſcovered.* S. Matthews *Hebrew Goſpel found with it. The great priviledges hereupon conferred upon the See of* Salamis. *A deſcription of his perſon and temper. The Epiſtle anciently publiſhed under his name. The deſign of it. The practical part of it excellently managed under the two ways of Light and Darkneſs.*

I. THE proper, and (if I may ſo term it) original name of this *Apoſtle* (for with that title S. *Luke*, and after him the Ancients conſtantly honour him) was *Joſes*, by a ſofter termination familiar with the *Greeks* for *Joſeph*, and ſo the Kings, and ſeveral other Manuſcript Copies read it. It was the name given him at his Circumciſion, in honour no doubt of *Joſeph*, one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation, to which after his embracing Chriſtianity, the Apoſtles added that of *Barnabas*; *Joſes, who by the Apoſtles was ſirnamed Barnabas*, either implying him a *Son of Prophecy*, eminent for his prophetic gifts and endowments, or denoting him (what was a peculiar part of the Prophets Office) *a Son of Conſolation*; for his admirable dexterity in erecting troubled minds, and leading them on by the moſt mild and gentle methods of perſuaſion: though I rather conceive him ſo ſtiled for his generous charity in *refreſhing the bowels of the Saints*; eſpecially ſince the name ſeems to have been impoſed upon him upon that occaſion. He was born in *Cyprus*, a noted Iſland in the *Mediterranean* Sea, lying between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; a large and fertile Countrey, the Theatre anciently of no leſs then nine ſeveral Kingdoms, ſo fruitful and richly furniſhed with all things that can miniſter either to the neceſſity or pleaſure of mans life, that it was of old called *Macaria*, or *The Happy*; and the Hiſtorian reports, that *Portius Cato* having conquered this Iſland, brought hence, greater treaſures into the Exchequer at *Rome*, then had been done in any other triumph. But in nothing was it more happy, or upon any account more memorable in the Records of the Church, then that it was the Birth-place of our Apoſtle, whoſe Anceſtors in the troubleſome times of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or in the Conqueſt of *Judæa* by *Pompey* and the *Roman* Army, had fled over hither (as a place beſt ſecured from Violence and Invaſion) and ſetled here.

Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι ἀπὸ τ ἀρετῆς εἰληφέναι τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς πρὸς τοῦτο ἱκανὸς ὢν, καὶ ἐπιτηδ. Chryſoſt. Homil. XI. in Act. App. p. 529.

Vid. Notker. Martyr. ad III. *Id. Jun. ap. Caniſ. Antiq. Lect. Tom. 6.*

L. Flor. lib. 3. c. 9. p. 67.

II. He was deſcended of the *Tribe of Levi*, and the line of the Prieſthood, which rendred his Converſion to Chriſtianity the more remarkable, all intereſts concurring to leaven him with mighty prejudices againſt the

the Chriſtian Faith. But the grace of God delights many times to exert it ſelf againſt the ſtrongeſt oppoſition, and loves to conquer, where there is leaſt probability to overcome. His Parents were rich and pious, and finding him a beautiful and hopeful youth (ſays my [a] Author, deriving his intelligence concerning him, as he tells us, from *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and other ancient Writers) they ſent, or brought him to *Jeruſalem*, to be trained up in the knowledge of the Law, and to that end committed him to the tutorage of *Gamaliel*, the great Doctor of the Law, and moſt famous Maſter at that time in *Iſrael*, at whoſe Foot he was brought up together with S. *Paul*; which if ſo, might lay an early foundation of that intimate familiarity that was afterwards between them. Here he improved in learning and piety, frequenting the Temple, and devoutly exerciſing himſelf in Faſting and Prayer. We are further told, that being a frequent Spectator of our Saviours miracles, and among the reſt, of his curing the Paralitic at the Pool of *Bethesda*, he was ſoon convinced of his Divinity, and perſuaded to deliver up himſelf to his diſcipline and inſtitutions: and as the nature of true goodneſs is ever communicative, he preſently went and acquainted his Siſter *Mary* with the notice of the *Meſſia*, who haſtned to come to him, and importuned him to come home to her houſe, where our Lord afterwards (as the Church continued to do after his deceaſe) was wont to aſſemble with his Diſciples, and that her Son *Mark* was that *young man*, who bore the Pitcher of Water, whom our Lord commanded the two Diſciples to follow home, and there prepare for the celebration of the Paſsover.

[a] *Alexand. Monach. Encom. S. Barnab. inter vitas S. Metaph. extat. ap. ſur. ad Jun. XI. p. 170. vid. ib. n. 4, 5, 6.*

Ibid. n. VII.

Mark 14. 13.

III. BUT however that was, he doubtleſs continued with our Lord to the laſt, and after his Aſcenſion ſtood fair to be choſen one of the twelve, if it be true (what is generally taken for granted, though I think without any reaſon, [b] *Chryſoſtom* I am ſure enters his diſſent) that he is the ſame with *Joſeph* called *Barſabas*, who was put candidate with *Matthias* for the Apoſtolate in the room of *Judas*. However that he was one of the LXX. [c] *Clemens Alexandrinus* expreſly affirms, as others do after him. And when the neceſſities of the Church dayly increaſing, required more then ordinary ſupplies, he according to the free and noble ſpirit of thoſe Times, having Lands of good value, *ſold them and laid the money at the Apoſtles feet.* If it be enquired how a *Levite* came by Lands and Poſſeſſions, when the *Moſaick* Law allowed them no particular portions, but what were made by public proviſion, it needs no other anſwer then to ſuppoſe that this Eſtate was his Patrimonial Inheritance in *Cyprus*, where the Jewiſh Conſtitutions did not take place: and ſurely an Eſtate it was of very conſiderable value, and the parting with it a greater charity then ordinary, otherwiſe the ſacred Hiſtorian would not have made ſuch a particular remark concerning it.

[b] *Loc. ſupr. citat*

[c] *Strom. l. 2. p. 410. Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38. ex Clem. Hypot. l. 7. Chro. Alex. pag. 530.*

IV. THE Church being diſperſed up and down after S. *Stephens* Martyrdom, we have no certain account what became of him, in all probability he ſtaid with the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, where we find him not long after S. *Pauls* Converſion. For that fierce and active *Zealot* being miraculouſly taken off in the height of his rage and fury, and putting on now the innocent and inoffenſive temper of a Lamb, came after ſome little time to *Jeruſalem*, and addreſſed himſelf to the Church. But they not ſatisfied in the reality of his change, and fearing it might be nothing but a ſubtle artifice to betray them, univerſally ſhunned his company; and what wonder if the harmleſs Sheep fled at the ſight of the Wolf that had

had made ſuch havock of the Flock: till *Barnabas* preſuming probably upon his former acquaintance, entered into a more familiar converſe with him, introduced him to the Apoſtles, and declared to them the manner of his Converſion, and what ſignal evidences he had given of it at *Damaſcus* in his bold and reſolute Diſputations with the *Jews*.

V. *THERE is that ſcattereth, and yet increaſeth:* the diſperſion of the Church by *Sauls* Perſecution proved the means of a more plentiful harveſt, the Chriſtian Religion being hereby on all hands conveyed both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Among the reſt ſome *Cyprian* and *Cyrenean* Converts went to *Antioch*, where they preached the Goſpel with mighty ſucceſs; great numbers both of *Jews* and Proſelytes (wherewith that City did abound) heartily embracing the Chriſtian Faith. The news whereof coming to the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, they ſent down *Barnabas* to take an account of it, and to ſetle this new Plantation. Being come he rejoiced to ſee that Chriſtianity had made ſo fair a progreſs in that great City, earneſtly preſſing them cordially and conſtantly to perſevere in that excellent Religion which they had entertained; himſelf like a pious and a good man undergoing any labours and difficulties; which God was pleaſed to crown with anſwerable ſucceſs, the addition of multitudes of new Converts to the Faith. But the work was too great to be managed by a ſingle hand: to furniſh himſelf therefore with ſuitable aſſiſtance, he went to *Tarſus*, to enquire for S. *Paul* lately come thither. Him he brings back with him to *Antioch*, where both of them continued induſtriouſly miniſtring to the increaſe and eſtabliſhment of the Church for a whole year together; and then and there it was that the Diſciples of the Holy *Jeſus* had the honourable name of *Chriſtians* firſt ſolemnly fixed upon them.

Act. 11. 20.

VI. IT hapned about this time, or not long after, that a ſevere famine (foretold by *Agabus* a *Chriſtian Prophet* that came down to *Antioch*) preſſed upon the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and eſpecially *Judæa*, whereby the Chriſtians, whoſe eſtates were exhauſted by their continual contributions for the maintenance of the Poor, were reduced to great extremities. The Church of *Antioch* compaſſionating their miſerable caſe, agreed upon a liberal and charitable ſupply for their relief, which they intruſted with *Barnabas* and *Paul*, whom they ſent along with it to the Governours of the Churches, that they might diſpoſe it as neceſſity did require. This charitable Embaſſie the *Greek Rituals* no doubt reſpect, when in the Office at the Promotion of the *Magnus Oeconomus*, or High Steward of the Church (whoſe place it was to manage and diſpoſe the Churches Revenues) they make particular mention of *the Holy and moſt famous Barnabas the Apoſtle, and generous Martyr*. Having diſcharged their truſt, they returned back from *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch*, bringing along with them *John ſirnamed Mark*, the ſon of *Mary*, ſiſter to *Barnabas*, whoſe houſe was the ſanctuary, where the Church found both ſhelter for their perſons, and conveniency for the ſolemnities of their Worſhip.

Ritual. Græcor. in promot. Oeconom. p. 281.

Act. 12. 25.

VII. THE Church of *Antioch* being now ſufficiently provided of ſpiritual Guides, our two Apoſtles might be the better ſpared for the converſion of the Gentile World. As they were therefore engaged in the duties of Faſting and Prayer, and other public exerciſes of their Religion, the Spirit of God by ſome prophetic *afflatus* or revelation made to ſome of the Prophets there preſent, commanded that *Barnabas* and

Saul

Saul ſhould be ſet apart to that peculiar Miniſtry, to which God had deſigned them. Accordingly having faſted and prayed, *hands* were ſolemnly *laid* upon them; to denote their particular deſignation to that ſervice. Impoſition of hands had been a ceremony of ancient date. Even among the *Gentiles* they were wont to deſign perſons to public Functions and Offices by lifting up, or ſtretching out the hand, whereby they gave their Votes and Suffrages for thoſe imployments. But herein though they did χειροτονεῖν, *ſtretch forth*, they did not *lay on their hands*; which was the proper Ceremony in uſe, and of far greater ſtanding in the *Jewiſh* Church. When *Moſes* made choice of the *ſeventy Elders* to be his Co-adjutors in the Government, it was (ſay the *Jews*) by laying his hands upon them: and when he conſtituted *Joſhua* to be his Succeſſor, *he laid his hands on him, and gave him the charge before all the Congregation.* This cuſtom they conſtantly kept in appointing both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Officers, and that not onely while their Temple and Polity ſtood, but long after the fall of their Church and State. For ſo [a] *Benjamin* the *Jew* tells us, that in his time all the *Iſraelites* of the *Eaſt*, when they wanted a *Rabbin* or Teacher in their Synagogues, were wont to bring him to the ראש הגולה as they call him the Αἰχμαλωτάρχης, or *Head of the Captivity*, reſiding at *Babylon*, (at that time R. *Daniel* the ſon of *Haſdai*) that he might receive הסמיכה ורשות power by *impoſition of hands* to become Preacher to them. From the *Jews* it was together with ſome other Rites transferred into the Chriſtian Church, in ordaining Guides and Miniſters of Religion, and has been ſo uſed through all Ages and Periods to this day. Though the χειροθεσία and the χειροτονία are not of equal extent in the writings and practice of the Church; the one implying the bare Rite of laying on of hands, while the other denotes Ordination it ſelf, and the intire ſolemnity of the action. Whence the [b] *Apoſtolical Conſtitutor* ſpeaking of the *Presbyters* intereſt in this affair, ſays χειροθετεῖ ὁ χειροτονεῖ, he *lays* on his hands, but he does not *ordain*; meaning it of the Cuſtom then, and ever ſince, of Presbyters laying on their hands together with the Biſhop in that ſolemn action.

[a] *Itinerar. p.* 73.

[b] *Lib.* 8. *c.* 28. *col.* 494.

VIII. *BARNABAS* and *Paul* having thus received a divine Commiſſion for the Apoſtleſhip of the *Gentiles*, and taking *Mark* along with them as their Miniſter and attendant, immediately entered upon the Province. And firſt they betook themſelves to *Seleucia*, a neighbour City ſeated upon the influx of the River *Orontes* into the *Mediterranean* Sea: hence they ſet ſail for *Cyprus*, *Barnabas*'s Native Country, and arrived at *Salamis*, a City heretofore of great account, the ruines whereof are two miles diſtant from the preſent *Famaguſta*, where they undantedly preached in the *Jewiſh* Synagogues. From *Salamis* they travelled up the Iſland to *Paphos*, a City remarkable of old for the Worſhip of *Venus*, *Diva potens Cypri*, the tutelar Goddeſs of the Iſland, who was here worſhipped with the moſt wanton and immodeſt Rites, and had a famous Temple dedicated to her for that purpoſe, concerning which the Inhabitants have a Tradition that at S. *Barnabas* his Prayers it fell flat to the ground; and the ruines of an ancient Church are ſtill ſhewed to Travellers, and under it an Arch, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* were ſhut up in Priſon. At this place was the Court or Reſidence of the *Prætor*, or Preſident of the Iſland (not properly Ἀνθύπατος, the *Proconſul*, for *Cyprus* was not a *Proconſular* but a *Prætorian* Province) who being altogether guided by the counſels and ſorceries of *Bar-Jeſus*, an eminent Magician, ſtood off from

[c] *Cotovic. Itin. l.* 1. *c.* 16. *p.* 100.

from the Propoſals of Chriſtianity, till the *Magician* being ſtruck by S. *Paul* with immediate blindneſs for his malicious oppoſition of the Goſpel, this quickly determined the Governours belief, and brought him over a Convert to that Religion, which as it made the beſt offers, ſo he could not but ſee had the ſtrongeſt evidences to attend it.

Act. 13. 13. IX. LEAVING *Cyprus*, they ſailed over to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, famous for a Temple of *Diana*; here *Mark* weary it ſeems of this itinerant courſe of life, and the unavoidable dangers that attended it, took his leave and returned to *Jeruſalem*, which laid the foundation of an unhappy difference, that broke out between theſe two Apoſtles afterwards. The next place they came to was *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, where in the *Jewiſh* Synagogue S. *Paul* by an elegant Oration converted great numbers both of *Jews* and *Proſelytes*, but a perſecution being raiſed by others, they were forced to deſert the place. Thence they paſſed to *Iconium*, a noted City of *Lycaonia*, where in the Synagogues they preached a long time with good ſucceſs, till a conſpiracy being made againſt them, they withdrew to *Lyſtra*, the inhabitants whereof upon a miraculous cure done by S. *Paul*, treated them as *gods* come down from Heaven in humane ſhape; S. *Paul* as being principal Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the interpreter of the gods; *Barnabas* they looked upon as *Jupiter*, their ſoveraign deity, either becauſe of his Age, or (as [a] *Chryſoſtom* thinks) becauſe he was ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἀξιοπρεπὴς, for the gravity and comelineſs of his perſon, being (as antiquity repreſents him) a very goodly man, and of a venerable aſpect, wherein he had infinitely the advantage of S. *Paul*, who was of a very mean and contemptible preſence. But the malice of the *Jews* purſued them hither, and prevailed with the People to ſtone S. *Paul*, who preſently recovering, he and *Barnabas* went to *Derbe*, where when they had converted many to the Faith, they returned back to *Lyſtra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, and ſo through *Piſidia* to *Pamphylia*, thence from *Perga* to *Attalia*, confirming as they came back the Churches which they had planted at their firſt going out. At *Attalia* they took Ship, and ſailed to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the place whence they had firſt ſet out, where they gave the Church an account of the whole ſucceſs of their travels, and what way was made for the propagation of Chriſtianity in the *Gentile* World.

Barnabas
Jupiter

[a] *Homil.* XXX *in Act. App. p.* 361.

X. THE reſtleſs enemy of all goodneſs was vexed to ſee ſo fair and ſmooth a progreſs of the Goſpel, and therefore reſolved to attempt it by the old ſubtle arts of inteſtine diviſions and animoſities: what the *envious man* could not ſtifle by open violence, he ſought to choke by ſowing *tares*. Some zealous Converts coming down from *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch*, ſtarted this notion, which they aſſerted with all poſſible zeal and ſtiffneſs, that unleſs together with the Chriſtian Religion they joined the obſervance of the *Moſaic* Rites, there could be no hopes of ſalvation for them. *Paul* and *Barnabas* oppoſed themſelves againſt this heterodox opinion with all vigour and ſmartneſs, but not able to beat it down, were diſpatched by the Church to adviſe with the Apoſtles and Brethren at *Jeruſalem* about this matter. Whither they were no ſooner come, but they were kindly and courteouſly entertained, and the *right hand of fellowſhip* given them by the three great Apoſtles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, and an agreement made between them, that where-ever they came, they ſhould betake themſelves to the *Jews*, while *Paul* and *Barnabas* applied themſelves unto the *Gentiles*. And here probably it was

Act. 15. 1.

that

that *Mark* reconciled himſelf to his Uncle *Barnabas*, which, [a] one tells us, he did with tears and great importunity, earneſtly begging him to forgive his weakneſs and cowardice, and promiſing for the future a firmer conſtancy and more undanted reſolution. But they were eſpecially careful to mind the great affair they were ſent about, and accordingly opened the caſe in a public Council convened for that purpoſe. And *Peter* having firſt given his ſentence, that the *Gentile* Converts were under no ſuch obligation, *Paul* and *Barnabas* acquainted the Synod what great things God by their Miniſtry had wrought for the converſion of the *Gentiles*, a plain evidence that they were accepted by God without the *Moſaic* Rites and Ceremonies. The matter being decided by the Council, the determination was drawn up into the form of a Synodical Epiſtle, which was delivered to *Barnabas* and *Paul*, to whom the Council gave this *elogium* and character, that they were *men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, with whom they joyned two of their own, that they might carry it to the Churches. Being come to *Antioch* they delivered the Decrees of the Council, wherewith the Church was abundantly ſatisfied, and the controverſie for the preſent laid aſleep.

[a] *Alexand. Monach. ubi ſupr. n.* XV.

XI. IT was not long after this, that S. *Peter* came down to *Antioch*, who loth to exaſperate the zealous *Jews*, withdrew all converſe with the *Gentile* Converts, contrary to his former practice, and his late vote and ſuffrage in the Synod at *Jeruſalem*. The minds of the Gentiles were greatly diſturbed at this, and the Convert *Jews* tempted by his example, abſtain from all communion with the *Gentiles*; nay, ſo ſtrong was the temptation, that S. *Barnabas* himſelf was carried down the ſtream, and began now to ſcruple, whether it was lawful to hold communion with the *Gentiles*, with whom before he had ſo familiarly converſed, and been ſo eminently inſtrumental in their converſion to Chriſtianity. So prevalent an influence has the example of a great or a good man to determine others to what is good or bad. How careful ſhould we be what courſe we take, leſt we ſeduce and compel others to walk in our crooked paths, and load our ſelves with the guilt of thoſe that follow after us? S. *Paul* ſhortly after propounded to *Barnabas* that they might again viſit the Churches wherein they had lately planted the Chriſtian Faith: he liked the motion, but deſired his Couſin *Mark* might again go along with them, which S. *Paul* would by no means conſent to, having found by his cowardly deſerting them at *Pamphylia*, how unfit he was for ſuch a troubleſome and dangerous ſervice. This begat a ſharp conteſt, and ripened into almoſt an irreconcilable difference between theſe two holy men. Which as at once it ſhews, that the beſt are men *of like paſſions* and infirmities with others, ſubject to be tranſported with partiality, and carried off with the heats of an irregular paſſion, ſo it lets us ſee *how great a matter a little fire kindles*, and how inconſiderable an occaſion may miniſter to ſtrife and diviſion, and hazard the breach of the firmeſt charity and friendſhip. The iſſue was that the ὁ ζεῦγος ὁ ἱερὸν (as [b] *Theodoret* ſtiles theſe two Apoſtles) this *ſacred pair*, that had hitherto equally and unanimouſly drawn the Yoke of the Goſpel, now drew ſeveral ways, and in ſome diſcontent parted from each other; S. *Paul* taking *Silas* went to the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, while *Barnabas* accompanied with his Couſin *Mark* ſet ſail for *Cyprus*, his own Countrey.

Gal. 2. 11.

[b] *Comment. in Eſa.* II. *p.* 55. *Tom.* 2.

XII. THUS far the ſacred Hiſtorian has for the main gone before

us,

us, who here breaks off his accounts concerning him. What became of him afterwards we are left under great uncertainty. [a] *Dorotheus* and the [b] *Author* of the *Recognitions*, and ſome other Writings attributed to S. *Clemens*, makes him to have been at *Rome*, and one of the firſt that preached the Chriſtian Faith in that City; for which [c] *Baronius* falls foul upon them, not being willing that any ſhould be thought to have been there before S. *Peter*, though after him (and 'tis but good manners to let him go firſt) he is not unwilling to grant his being there. Leaving therefore the difference in point of time, let us ſee what we find there concerning him. At his firſt arrival there about Autumn he is ſaid thus publicly to have addreſſed himſelf to the People, [d] Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσατε. "O ye *Romans* give ear. The Son of God has appeared in "the Countrey of *Judæa*, promiſing eternal life to all that are willing "to embrace it, and to lead their lives according to the will of the Fa- "ther that ſent him. Wherefore change your courſe of life, and turn "from a worſe to a better ſtate, from things temporal to thoſe that are "eternal. Acknowledge that there is one onely God, who is in Hea- "ven, and whoſe world you unjuſtly poſſeſs before his righteous face. "But if you reform, and live according to his Laws, you ſhall be tran- "ſlated into another World, where you ſhall become immortal, and "enjoy the ineffable glories and happineſs of that ſtate. Whereas if "you perſiſt in your infidelity, your ſouls after the diſſolution of theſe "bodies, ſhall be caſt into a place of flames, where they ſhall be eter- "nally tormented under the anguiſh of an unprofitable and too late "Repentance. For the preſent life is to every one the onely ſpace "and ſeaſon of repentance. This was ſpoken with great plainneſs and ſimplicity, and without any artificial Schemes of Speech, and accordingly took with the attentive populacy: while the Philoſophers and more inquiſitive heads entertained the diſcourſe with ſcorn and laughter, (this indeed the [d] Author of the τὰ Κλημέντια, and the [e] *Epitome* Περιόδων, ſomewhat differently from the *Recognitions*, refers to his being at *Alexandria*) ſetting upon him with captious queſtions and ſyllogiſms, and ſophiſtical Arts of Reaſoning. But he taking no notice of their impertinent queſtions, went on in his plain diſcourſe, concluding that he had nakedly laid theſe things before them, and that it lay at their door whether they would reject or entertain them; that for his part he could not without prejudice to himſelf not declare them, nor they without infinite danger disbelieve them.

XIII. DEPARTING from *Rome*, he is by different Writers made to ſteer different courſes. The [f] *Greeks* tell us he went for *Alexandria*, and thence for *Judæa*: The [g] Writers of the *Roman* Church (with whom agrees [h] *Dorotheus* in this matter) that he preached the Goſpel in *Liguria*, and founded a Church at *Milain*, whereof he became the firſt Biſhop, propagating Chriſtianity in all thoſe parts. But however that was, probable it is that in the laſt periods of his life he returned unto *Cyprus*, where my [i] Author tells us, he converted many; till ſome *Jews* from *Syria* coming to *Salamis*, where he then was, enraged with fury ſet upon him as he was diſputing in the Synagogue, in a corner whereof they ſhut him up till night, when they brought him forth, and after infinite tortures, ſtoned him to death. He adds (and the faith of it muſt reſt upon the credit of the Relater, who [k] *Baronius* tells us, lived at the ſame time when his corps was firſt found out) that they threw

[a] *Doroth. Synopſ. Bibl. PP. Tom. 3. p. 148. col. 2.*
[b] *Recogn. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 400. edit. Paris. 1672. Clementin. Homil. 1. c. 7. p. 549. ib. Epit. de Geſt. B. Petri c. 7. ib. p. 752.*
[c] *Baron. ad Ann. 51. n. 52. 54. not. ad Martyr. Rom. p. 359.*
[d] *Clement. ib. c. 8, 9, 10.*
[e] *Epitom. c. 8. & ſeq.*
[f] *Clem. & Epitom. ibid. Alexand. Monach. loc. cit. n. 13, 14.*
[g] *Baron. ad An. 51. n. 54. Sanct. de præd. S. Jac. Tr. 3. c. 1. n. 9.*
[h] *Synopſ. in Bibl. PP. p. 148. t. 3.*
[i] *Alexand. ib. n. XVIII. & ſeq.*
[k] *Ad Ann. 485. n. 4. p. 428.*

threw his body into the fire with an intent to conſume it, but that the flames had not the leaſt power upon it, and that *Mark* his Kinſman privately buried it in a Cave not far diſtant from the City, his Friends reſenting the loſs with ſolemn lamentation. I omit the miracles reported to have been done at his Tomb: the remains of his body were diſcovered in the reign of [a] *Zeno* the Emperour ([b] *Nicephorus* by a miſtake makes it the XII. year of *Anaſtaſius*) *Ann.* CCCCLXXXV. dug up under a *Bean* or *Carob* Tree, and upon his Breſt was found S. *Matthews* Goſpel written with *Barnabas* his own hand, which *Anthemius* the Biſhop took along with him to *Conſtantinople*, where it was received by the Emperour with a mighty reverence, and laid up with great care and diligence. The Emperour as a teſtimony of his joy, honouring the Epiſcopal See of *Salamis* with this Prerogative, that it ſhould be *ſedes* αὐτοκέφαλος, independent upon any Foreign Juriſdiction, a Priviledge ratified by *Juſtinian* the Emperour, whoſe Wife *Theodora* was a *Cypriot*: The Emperour alſo greatly enriched the Biſhop at his return, commanding him to build a Church to S. *Barnabas* over the place of his interment, which was accordingly erected with more then ordinary ſtateline ſs and magnificence. 'Tis added in the [c] Story, that theſe remains were diſcovered by the notice of S. *Barnabas* himſelf, who three ſeveral times appeared to *Anthemius*; which I behold as a meer addition to the Story, deſigned onely to ſerve a preſent turn. For *Peter* ſirnamed the *Fuller*, then Patriarch of *Antioch*, challenged at this time a juriſdiction over the *Cyprian* Churches as ſubject to his See; this *Anthemius* would not agree to, but ſtiffly aſſerted his own rights, and how eaſie was it to take this occaſion of finding S. *Barnabas* his body, to add that of the appearances to him, to gain credit to the cauſe, and advance it with the Emperor? And accordingly it had its deſigned effect; and whoever reads the whole Story, and the circumſtances of the apparitions, as related by my Author, will ſee that they ſeem plainly calculated for ſuch a purpoſe.

[a] *Theod. Lect. H. Eccl. l. 2. p. 557. Alex. Mon. loc. cit. n.* XXXI.

[b] *Niceph. H. Ecc. l. 16. c. 37. p. 716. Tom. 2.*

[c] *Alex. ut ſupr. n.* XXIX, XXX.

XIV. FOR his outward form and ſhape, he is thus repreſented by the [d] Ancients. He was a man of a comely countenance, a grave and venerable aſpect, his eye-brows ſhort, his eye chearful and pleaſant, darting ſomething of majeſty, but nothing of ſowrneſs and auſterity, his ſpeech ſweet and obliging; his garb was mean, and ſuch as became a man of a mortified life, his gate compoſed and unaffected, grave and decent. This elegant ſtructure was but the lodging of a more noble tenant, a Soul richly furniſhed with divine graces and vertues, a profound humility, diffuſive charity, firm faith, an immoveable conſtancy, and an unconquerable patience, a mighty zeal, and an unwearied diligence in the propagating of Chriſtianity, and for the good of Souls. So entirely did he devote himſelf to an ambulatory courſe of life, ſo continually was he imployed in running up and down from place to place, that he could find little or no time to leave any Writings behind him for the benefit of the Church; at leaſt none that have certainly arrived to us. Indeed anciently there were ſome, and [e] *Tertullian* particularly, who ſuppoſed him to be the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, an opinion generally rejected and thrown out of doors: there is alſo an Epiſtle ſtill extant under his name of great antiquity frequently cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and his [f] Scholar *Origen* (to paſs by others) the latter of whom ſtiles it the [g] *Catholic Epiſtle of Barnabas*, but placed by [h] *Euſebius* among the τὰ νοθὰ,

[d] *Id. ibid. n.* XVIII.

[e] *De pudicit. c. 20. p. 582. vid. Philaſtr. de Hæreſ. c. 60.*

[f] *Contr. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 49.*

[g] *H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97.*

the Writings that were not genuine. The frame and contexture of it is intricate and obſcure, made up of uncouth Allegories, forced and improbable interpretations of Scripture, though the main deſign of it is to ſhew, that the Chriſtian Religion has ſuperſeded the Rites and Uſages of the *Moſaic* Law. The latter part of it contains an uſeful and excellent exhortation managed under the notion of two *ways*, the one of *light*, the other of darkneſs, the one under the conduct of the *Angels* of God (φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι, thoſe illuminating Miniſters, as he calls them,) the other under the guidance of the *Angels* of *Satan*, the Prince of the iniquity of the Age. Under the *way* of *light* he preſſes to moſt of the particular duties and inſtances of the Chriſtian and the Spiritual life, which are there with admirable accuracy and ſuccinctneſs reckoned up: Under that of *darkneſs* he repreſents thoſe particular ſins and vices, which we are to decline and ſhun; and I am confident the pious Reader will not think it time loſt, nor repent his pains to peruſe ſo ancient and uſeful a diſcourſe. Thus then he expreſſes himſelf.

Barnab. Epiſt. p. 248. *Edit. Voſſ.*

XV. THE *way of life* is this. Whoever travels towards the appointed place, will haſten by his works to attain to it. And the knowledge that is given us how to walk in this way is this: *Thou ſhalt love thy Creator. Thou ſhalt glorifie him who redeemed thee from death. Thou ſhalt be ſimple in heart, and being rich in ſpirit ſhalt not join thy ſelf to him that walks in the way of death. Thou ſhalt hate to do that which is diſpleaſing unto God. Thou ſhalt hate all manner of hypocriſie. Thou ſhalt not forſake the Commandments of the Lord. Exalt not thy ſelf, but be of an humble mind. Thou ſhalt not aſſume glory to thy ſelf. Neither ſhalt thou take evil counſel againſt thy neighbor. Thou ſhalt not add boldneſs to thy ſoul. Thou ſhalt not commit fornication, nor be guilty of adultery or buggery. Thou ſhalt not neglect Gods command in correcting other mens impurity, nor ſhalt thou have reſpect of perſons, when thou reproveſt any man for his faults. Thou ſhalt be meek and ſilent, and ſtand in awe of the words which thou heareſt. Thou ſhalt not remember evil againſt thy brother. Thou ſhalt not be of a double and inſtable mind, doubting whether thus or thus.* Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλάσαντά σε· τὸν φοβηθήσῃ τὸν ποιήσαντά σε. *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Thou ſhalt love thy neighbor above thy life. Thou ſhalt not deſtroy a child by abortion, nor make it away when it is born. Thou ſhalt not with-hold thy hand from thy ſon, or from thy daughter, but from their youth ſhalt teach them the fear of the Lord. Be not deſirous of thy neighbours goods, nor covet much. Neither ſhalt thou heartily join with the proud, but ſhalt be numbred with the juſt and the humble. Entertain trials and temptations when they happen to thee, as inſtruments of good. Thou ſhalt not be double minded, nor of a deceitful tongue, for a double tongue is the ſnare of death. Thou ſhalt be ſubject to the Lord, and to Maſters as Gods repreſentatives, in reverence and fear. Thou ſhalt not command thy Maid or Man-ſervant with bitterneſs and ſeverity, thoſe eſpecially that hope in God, leſt thou thy ſelf prove one that feareſt not him, who is over both: For he came not to call men according to outward appearance, but thoſe whom his Spirit did prepare. Thou ſhalt communicate to thy neighbour in all things, and ſhalt not call what thou haſt thine own: For if ye mutually partake in incorruptible things, how much more in things that are corruptible. Be not raſh with thy tongue, for the mouth is the ſnare of death. Keep thy ſoul as chaſt as thou canſt, ſtretch not forth thy hands to take, and ſhut them when thou ſhouldſt give. Love all thoſe that ſpeak to thee the word of the Lord, as the apple of thine eye. Remember the day of judgment night and day. Seek out daily the faces of holy men, and ſearching by the Word, go forth to exhort*

exhort, and by it ſtudy to ſave a ſoul. And with thy hands ſhalt thou labour for the redemption of thy ſins. Delay not to give, nor begrutch when thou art charitable. Give to every one that asks thee; and thou ſhalt know who is the good recompenſer of the reward. Thou ſhalt keep the things which thou haſt received, neither adding to them, nor taking from them. Thou ſhalt ever hate a wicked perſon. Judge righteouſly. Make no Schiſm. Make peace between thoſe that are at difference, reconciling them to each other. Confeſs thy ſins, and come not to prayer with an evil conſcience. This is the way of Light.

XVI. BUT now the *way of darkneſs* is crooked and full of curſes. For it is the way of eternal death attended with puniſhment; wherein are things deſtructive to their ſouls, *idolatry, audaciouſneſs, heighth of domination, hypocriſie, double-heartedneſs, adultery, murder, rapine, pride, tranſgreſſion, deceit, malice, arrogance, witchcraft, magic, covetouſneſs, want of the fear of God. Perſecuters of good men, haters of the truth, men who love but do not know the wages of righteouſneſs. Perſons that adhere not to what is good, nor who by righteous judgment regard the caſe of the Widow and the Orphan; watchful not for the fear of God, but for what is evil: great ſtrangers to meekneſs and patience. Lovers of vanity, greedy of revenge, who compaſſionate not the poor, nor endeavour to relieve the oppreſſed, prone to detraction, not knowing their Maker, murderers of children, defacers of Gods workmanſhip, ſuch as turn away themſelves from the needy, add affliction to the afflicted, plead for the rich, and unjuſtly judge the poor, ſinners altogether.* And having thus deſcribed theſe two different ways, he concludes his diſcourſe with a hearty and paſſionate exhortation, that ſince the time of rewards and puniſhments was drawing on, they would mind theſe things, as thoſe that were taught of God, ſearching after what God required of them, and ſetting themſelves to the practice of it, that they might be ſaved at the day of judgment. I have no more to remark concerning this excellent perſon, then to add the character given of him by a pen that could not err, *he was a good man, full of faith, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Act. 11. 24.

The End of S. BARNABAS's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. TIMOTHY THE APOSTLE and EVANGELIST.

S. TIMOTHEUS.

S. Timothies *Countrey and Kindred. His religious education. The great advantages of an early piety. Converted to Christianity by S.* Paul, *and made choice of to be his companion. Circumcised by S.* Paul, *and why.*

why. This no contradicting S. Pauls *doctrine concerning Circumcision. His travels with* S. Paul *for the propagation of the Faith. His return from* Thessalonica, *and* S. Pauls *two Epistles to that Church.* S. Timothy *consecrated Bishop of* Ephesus. *The consent of antiquity herein. Ordination in those times usually done by prophetic designation, and the reason of it.* Timothies *age enquired into. The importance of* νέος *and* νεότης *(let no man despise thy youth,) the words shewed to be used by the best Writers for a considerable Age.* S. Pauls *first and second Epistle to him, and the importance of them. The manners of the* Ephesians *noted. Their festival called* καταγώγιον. S. Timothies *martyrdom. The time of his death, place of his burial, and translation of his body. His weak and infirm constitution. His great abstinence, and admirable zeal.* S. Pauls *singular affection for him. Different from* Timotheus *in* S. Denys *the* Areopagite. *Another* Timothy, S. Pauls *Disciple, martyred under* Antoninus.

I. S*TIMOTHY* was, as we may probably conceive, a *Lycaonian*, born at *Lystra*, a noted City of that Province. He was a person in whom the *Jew*, the *Gentile*, and the *Christian* met altogether. His Father was by birth a *Greek*, by Religion a *Gentile*, or if a Proselyte, at most but גר תושב *a Proselyte of the Gate*, who did not oblige themselves to circumcision, and the rites of *Moses*, but onely to the observance of the *seven precepts of the sons of Noah:* his Mother *Eunice*, daughter to the devout and pious *Lois*, was a *Jewess*, who yet scrupled not to marry with this *Greek*. An argument that the partition wall now tottered, and was ready to fall, when *Jew* and *Gentile* began thus to match together. His Mother and Grandmother were Women very eminently vertuous and holy, and seem to have been amongst the first that were converted to the Christian Faith. Nor was it the least instance of their piety, the care they took of his education, instructing him in the knowledge of divine things, and seasoning his tender years with vertuous and sober principles, so that *from a child he was acquainted with the holy Scriptures*, whereby he was admirably prepared for the reception of Christianity, and furnished for the conduct of a strict pious life. And indeed Religion never thrives more kindly, then when 'tis planted betimes, and the foundations of it laid in an early piety. For the mind being then soft and tender, is easily capable of the best impressions, which by degrees insinuate themselves into it, and insensibly reconcile it to the difficulties of an holy life, so that what must necessarily be harsh and severe to a man that endeavours to rescue himself from an habitual course of sin, the other is unacquainted with, and goes on smoothly in a way that's become pleasant and delightful. None start with greater advantages, nor usually persevere with a more vigorous constancy, then they who *remember their Creator in the days of their youth*, and sacrifice the first fruits of their time to God and to Religion, before corrupt affections have clapt a bias upon their inclinations, and a train of vices depraved, and in great measure laid asleep the natural notions of good and evil.

Ὁρᾷς πῶς ἤρχετο ὁ νόμος καταλυέσθαι, τῶν ἐπιμίξεων τούτων γινομένων. Chrysost. Homil. 1. in 2 Tim. p. 1627.

2 Tim. 3. 15.

Πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα καλοκαγαθίας, τὸν νομίμου τυχεῖν παιδείας. Plut. de liber. educ. pag. 4.

II. PREPARED by so excellent a culture in the *Jewish* Religion, God was pleased to transplant him into a better soil. S. *Paul* in pursuance of his Commission to preach the Gospel to the *Gentiles* had come as far as

Antioch

Antioch in *Pisidia*, thence to *Iconium*, and so to *Lystra*, where the miraculous cure of an impotent Cripple made way for the entertainment of the Christian Doctrin. Among others there converted, we are [a] told were S. *Timothies* Parents, who courteously treated and entertained the Apostle at their house, who by resigning up their Son to his care and conduct. About two years after in his review of these late Plantations he came again to *Lystra*, where he made choice of *Timothy*, recommended to him by the universal testimony of the Christians thereabouts, as an *Evangelist*, to be his assistant and the companion of his travels, that he might have somebody always with him, with whom he could intrust matters of importance, and whom he might dispatch upon any extraordinary affair and exigence of the Church. Indeed *Timothy* was not circumcised, for this being a branch of the Paternal Authority, did not lie in his mothers power: this was notoriously known to all the *Jews*, and this S. *Paul* knew would be a mighty prejudice to his Ministry where ever he came. For the *Jews* being infinitely zealous for Circumcision, would not with any tolerable patience endure any man to preach to them, or so much as to converse with them, who was himself uncircumcised. That this obstacle therefore might be removed, he caused him to be circumcised, becoming in lawful matters *all things to all men, that he might gain the more.* Admirable (says [b] *Chrysostom*) the wisdom and prudence of S. *Paul*, who had this design in it, Περιέτεμεν, ἵνα τῆς Ἰουδαίων καθέλῃ, he circumcised him, that he might take away Circumcision, that is, be the more acceptable to the *Jews*, and by that means the more capable to undeceive them in their opinion of the necessity of those legal Rites. At other times we find him smartly contending against Circumcision as a justification of the *Mosaic* Institutions, and a virtual undermining the great ends of Christianity. Nor did he in this instance contradict his own Doctrin, or unwarrantably symbolize with the *Jews*; it being onely (as [c] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* observes concerning this passage) a prudent condescension to the present humour of the *Jews*, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, and make them wholly fly off, by a too sudden and violent rending them from the circumcision in the flesh, to bring them over to the circumcision of the heart. So that he who thus accommodates himself for the salvation of another, can no ways be charged with dissimulation and hypocrisie; seeing he does that purely for the advantage of others, which he would not do for any other reason, or upon account of the things themselves: this being τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ & φιλοθέῳ παιδευτῇ the part of a wise and kind Instructer, who is a true lover of God, and the souls of men.

[a] *S. Metaphr. de S. Timoth. ap. Sur. ad Jan. 24. n. 11. p. 411.*

Act. 16. 1, 2, 3.

[b] *Homil. XXXIV. in Act. App. p. 684.*

[c] *Stromat. lib. 7. pag. 730.*

III. S. *PAUL* thus fitted with a meet companion, forwards they set in their Evangelical Progress, and having passed through *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, came down to *Troas*, thence they set sail for *Samothracia*, and so to *Neapolis*, whence they passed to *Philippi*, the *Metropolis* of that part of *Macedonia*: where being evil intreated by the Magistrates and People, they departed to *Thessalonica*, whence the fury and malice of the *Jews* made them fly to *Beræa*. Here they met with people of a more generous and manly temper ready to embrace the Christian Doctrin, but yet not till they had first compared it with the predictions which the Prophets had made concerning the *Messiah*. But even here they could not escape the implacable spirit of the *Jews*, so that the Christians were forced privately to conduct S. *Paul* to *Athens*, while *Silas* and *Timothy*,

not

not ſo much the immediate objects of their ſpight and cruelty, ſtaid behind, to inſtruct and confirm the Converts of that place. Whether they came to him during his ſtay at *Athens*, is uncertain: S. *Luke* takes no farther notice of them, till their coming to him at *Corinth*, his next remove. Where at their firſt arrival (if it was not at *Athens*) S. *Paul* diſpatched away *Timothy* to *Theſſalonica*, to enquire into the ſtate of Chriſtianity in that City, and to confirm them in the belief and profeſſion of the Goſpel, for he ſeems to have had a more peculiar kindneſs for that Church, having ſince his laſt being there, more then once reſolved himſelf to go back to them, but that the great Enemy of Souls had ſtill thrown ſome rub in the way to hinder him.

1 Theſſ. 3. 1, 2, 3.

--2. v. 17, 18, 19.

IV. FROM *Theſſalonica* *Timothy* returned with the welcom news of their firmneſs and conſtancy notwithſtanding the perſecutions they endured, their mutual charity to each other, and particular affection to S. *Paul*; news, wherewith the good man was infinitely pleaſed: As certainly nothing can miniſter greater joy and ſatisfaction to a faithful Guide of Souls, then to behold the welfare and proſperity of his People. Nor did his care of them end here, but he preſently writes his firſt Epiſtle to them, to animate them under their ſufferings, and not to deſert the Chriſtian Religion, becauſe the Croſs did attend it, but rather to adorn their Chriſtian Profeſſion by a life anſwerable to the holy deſigns and precepts of it. In the front of this Epiſtle he inſerted not onely his own name, but alſo thoſe of *Silas* and *Timothy*, partly to reflect the greater honour upon his fellow-workers, partly that their united authority and conſent might have the ſtronger influence and force upon them. The like he did in a *ſecond* Epiſtle, which not long after he ſent to them, to ſupply the want of his perſonal preſence, whereof in his former he had given them ſome hopes, and which he himſelf ſeemed ſo paſſionately to deſire. Eighteen months at leaſt they had continued at *Corinth*, when S. *Paul* reſolved upon a journy to *Jeruſalem*, where he ſtaid not long, but went for *Antioch*, and having travelled over the Countries of *Galatia* and *Phrygia* to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity lately planted in thoſe parts, came to *Epheſus*, where though he met with great oppoſition, yet he preached with greater ſucceſs, and was ſo wholly ſwallowed up with the concerns of that City, that though he had reſolved himſelf to go into *Macedonia*, he was forced to ſend *Timothy* and *Eraſtus* in his ſtead, who having done their errand, returned to *Epheſus*, to aſſiſt him in promoting the affairs of Religion in that place.

1 Theſſ. 3. 6, 7, & ſeqq.

V. S. *PAUL* having for three years reſided at *Epheſus* and the parts about it, determined to take his leave, and depart for *Macedonia*. And now it was (as himſelf plainly intimates, and the Ancients generally conceive) that he conſtituted *Timothy* Biſhop and Governour of that Church; he was the *firſt Biſhop* (ſays [a] *Euſebius*) *of the Province* or Dioceſs *of Epheſus*; he did πρῶτος Ἐφέσου Ἐπισκοπῆσαι, ſays the [b] Author in *Photius*, *firſt act as Biſhop of Epheſus*, and in the Council of *Chalcedon* XXVII Biſhops are ſaid ſucceſſively to have ſitten in that Chair, whereof S. *Timothy* was the firſt. In the [d] *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* he is expreſly ſaid to have been ordained Biſhop of it by S. *Paul*, or as he in *Photius* expreſſeth it a little more after the mode of his time, *he was ordained and enthroned* (or inſtalled) *Biſhop of the Metropolis of the Epheſians by the great S. Paul. Epheſus* was a great and populous City, and the Civil Government of the *Proconſul*, who reſided there reached over the whole *Lydian* or *Proconſular*

1 Tim. 1. 3.

[a] *H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 4. p. 73.*
[b] *Martyr. Tim. ap. Phot. Cod. CCLIV. col. 1401.*
[c] *Conc. Chalced. Act. XI. Conc. Tom. 4. col. 609.*
[d] *Lib. 7. c. 47. col. 451.*

conſular Aſia. And ſuch in proportion the Ancients make the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of that Church, [a] S.*Chryſoſtom* affirming it to be plain and evident, that *Timothy* had the *Church*, or rather *the whole Nation* of *Aſia* committed to him; to him (ſays [b] *Theodoret*) divine S.*Paul* committed τὴν Ἀσίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, the care and the charge of *Aſia*; upon which account a little after [c] he calls him *the Apoſtle of the Aſians.* As for the manner of his Ordination, or rather deſignation to the miniſteries of Religion, it was by particular and extraordinary deſignation, God immediately teſtifying it to be his will and pleaſure; thence it is ſaid to have been done κατὰς προαγούσας προφητείας, *according to ſome preceding predictions concerning him*, and that he received it not onely by the *laying on of hands*, but *by propheſie*, that is, as [d] *Chryſoſtom* truly explains it, by the Holy Ghoſt; it being part of the Prophetic Office (as he adds, and eſpecially it was ſo at that time) not onely to fore-tell future events, but to declare things preſent, God extraordinarily manifeſting whom he would have ſet apart for that weighty Office. Thus *Paul* and *Barnabas* were ſeparated by the ſpecial dictate of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Governours of the *Epheſine* Churches that met at *Miletus*, it is ſaid, that *the Holy Ghoſt had made them Biſhops, or Over-ſeers of the Church.* And this way of election by way of prophetic revelation continued in uſe at leaſt during the Apoſtolic Age: [e] *Clemens* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, tells us that the Apoſtles preaching up and down Cities and Countries, conſtituted their firſt-fruits to be the Biſhops and Deacons of thoſe who ſhould believe, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, *making trial of them by the ſpirit:* and another [f] *Clemens* reports of S. *John*, that viſiting the neighbour Churches about *Epheſus*, he ordained Biſhops, and ſuch as were *ſignified*, or pointed out to him *by the ſpirit.*

VI. THIS extraordinary and miraculous way of chuſing Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtic Officers, beſides other advantages, begat a mighty reverence and veneration for the Governours of the Church, who were looked upon as God's choice, and as having the more immediate character of Heaven upon them. And eſpecially this way ſeemed more neceſſary for S. *Timothy* then others, to ſecure him from that contempt which his youth might otherwiſe have expoſed him to. For that he was but young at that time, is evident from S. *Pauls* counſel to him, ſo to demean himſelf, that *no man* might *deſpiſe his youth:* the Governours of the Church in thoſe days were Πρεσβύτεροι, in reſpect of their age as well as office, and indeed therefore ſtiled *Elders*, becauſe they uſually were perſons of a conſiderable age that were admitted into the Orders of the Church. This *Timothy* had not attained to. And yet the word νεότης, *youth*, admits a greater latitude then we in ordinary ſpeech confine it to. [g] *Cicero* tells us of himſelf, that he was *adoleſcentulus*, but a very youth when he pleaded *Roſcius*'s cauſe; and yet [h] *A. Gellius* proves him to have been at that time no leſs then XXVII years old. *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* is called [i] νεηνίσκος, *a youth*, at the time of his death, when yet he was above thirty. *Hiero* in [k] *Polybius* is ſtiled κομιδῇ νέος, *a very young man*, whom yet *Caſaubon* proves to have been XXXV years of Age; and the ſame Hiſtorian ſpeaking of *T. Flaminius* his making War upon *Philip* of *Macedon*, ſays he was νέος κομιδῇ, a very young man, for that he was not above thirty years old: it being (as *Caſaubon* obſerves) the cuſtom both of *Greek* and *Latine* Writers to extend the *juventus*, or youthful age from the thirtieth till the fortieth year of a mans

[a] *Homil.* XV. *in* 1 *Tim. p.* 1606.
[b] *Argum. in* 1 *ad Tim p.* 463
[c] *Com. in* 1 *Tim.* 3. *p.* 475. *T.* 3.
1 Tim. 1. 18.
1 Tim. 4. 14.
[d] *Homil.* V. *in* 1 *Tim. p.* 1545.
[e] *Epiſt. ad Corinth. pag.* 54.
[f] *Clem. Al. lib.* τὶς ὁ πλούσιος σωζόμενος. *ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl. l.* 3. *c.* 23. *p.* 92.
1 Tim. 4. 12.
[g] *In Orator. p.* 265. *Tom.* 1.
[h] *Noct. Attic. l.* 15. *c.* 28. *p.* 383.
[i] *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 14. *c.* 13. *p.* 480.
[k] *Hiſt. l.* 1. *p.* 11. *Edit.* 8. *ubi vid. Caſaub. Comment. p.* 129. *& ejuſd. exercit. ad Baron. Appar. n.* 99. *p.* 154.

life. To which we may add what *Grotius* obſerves, that νεότης anſwering to the Hebrew בחורה denotes the Military Age, all that civil and manly part of a mans life that is oppoſed to Old Age; ſo that *Timothies* youth, without any force or violence to the word, might very well conſiſt with his being at leaſt thirty, or five and thirty years of age, and he ſo ſtiled onely comparatively with reſpect to that weighty Function, which was wont to be conferred upon none but grave and aged men. But of this enough.

Annot. in loc.

Acts 20. 2, 3, &c.

VII. S. *TIMOTHY* thus fixed at *Epheſus*, did yet accompany S. *Paul* ſome part of his journey into *Greece*, at leaſt went to him thither upon ſome urgent affairs of the Church, and then returned to his charge. Not long after which S. *Paul* wrote his *firſt Epiſtle* to him, to encourage him in his duty, and direct him how to behave himſelf in that eminent Station wherein he had ſet him. And becauſe the ſucceſs of the Miniſtry does in a great meaſure depend upon the perſons imployed in it, he gives him more particular rules how to proceed in this matter, and how the perſons ought to be qualified, whom he admitted to that honourable and important Office, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ ⓜ ἱεραρχικὸν βίον ⓒ λόγον ἀναγκαίως διεξιὼν, as [a] *Nicephorus* ſpeaks, excellently repreſenting in that Epiſtle, as in a ſhort draught, the life and converſation of the ſacred Governours of the Church, deſcribing the tempers and manners of thoſe who are appointed to be the Guides and Miniſters of Religion. Well he knew alſo that crafty Teachers and falſe Apoſtles were creeping into the Church, whoſe principles and practices he remarks, warning him to beware of them, and to ſtand continually upon his guard againſt them. The holy man followed his inſtructions, and was no doubt faithful to his truſt, which he managed with all care and diligence. About ſix years after, S. *Paul* being then a Priſoner at *Rome*, wrote a *ſecond Epiſtle* to him (for that this Epiſtle was written at his firſt coming to *Rome*, we have ſhewed elſewhere [b]) to excite him to a mighty care and fidelity in his buſineſs, and in undermining the falſe and ſubtle inſinuations of Seducers. In it he orders *Timothy* to come to him with all ſpeed to *Rome*, who accordingly came, and joined with him in the ſeveral Epiſtles written thence to the *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon*, as his name in the front of thoſe Epiſtles does abundantly declare. During his ſtay at *Rome* he was upon ſome occaſion caſt into priſon, and thence releaſed and ſet at liberty about the time of S. *Pauls* enlargement, as he clearly intimates in the cloſe of his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*; after which he came back to *Epheſus*, nor is it probable that he any more removed from thence, till his tranſlation into Heaven. And here it was that he became acquainted with S. *John*, whoſe *Apoſtolical* Province mainly lay in *Aſia*, and the parts about *Epheſus*; and ſo the [b] *Acts* under the name of *Polycrates*, one of his ſucceſſors (doubtleſs of good antiquity, being thoſe mentioned and made uſe of by *Photius*) report, that he converſed with, and was an auditor of S. *John the Divine*, who lay in the boſom of our Lord.

[a] *H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 34. p. 189.*

[b] *Antiq. Apoſt.* Life of S. *Paul Sect. 7. n. 5.* 2 Tim. 4. 9.

Hebr. 13. 23, 24.

[c] *Ap. Bolland. Januar.* XXIV

VIII. THE *Epheſians* were a people of great looſeneſs and impiety, their manners were wanton and effeminate, prophane and prodigal: they baniſhed *Hermodorus* onely becauſe he was more ſober and thrifty then the reſt, enacting a Decree, *Let none of ours be thrifty.* They were ſtrangely bewitched with the ſtudy of *Magic* and the Arts of Sorcery and Divination; miſerably over-run with with Idolatry, eſpecially the Temple

Strab. Geogr. lib. 14.

Temple and Worſhip of *Diana*, for which they were famous through the whole World. Among their many Idolatrous Feſtivals they had one called [a] ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΙΟΝ, which was celebrated after this manner; Habiting themſelves in an antic dreſs, and covering their faces with ugly *Vizors*, that they might not be known, with Clubs in their hands, they carried Idols in a wild and a frantic manner up and down the more eminent places of the City, ſinging certain Songs and Verſes to them; and without any compaſſion or reſpect either to Age or Sex, ſetting upon all perſons that they met, they beat out their brains, glorying in it as a brave atchievement, and a great honour to their gods. This curſed and execrable cuſtom gave juſt offence to all pious and good men, eſpecially S. *Timothy*, whoſe ſpirit was grieved to ſee God ſo openly diſhonoured, humane nature ſunk into ſuch a deep degeneracy, and ſo arbitrarily tranſported to the moſt ſavage barbarities by the great murderer of ſouls. The good man oft endeavoured to reclaim them by lenitive and mild intreaties; but alas gentle Phyſic works little upon a ſtubborn conſtitution. When that would not do, out he comes to them into the midſt of the ſtreet upon one of theſe fatal ſolemnities, and reproves them with ſome neceſſary ſharpneſs and ſeverity. But cruelty and licentiouſneſs are too headſtrong to brook oppoſition: impatient of being controlled in their wild extravagancies, they fall upon him with their Clubs, beat and drag him up and down, and then leave him for dead, whom ſome Chriſtians finding yet to breath, took up, and lodged him without the Gate of the City, where the third day after he expired. He ſuffered martyrdom on the thirtieth day of the fourth moneth, according to the *Aſian* computation, or in the *Roman* account on the XXII of *January*, as the *Greek* Church celebrates his memory, or the XXIV, according to the *Latine*. It happened (as ſome will have it) in the time of *Nerva*, while others more probably refer it to the reign of *Domitian*, it being done before S. *John*'s return from his baniſhment in *Patmos*, which was about the beginning of *Nerva*'s reign. Being dead, the Chriſtians of *Epheſus* took his body, and decently interred it in a place called *Pion*, *Piron* (ſays [b] *Iſidore*, who adds that 'twas a Mountain) where it ſecurely reſted for ſome Ages, till [c] *Conſtantine* the *Great*, or as others, his ſon *Conſtantius* cauſed it to be tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, and laid up together with thoſe of S. *Andrew* and S. *Luke*, in the great Church erected by *Conſtantine* to the holy Apoſtles.

[a] *Martyr. Timoth. Apoſt. ap. Phot. Cod.* 254. *col.* 1401, 1404. *Com. de S. Timoth. S. Metaphr. apud Sur. ad Jan.* XXIV. *n.* 9, 10. *Fragment. vit. S. Timoth. Græce ap. P. Halloix in vit. Polycarp. p.* 558. *forſan ex Act. S. Timoth. à Polycrat. (uti aiunt) ſcriptis, quæ eadem habent, ap. Bolland. ad Januar.* XXIV. *p.* 566.

[b] *De Vit. & Obit. SS. c.* 86. *p.* 542.

[c] *Hieron. adv. Vigil. p.* 122. *Tom.* 2. *Niceph. Eccl. H. l.* 2. *c.* 43. *p.* 210. *Metaphr. ubi ſupr. n.* X.

IX. HE was a man of no very firm and healthful conſtitution, frequent diſtempers aſſaulting him, beſides the conſtant infirmities that hung upon him. Which S. *Chryſoſtom* conceives were in a great meaſure owing to his extraordinary temperance, and too frequent faſtings. An effectual courſe to ſubdue thoſe *youthful luſts* which S. *Paul* cautioned him to ſhun, there being no ſuch way to extinguiſh the fire, as to withdraw the fewel: he allowed himſelf no delicious Meats, no generous Wines; Bread and Water was his uſual Bill of Fare, till by exceſſive abſtinence, and the meaneſs and courſeneſs of his diet he had weakned his appetite, and rendred his ſtomach unfit to ſerve the

Τί δὲ τὸν ἀρετῆς ἴσον τὸν Τιμοθέου; οὕτως ὑπερεώρα τρυφῆς, καὶ κατεγέλα πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ὡς καὶ εἰς ἀσθενείαν ἐμπεσεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν σκληραγωγίας, καὶ ἐπιτεταμένης νηστείας. ὅτι γὰρ οὐ φύσει τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ νηστείας καὶ ὑδροποσίας τοῦ στομάχου κατέβαλε τὴν ἰσχύν. Chryſoſt. Homil. I. ad Pop. Antioch. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 5.

ends of nature. Inſomuch that S. *Paul* was forced to impoſe it as a kind of law upon him, that he ſhould *no longer drink water, but uſe a little wine for his ſtomachs ſake, and his often infirmities.* And yet in the midſt of this weak tottering carcaſe there dwelt a vigorous and ſprightly mind, a ſoul acted by a mighty zeal, and inſpired with a true love to God: he thought no difficulties great, no dangers formidable, that he might be ſerviceable to the purpoſes of Religion, and the intereſt of ſouls; he flew from place to place with a quicker ſpeed, and a more unwearied reſolution, then could have been expected from a ſtronger and a healthier perſon, now to *Epheſus*, then to *Corinth*, oft into *Macedonia*, then to *Italy*, croſſing Sea and Land, and ſurmounting a thouſand hazards and oppoſitions: in all which (as [a] *Chryſoſtoms* words are) the weakneſs of his body did not prejudice the divine Philoſophy of his mind; ſo ſtrangely active and powerful is Zeal for God, ſo nimbly does it wing the ſoul with the ſwifteſt flight. And certainly (as he adds) as a great and robuſt body is little better for its health, which has nothing but a dull and a heavy ſoul to inform it; ſo bodily weakneſs is no great impediment, where there is a quick and a generous mind to animate and enliven it.

1 Tim. 5. 23.

[a] *Loc. citat. pag.* 7.

X. THESE excellent Vertues infinitely endeared him to S. *Paul*, who ſeems to have had a very paſſionate kindneſs for him, never mentioning him without great tenderneſs, and titles of reverence and reſpect: ſometimes ſtyling him his *ſon*, his *brother*, his *fellow-labourer*, *Timotheus our brother, and Miniſter of God, and our fellow-labourer in the Goſpel of Chriſt*; ſometimes with additions of a particular affection and honourable regard, *Timothy, my dearly beloved ſon*; *Timotheus, who is my beloved ſon, and faithful in the Lord:* and to the Church at *Philippi* more expreſly, *I truſt to ſend Timotheus ſhortly to you, for I have no man like-minded* (ἰσόψυχον, equally dear to me as my ſelf) *who will naturally care for your ſtate: for all ſeek their own, not the things that are Jeſus Chriſts; but ye know the proof of him, that as a ſon with the father, he hath ſerved with me in the Goſpel.* And becauſe he knew that he was a young man, and of a temper eaſily capable of harſh and unkind impreſſions, he entered a particular caution on his behalf with the Church of *Corinth*, *If Timotheus come, ſee that he may be with you without fear, for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I alſo do: let no man therefore deſpiſe him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me.* Inſtances of a great care and tenderneſs, and which plainly ſuppoſe *Timothy* to have been an extraordinary perſon. His very calling him his *dearly beloved ſon*, [b] *Chryſoſtom* thinks a ſufficient argument of his Vertue. For ſuch affection not being founded in Nature, can flow from nothing but Vertue and Goodneſs, the lovely and eſſential ornaments of a divine and a holy ſoul. We love our children not onely becauſe witty, or handſom, kind and dutiful, but becauſe they are ours, and very often for no other reaſon; nor can we do otherwiſe, ſo long as we are ſubject to the Impreſſions and the Laws of Nature. Whereas true Goodneſs and Vertue have no other Arts but their own naked worth and beauty to recommend them, nor can by any other argument challenge regard and veneration from us.

1 Theſſ. 3. 2.

2 Tim. 1. 2.

Philip. 2. 19, 20, &c.

1 Cor. 16. 10, 11.

[b] *Homil.* 1. *in* 2 *Tim. p.* 1626.

XI. SOME diſpute there has been among the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, whether our S. *Timothy* was the ſame with him, to whom *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* dedicates the books ſaid to be written by him; and troops of arguments are muſtered on either ſide. But the foun-

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dation of the controverſie is quite taken away with us, who are ſufficiently aſſured, that thoſe Books were written ſome hundreds of years after S. *Denys* his head was laid in the duſt. However it may not be improper to remarque, that beſides ours, Biſhop of *Epheſus*, we are [a] told of another S. *Timothy*, Diſciple alſo to S. *Paul*, the ſon of *Pudens* and *Priſcilla*, who is ſaid to have lived unto a great Age, till the times of *Antoninus* the Emperour, and *Pius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and that he came over into *Britain*, converted and baptized *Lucius* King of this Iſland, the firſt King that ever embraced the Chriſtian Faith. *Pius* Biſhop of *Rome* in a [b] Letter to *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Vienna* (which though ſuſpected by moſt, is yet owned by [c] *Baronius*) reckons him among the *Presbyters* that had been educated by the *Apoſtles*, and had come to *Rome*, and tells us that he had ſuffered martyrdom: accordingly the [d] *Roman Martyrology* informs us, that he obtained the Crown of Martyrdom under *Antoninus* the Emperour. A Story which as I cannot confute, ſo I am not over-forward to believe, nor is it of moment enough to my purpoſe more particularly to enquire about it.

[a] *Pet. de Natal. Hiſt. SS. l. 1. 24. Naucler. Chron. vol. 2. gener. 6. confer. Adon. Martyr. ad* XII. *Kal. Jul. vid. uſſer. de primord. c. 3. p. 31.*
[b] *Concil. Tom. 1. col. 576.*
[c] *Bar. ad Ann. 166. n. 1. 2.*
[d] *Martyrol. Rom. ad Mart. 24. p. 190.*

The End of S. TIMOTHY's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. TITUS BISHOP of CRETE.

S. Titus.

His Country enquired into. The report of his noble extract. His education and converſion to Chriſtianity. His acquaintance with, and accompanying S. Paul *to the Synod at* Jeruſalem. *S.* Pauls *refuſing to circumciſe him, and why.*

His

*His attending S.*Paul *in his travels. Their arrival in* Crete. Titus *constituted by him Bishop of that Island. The testimonies of the Ancients to that purpose. The intimations of it in S.*Pauls *Epistle to him. S.*Pauls *censure of the People of* Crete, *justified by the account which Gentile Writers give of their evil manners. A short view of the Epistle it self. The directions concerning Ecclesiastic persons. His charge to exhort and convince gain-sayers.* Crete *abounding with Heretical Teachers.* Jewish Fables *and* Genealogies *what, and whence derived. The* Æones *and* συζυγίαι *of the ancient* Gnostics *borrowed from the* Θεογονίαι *of the Heathen Poets. This shewn by particular instances.* Titus *commanded to attend S.* Paul *at* Nicopolis. *His coming to him into* Macedonia. *His following S.*Paul *to* Rome, *and departure into* Dalmatia. *The Story of* Pliny *the Youngers being converted by him in* Crete, *censured. His age and death. The Church erected to his memory.*

I. THE ancient Writers of the Church make little mention of this holy man; who, and whence he was, is not known, but by uncertain probabilities. [a] S.*Chrysostom* conjectures him to have been born at *Corinth*, for no other reason, but because in some ancient Copies (as still is in several Manuscripts at this day) mention is made of S. *Pauls* going at *Corinth* into the house of one [*Titus*] named *Justus*, one that worshipped. The Writers of later Ages generally make him to be born in *Crete*, better known by the modern name of *Candia*, a noble Island (as the [b] *Historian* calls it, who adds that the onely cause of the *Romans* making War there, was a desire to conquer so brave a Countrey,) in the *Ægean* Sea, not more famous of old for being the birth-place of *Jupiter*, the Soveraign of the Heathen gods, and the *Dædalean* Labyrinth said to be in it, then of late for its having been so long the seat of War between the *Turkish* Emperour and the State of *Venice*. Antiquity has not certainly conveyed down to us any particular notice of his Parents, though, might we believe the account which some give, he was of no common extract, but of the Blood Royal, his pedigree being derived from no less then *Minos* King of *Crete*, whom the *Poets* make the son of *Jupiter*, and for the equity of his Laws, and the impartial justice of his Government, prefer him to be one of the three great Judges in the infernal Regions, whose place it is to determine mens future and eternal state; while Historians more truly affirm him to have been the son of *Xanthus* King of that Island, and that he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. But I pass by that.

[a] Homil. 1. in Tit. pag. 1693.

Act. 18. 7.

[b] Flor. H. Rom. l. 3. c. 7. p. 65.

Τῖτος ὁ μακάριος ἐκ Μυρῶν. [Legend. sine dubio Μίνωος.] τοῦ βασιλέως Κρήτης, προσγενὴς ὤν, ὥς φησι Ζηνᾶς ὁ νομικὸς, ὁ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγραψάμενος, οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος. Menæon Græc. Αὐγούστῳ κε΄. sub lit. μ 111.

II. BUT whatever his Parentage was, we are sure that he was a *Greek*, probably both by Nation and Religion. The *Greek* Church in their public Offices, give us this account of his younger years, and conversion to Christianity: that being sprung from noble Parents, his youth was consecrated to Learning and a generous Education. At twenty years old he heard a voice, which told him, he must depart thence, that he might save his soul, for that all his Learning else would be of little advantage to him. Not satisfied with the warning, he desired

ubi supr.

Τίτε, δεῖ σε ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ψυχήν σου σῶσαι, οὐ γὰρ ὀνήσει σε ἡ παιδεία αὕτη. Men. ib.

fired again to hear the voice. A year after he was again commanded in a Vision to peruse the Volume of the *Jewish* Law. He opened the Book, and cast his eye upon that of the Prophet, *Keep silence before me, O Islands, and let the people renew their strength: let them come near, let them speak: let us come near together to judgment*, &c. Whereupon his Uncle at that time *Proconsul* of *Crete*, having heard the fame of our Lords miracles in *Judæa*, sent him to *Jerusalem*, where he continued till Christs ascension, when he was converted by that famous Sermon of S. *Peters*, whereby he gained at once three thousand souls. I cannot secure the truth of this Story, though pretended to be derived out of the *Acts*, said to be written by *Zenas* the *Lawyer*, mentioned by S. *Paul*: an authority, I confess, which without better evidence, I dare not encourage the Reader to lay too much stress upon. Let us therefore come to somewhat more certain and unquestionable. Isa. XLI. 1.

III. BEING arrived in *Judæa*, or the parts thereabouts, and convinced of the truth and divinity of the Christian faith, he became S. *Pauls* Convert and Disciple, though when or where converted we find not. Likely it is, either that he followed S. *Paul* in the nature of a companion and attendant, or that he incorporated himself into the Church of *Antioch*: where when the famous controversie arose concerning Circumcision and the *Mosaic* Institutions, as equally necessary to be observed with the belief and practice of Christianity, they determined that *Paul* and *Barnabas, and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and Elders about this question*; nay, a very ancient [a] MS. adds, that when *Paul* earnestly persuaded them to continue in the Doctrine which they had been taught, those very *Jewish* Zelots who came down to *Antioch*, and had first started the scruple, did *themselves desire Paul and Barnabas and some others to go and consult with the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, and stand to their sentence and determination of the case*. In the number of those who were sent upon this Evangelical Embassy was our S. *Titus*, whom S. *Paul* (encouraged to this journey by a particular revelation) was willing to take along with him. No sooner were they come to *Jerusalem*, but Spies were at hand, some zealous *Jews* pretending themselves to be Christian Converts, insinuated themselves into S. *Pauls* company and acquaintance, narrowly observing what liberty he took in point of legal Rites, that thence they might pick an accusation against him. They charged him that he preached to, and conversed with the *Gentiles*, and that at this very time *Titus* an uncircumcised *Greek* was his intimate familiar; a scandal which there was no way to avoid, but by circumcising him, that so it might appear that he had no design to undermine the Rites and Customs of the Law. This S. *Paul* (who knew when to give ground, and when to maintain his station) would by no means consent to: he who at another time was content to circumcise *Timothy*, a *Jew* by the mothers side, that he might please the *Jews* to their edification, and have the fairer advantage to win upon them, refused here to circumcise *Titus* a *Gentile*, that he might not seem to betray the liberties of the Gospel, harden the *Jews* in their unreasonable and inveterate prejudices against the Heathens, and give just ground of scandal and discouragement to the *Gentiles*, and make them fly off to a greater distance from Christianity. Accordingly he resisted their importunity with an invincible resolution, and his practice herein was immediately justified by the decretory Sentence of the Council, summoned to determine this matter. Act 15. 1, 2.

[a] *Cod. Bezæ MS. ad Act.* 15. 2.

Gal. 1. 2, &c.

III. THE affair about which they were ſent being diſpatched in the *Synod*, he returned no doubt with S. *Paul* to *Antioch*, and thence accompanied him in his travels, till having gone over the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, they ſet ſail for *Crete*. For that period of time I conceive with [a] *Capellus* moſt probable for their going over to that Iſland, rather then with [b] *Baronius* and others to place it at S. *Pauls* coming out of *Macedonia* into *Greece*, which he ſuppoſes to have been by a Sea-voyage, paſſing by the *Cycladæ* Iſlands through the *Ægean* Sea, or with [c] *Grotius* to refer it till his Voyage to *Rome*, founding his conjecture upon a double miſtake, that S. *Paul* and his company put in and ſtaid at *Crete*, when 'tis onely ſaid that *they ſailed under it, and paſſed by it*, and that *Titus* was then in the company, whereof no footſteps or intimations appear in the Story. Sailing therefore from ſome Port in *Cilicia*, they arrived at *Crete*, where S. *Paul* induſtriouſly ſet himſelf to preach and propagate the Chriſtian Faith, delighting (as much as might be) to be the firſt meſſenger of the glad tidings of the Goſpel to all places where he came, not planting *in another mans line*, or building *of things made ready to his hand*. But becauſe the care of other Churches called upon him, and would not permit him to ſtay long enough here to ſee Chriſtianity brought to a due maturity and perfection, he conſtituted *Titus* Biſhop of that Iſland, that he might nouriſh that infant-Church, ſuperintend its growth and proſperity, and manage the Government and Adminiſtration of it. This the Ancients with one mouth declare, *He was the firſt Biſhop* (ſays [d] *Euſebius*) *of the Churches in Crete: the Apoſtle conſecrated him Biſhop of it*, ſo [e] S. *Ambroſe*; ſo [f] *Dorotheus*, and [g] *Sophronius*; he was (ſays [h] *Chryſoſtom*) an approved perſon, to whom ἡ νῆσος ὁλόκληρος, *the whole Iſland was intirely committed, that he might exerciſe power and juriſdiction over ſo many Biſhops:* he was by S. *Paul ordained Biſhop of Crete, though a very large Iſland, that he might ordain Biſhops under him*, ſays [i] *Theodoret* expreſly. To which might be added the teſtimonies of *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, and others, and the ſubſcription at the end of the Epiſtle to *Titus*, (which though not dictated by the ſame hand, is ancient however) where he is ſaid to have been *ordained the firſt Biſhop of the Church of the Cretians*. And [k] S. *Chryſoſtom* gives this as the reaſon, why of all his Diſciples and Followers S. *Paul* wrote Epiſtles to *Titus* and *Timothy*, and not to *Silas* or *Luke*, becauſe he had committed to them the care and government of Churches, while he reſerved the others as attendants and miniſters to go along with himſelf.

IV. NOR is this meerly the arbitrary ſenſe of Antiquity in the caſe, but ſeems evidently founded in S. *Pauls* own intimation, where he tells *Titus*, *For this cauſe left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhouldſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee*, that is, I conſtituted thee Governour of that Church, that thou mightſt diſpoſe and order the affairs of it according to the rules and directions which I then gave thee. *Ordain Elders*] he means Biſhops (ſays [l] *Chryſoſtom*) as elſewhere I have oft explained it. *Elders in every City*] he was not willing (as he adds) that the whole adminiſtration of ſo great an Iſland ſhould be managed by one, but that every *City* might have its proper Governour to inſpect and take care of it, that ſo the burden might be lighter by being laid upon many ſhoulders, and the people attended with the greater diligence. Indeed *Crete* was famous for number of Cities above any other Iſland in the World, thence ſtiled of old *Hecatompolis*, the Iſland of an *hundred Cities*. In ſhort, plain it is, that *Titus* had

[a] *Hiſtor. Apoſt. ad ann. Chriſt.* 46.
[b] *Ad ann.* 57. *n.* 212.
[c] *In Argum. Epiſt. ad Tit.* Act. 27. 7.
[d] *H. Eccl. l.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 78.
[e] *Præf. in Tit. p.* 419. *T.* 5.
[f] *Doroth. Synopſ. p.* 148.
[g] *Ap. Hier. de Script. in Tit.*
[h] *Homil.* 1. *in Tit. p.* 1692.
[i] *Argum. Epiſt. ad Tit. Tom.* 3.
[k] *Argum. in* 1 *ad Tim. p.* 1519.
Tit. 1. 5.
[l] *Homil.* 2. *in Tit. p.* 1700. *vid. etiam Theoph. & Oecumen. in loc.*

had power of Jurisdiction, Ordination, and Ecclesiastical Censures, above any other Pastors or Ministers in that Church conferred and derived upon him.

V. SEVERAL years S. *Titus* continued at his charge in *Crete*, when he received a summons from S. *Paul*, then ready to depart from *Ephesus*. The Apostle had desired *Apollos* to accompany *Timothy* and some others whom he had sent to *Corinth*, but he chusing rather to go for *Crete*, by him and *Zenas* he wrote an Epistle to *Titus*, to stir him up to be active and vigilant, and to teach him how to behave himself in that station wherein he had set him. And indeed he had need of all the counsels which S. *Paul* could give him, who had so loose and untoward a generation of men to deal with. For the Countrey it self was not more fruitful and plenteous then the manners of the people were debauched and vicious. S. *Paul* puts *Titus* in mind what a bad character one of their own Poets (who certainly knew them best) had given of them: Tit. 1.12.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

The Cretians are always Liars, Evil Beasts, Slow-bellies. This Verse [a] S. *Chrysostom* supposes the Apostle took from *Callimachus*, who makes use indeed of the first part of it, charging the *Cretians* to be like themselves, notorious *Liars*, in pretending that *Jupiter* was not onely born, but died among them, and that they had his Tomb with this Inscription, ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΖΑΝ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ, *Here lies Jupiter*, when as the deity is immortal: whereupon the good Father perplexes himself with many needless difficulties in reconciling it. Whereas in truth S. *Paul* borrowed it not from *Callimachus*, but *Epimenides*, a native of *Crete*, famous among the Ancients for his Raptures and Enthusiastic divinations, Θεοφιλὴς καὶ Σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα, τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τῃεστικὴν Σοφίαν, as [b] *Plutarch* says of him. From him *Callimachus* cites part of the Verse, and applies it to his particular purpose, while S. *Paul* quotes it intire from the Author himself. *This witness* (says he) *is true.* And indeed that herein he did not bely them, we have the concurrent testimonies of most Heathen Writers, who charge the same things upon them. So famous for lying, that Κρητίζειν and Κρητίζειν πρὸς Κρῆτα became proverbial, *to lie like a Cretian*, and *to cousen a cheat*, and nothing more obvious then *mendax Creta*. [c] *Polybius* tells us of them, that no where could be found more subtle and deceitful Wits, and generally more wicked and pernicious Counsels; that their Manners were so very sordid and covetous, that of all men in the World the *Cretians* were the only persons who accounted nothing base or dishonest, that was but gainful and advantagious. Besides they were idle and impatient of labour, gluttonous and intemperate, unwilling to take any pains farther then to *make provision for the flesh*; as the natural effect of ease, idleness, and plenty, they were wanton and lascivious, and prone to the vilest and basest sort of lust, περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ δαιμονίως ἐπιτόνωται, (as [d] *Athenæus* informs us) outragiously mad upon that sin that peculiarly derives its name from *Sodom*. And such being the case, what wonder if S. *Paul* bids *Titus* re-

[a] *Homil.* III. *in Tit. pag.* 1707.

[b] *In vit. Solon. pag.* 84.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήσαντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες· ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.
Callim. Hymn. εἰς τὴν Δία. p. 1. παροιμία ἐστὶ, τὸ κρητίζειν, ἐπὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι. Vet. Schol. ibi.

Κρητίζειν, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ ἑτέρα παροιμία, Κρητίζειν πρὸς Κρῆτας· ἐπειδὴ ψεῦσται, καὶ ἀπατεῶνες εἰσί. Suid. in voc. Κρητίζειν. Eadem Mich. Apostol. in eod. verb. Πλὴν ἴσθι μηδ' αὐτὸν ἐῤῥαψωδικέναι με ταῦτα τερατευόμενον κατὰ τοὺς Κρῆτας. Psell. de operat. Dæmon. p. 37.

[c] *Histor. l.* 6. *p.* 681. & *l.* 4. *p.* 386. *Edit. L. Batav.*

[d] *Deipnosoph. l.* 13. *pag.* 601.

prove them ſharply, ſeeing their corrupt and depraved manners would admit of the ſharpeſt lancets, and the moſt ſtinging corroſives he could apply to them.

VI. IN the Epiſtle it ſelf the main body of it conſiſts of rules and directions for the ſeveral ranks and relations of men: and becauſe Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical affairs are of all others moſt conſiderable, he firſt inſtructs him in the qualifications of thoſe whom he ſhould ſet apart to be Biſhops, and Guides of Souls, that they be holy and harmleſs, innocent and inoffenſive, ſuch as had not divorced and put away their firſt Wife that they might marry a ſecond, whoſe children were ſober and regular, and trained up in the Chriſtian Faith; that they be eaſie and treatable, meek and unpaſſionate, free from the love of Wine, and a deſire after riches by ſordid and covetous deſigns; that they be kind and hoſpitable, lovers of goodneſs and good men, modeſt and prudent, juſt and honeſt, ſtrict and temperate, firm and conſtant in owning and aſſerting the Doctrines of Chriſtianity that have been delivered to them, that being thoroughly furniſhed with this pure Evangelical Doctrine, they may be able both to perſuade and comfort others, and mightily to convince thoſe that reſiſt and oppoſe the truth. And certainly, it was not without great reaſon, that the Apoſtle required that the Guides and Governours of the Church ſhould be thus able to *convince gainſayers*. For whatever Authors report of *Crete*, that it bred no Serpents or venomous Creatures, yet certain it is that the poiſon of Errour and Hereſie had inſinuated it ſelf there together with the entertainment of Chriſtianity, there being *many unruly and vain talkers, eſpecially they of the Circumciſion*, who endeavoured *to corrupt* the Doctrine of the Goſpel with *Jewiſh Fables*, groundleſs and unwarrantable Traditions, myſtical and *Cabaliſtic* explications, and *fooliſh queſtions and genealogies*. For the *Jews*, borrowing their notions herein from the Schools of *Plato*, were fallen into a vein of deriving things from an imaginary *generation*, firſt *Binah* or Underſtanding, then *Achmoth* or *Cochmah* Wiſdom, and ſo till they came to *Malcah* the Kingdom, and *Schekinah* or the Divine Preſence. Much after the ſame rate as the Poets of old deduced the pedigrees of their gods, they had firſt their ſeveral Συσυγίαι their *conjunctions*, the coupling and mixing of things together, and thence proceeded their γενεαλογίαι their *genealogies* or *generations*; out of *Chaos* came *Erebus* and *the dark Night*, the conjunction of whom begot *Æther* and the *Day*, and thence [a] *Heſiod* proceeds to explain the whole Pagan *Theology* concerning the original of their gods.

Tit. 1. 10. Verſe 14. —— 3. 9.

[a] *Heſiod. Theogon. p. m. 466.*

VII. IN imitation of all which, and from a mixture of all together the *Valentinians*, *Baſilidians*, and the reſt of the *Gnoſtic* crew formed the ſenſleſs and unintelligible Schemes of their Πλήρωμα and XXX *Æones*, divided into three Claſſes of Conjunction; in the firſt were four couples, *Profundity* and *Silence*, *Mind* and *Truth*, the *Word* and *Life*, *Man* and the *Church*: in the ſecond five, *viz. Profound* and *Mixture*, *Ageratus* and *Union*, *&c.* in the third ſix, the *Paraclete* and *Faith*, *Patricos* and *Hope*, *&c.* Of all which if any deſire to know more, they may (if they can underſtand it) find enough in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*, to this purpoſe. The [b] laſt of whom not onely affirms expreſly that *Valentinus* and his Party introduced ἐθνόμυθον ποίησιν, the fabulous and Poetic fancies of the Heathens, but draws a particular parallel between *Heſiods Theogonia*, and their thirty *Æones* or *Ages*, conſiſting of

[b] *Hæreſ. XXXI p. 176. vid. Tertull. de Præſcript. Hæret. c. 7. p. 204.*

of fifteen Couples or Conjugations, Male and Female, which he shews exactly to agree both in the number, design, and order of them. For instance, *Valentinus* his Tribe begins thus;

Ampsiu	that is	Profundity
Auraan		Silence.
Bucua		Mind
Tharthuu		Truth.
Ubucua		Word
Thardeadie		Life.
Merexa		Man
Atarbarba		Church.
&c.		&c.

Καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα αἰώνων παρ' αὐτοῖς μυθοποιουμένη τεραγῳδία, καὶ ἡ κατὰ συζυγίαν πνευματικοῦ δῆθεν πληρώματος κενοφωνία, ὧν ἐάν τις συγκρίνων τῇ παρὰ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Στησιχόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς τῶν ἑλλήνων παράθῃ, εὕροι ἂν ἐκ παραλλήλου τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου γνώσεται ὡς οὐδὲν ἕτερον θαυμαστὸν οἱ τῶν θαυμάτων αἱρεσιάρχαι μυστηριωδῶς ἐπαγγέλλονται λέγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο, ἢ ἑλλήνων ἀπεμάξαντο τὴν ἐπίπλαστον ποιητικὴν ἕξιν τῆς ἐθνομύθου πλάνης καὶ διδασκαλίας, οὐδὲν ἀλλοιώσαντες, πλὴν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς παραπεποιημένης βαρβαρικῆς ὀνοματοποιΐας. Id. ibid.

All which was nothing but a trifling and fantastical imitation of *Hesiods* Progeny and generation of the gods, which being joined in conjugations succeeded in this order; *Chaos*, *Night*; *Erebus*, *Earth*; *Æther*, *Day*; *&c.* There being (as he observes) no difference between the one Scheme and the other, but onely the change and alteration of the names. This may suffice for a *Specimen* to shew whence this idle Generation borrowed their extravagant conceits, though there were that had set much what the like on foot before the time of *Valentinus*. By such dark and wild notions and principles the *false Apostles* both in *Crete* and elsewhere, sought to undermine the Christian Doctrin, mixing it also with principles of great looseness and liberty, that they might the easilier insinuate themselves into the affections of men, whereby they brought over numerous Proselytes to their Party, of whom *they made merchandise*, gaining sufficient advantage to themselves. So that 'twas absolutely necessary that these mens mouths should be stopped, and that they should not be suffered to go on under a shew of such lofty and sublime speculations, and a pretence of Christian liberty, to pervert men from the Christian Religion, and the plainness and simplicity of the Gospel. Having done with Ecclesiastics, he proceeds to give directions for persons of all Ages and Capacities, whether old or young, men or women, children or servants, and then of more public concernment, Rulers and People, and indeed how to deport our selves in the general carriage of our lives. In the close of the Epistle he wishes him to furnish *Zenas* and *Apollos*, the two Apostolical Messengers by whom this Letter was conveyed to him, with all things necessary for their return, commanding that he himself with all convenient speed should meet him at *Nicopolis* (though where that was is not certain, whether *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*, so called from *Augustus* his Victory there over *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, or rather *Nicopolis* in *Thrace*, upon the River *Nesus*, not far from the borders of *Macedonia*, whither S. *Paul* was now going, or some other City, whereof many in those parts of that name) where he had resolved to spend his Winter. And that by withdrawing

Tit. 1. 11.

drawing ſo uſeful and vigilant a Shepherd he might not ſeem to expoſe his Flock to the fury and the rage of the Wolves, he promiſes to ſend *Artemas* or *Tychicus* to ſupply his place during his abſence from them.

VIII. S. *PAUL* departing from *Epheſus* was come to *Troas*, where though he had a fair opportunity to preach the Goſpel offered to him, yet (as himſelf tells us) *he had no reſt in his ſpirit, becauſe he found not Titus his brother*, whom he impatiently expected to bring him an account of the ſtate of the Church of *Corinth*; whether *Titus* had been with him, and been ſent upon this errand, or had been commanded by him to take *Corinth* in his way from *Crete*, is not known. Not meeting him here, away he goes for *Macedonia*, where at length *Titus* arrived and comforted him under all his other ſorrows and difficulties, with the joyful news of the happy condition of the Church of *Corinth*, and how readily they had reformed thoſe miſcarriages, which in his former Epiſtle he had charged upon them, fully making good that great character which he had given of them to *Titus*, and whereof they gave no inconſiderable evidence in that kind and welcom entertainment which *Titus* found amongſt them. Soon after S. *Paul* having received the Collections of the *Macedonian* Churches for the indigent Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*, ſent back *Titus* and with him S. *Luke* to *Corinth*, to excite their charity, and prepare their contributions againſt his own arrival there, and by them he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to that Church.

2 Cor. 2. 12, 13.

2 Cor. 7. 5, 6, 7. & 13, 14, 15.

2 Cor. 8. 6, 15, 16.

IX. *TITUS* faithfully diſcharged his errand to the Church of *Corinth* and having diſpatched the ſervices for which he was ſent, returned, we may ſuppoſe, back to *Crete*. Nor do we hear any further news of him till S. *Pauls* impriſonment at *Rome*, whither he came (if my [a]Author ſay true) about two years after him, and continued with him till his martyrdom, whereat he was preſent, and together with S. *Luke* committed him to his Grave. An account, which I confeſs I am the leſs inclined to believe, becauſe aſſured by S. *Paul* himſelf, that before his death *Titus* had left him, and was gone into *Dalmatia*, a Province of *Illyricum*, to plant that fierce and warlike Nation with the Goſpel of Peace, taking it probably in his way in order to his return for *Crete*. And this is the laſt notice we find taken of him in the Holy Writings, nor do the Records of the Church henceforward furniſh us with any certain *Memoirs* or Remarques concerning him. Indeed were the Story which ſome tell us true, one thing alone were enough to make him memorable to poſterity, I mean his converting *Pliny* the *Younger*, that learned and eloquent man, *Proconſul* of *Bithynia*, and intimate Privy Counſellor to *Trajan* the Emperour. For ſo they tell us [b], that returning from his Province in *Bithynia*, he landed in *Crete*, where the Emperour had commanded him to erect a Temple to *Jupiter*: which was accordingly done, and no ſooner finiſhed, but S. *Titus* curſed it, and it immediately tumbled to the ground. The man, you may gueſs, was ſtrangely troubled, and came with tears to the Holy man, to requeſt his counſel, who adviſed him to begin it in the name of the God of the Chriſtians, and it would not fail to proſper. He did ſo, and having finiſhed it, was himſelf, together with his ſon baptized. Nay ſome to make the Story perfect, add, that he ſuffered martyrdom for the Faith at *Novocomum* a City of *Inſubria* in *Italy*, where he was born. The Reader I preſume will not expect I ſhould take pains to confute this Story, ſufficiently improbable in it ſelf, and which I behold as juſt of the ſame Metal, and coined in the

[a] *Pet. de Natal. Hiſt. SS. lib. 7. c. 108.*

2 Tim. 4. 10.

[b] *Pet. de Natal. loc. cit. ex Act. S. Titi à Zena (uti fertur) ſcript. Fl. Pſeudo-Dext. Chron. ad Ann.* CCXX.

ſame

ſame Mint with that of his Maſter *Trajans* ſoul being delivered out of Hell by the prayers of S.*Gregory* the *Great*, ſo gravely told, ſo ſeriouſly believed by many, not in the *Greek* Church onely, but in the Church of *Rome*: nay, which the whole *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, (if we may believe [a] *Damaſcen*) held to be γνήσιον & ἀδιάβλητον, true and uncontrollable.

[a] *Damaſcen. Serm. περὶ τῆς ἐν πτ. κοιμ.*

X. S. *TITUS* lived, as the Ancients tell us, to a great age, dying about the ninety fourth year of his life. He died in peace (ſays [b] *Sophronius* and [c] *Iſidore*) and lies buried in *Crete*: the [d] *Roman Martyrology* adds, that he was buried in that very Church, wherein S. *Paul* ordained him Biſhop of that Iſland. I underſtand him where a Church was afterwards built, it not being likely there ſhould be any at that time. At *Candia*, the *Metropolis* of the Iſland, there is, or lately was, an ancient and beautiful [e] Church dedicated to S. *Titus*, wherein under the high Altar his remains are ſaid to be honourably laid up, and are both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* held in great veneration. Though what is become of them ſince that famous City lately fell into the hands of the *Turk*, that great Scourge of Chriſtendom, is to me unknown. His *Feſtival* is celebrated in the *Weſtern* Church on the IV day of *January*, in the *Greek* Church *Auguſt* the XXV, and among the Chriſtians in *Ægypt* (as appears by the *Arabic Calendar* publiſhed by [f] Mr. *Selden*) the XXII of the Moneth *Barmahath*, anſwering to our *March* the XVIII, is conſecrated to his memory.

[b] *Ap. Hieron. de Script. in Tito.*
[c] *De vit. & ob. SS. c. 87. p. 542.*
[d] *Ad diem.* IV *Jan. p.* 16.
[e] *Cotovic. Itin. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 60.*
[f] *De Synedr. Tom. 3. c. 15. p. 396.*

The End of S. TITUS's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

S. DIONYSIVS AREOPAGITA.

Dionyſius *born at* Athens. *The quality of his Parents. His Domeſtic ſtudies. His foreign Travels.* Egypt *frequented as the ſtaple place of all recondite Learning. His reſidence at* Heliopolis. *The ſtrange and miraculous*

raculous Eclipſe at our Saviours Paſſion. Dionyſius *his remarques upon it. His return to* Athens, *and being made one of the Judges of the* Areopagus. *The nature of this Court : the number and quality of its Judges. S.* Paul *arraigned before it : his diſcourſe, and its ſucceſs.* Dionyſius *his converſion. His further inſtruction by* Hierotheus. Hierotheus, *who.* Dionyſius *conſtituted Biſhop of* Athens. *A brief account of his Story according to thoſe that confound him with* Dionyſius *Biſhop of* Paris. *Theſe ſhewn to be diſtinct. The Original and procedure of the miſtake enquired into. A probable account given of it.* Dionyſius *his Martyrdom at* Athens, *and the time of it. A fabulous miracle reported of his Scull. The deſcription of his perſon, and the hyperbolical commendations which the* Greeks *give of him. The Books aſcribed to him. Theſe none of his.* Apollinaris (*probably*) *ſhewed to be the Author of them. Several paſſages of the Ancients noted to that purpoſe. Books why oft publiſhed under other mens names. Theſe Books the Fountain of Enthuſiaſm and myſtical Theology. A paſſage in them inſtanced in to that purpoſe.*

I. DIONYSIUS was born at *Athens*, the Eye of *Greece*, and Fountain of Learning and Humanity, the only place that without competition had for ſo many Ages maintained an uncontrolled reputation for Arts and Sciences, and to which there was an univerſal confluence of perſons from all parts of the World to accompliſh themſeves in the more polite and uſeful Studies. Though we find nothing particularly concerning his Parents, yet we may ſafely conclude them to have been perſons of a noble quality, at leaſt of a better rank than ordinary, ſeeing none were admitted to be *Areopagite* Judges (as [a] one who knew very well informs us) Πλὴν οἱ κλεινῶς γεγονότες, & πολλῇ ἀρετῇ & σωφροσύνῃ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐνδεδειγμένοι, unleſs they were nobly born, and eminently exemplary for a vertuous and a ſober life. Being born in the very midſt of Arts and Civility, his education could not but be learned and ingenuous, eſpecially conſidering the advantages of his birth and fortunes. Accordingly he was [b] inſtructed in all the learned Sciences of *Greece*, wherein he made ſuch vaſt improvements, that he eaſily out-ſtript any of his time: ſcarce any Sect or Inſtitution in Philoſophy then in vogue, which he had not conſidered and made trial of: it does not indeed appear to which of them he particularly devoted and applied himſelf; and they who ſuppoſe him to have addicted himſelf to the School of *Plato*, do it, I conceive for no other reaſon, then becauſe the Doctrin contained in the Books that bear his name, ſeems ſo neer of kin to the principles of that noble Sect.

[a] *Iſocr. Orat. Areopag. p. 147. vid. Maxim. Prolog. Oper. S. Dionyſ. Pref. pag. 34.*

[b] *Suid. in voc.* Διονύσ. *p. 744.*

II. BUT it was not an homebred Inſtitution, or all the advantages which *Athens* could afford, that could fill the vaſt capacities of his mind, which he therefore reſolved to poliſh and improve by foreign Travels. Being in the prime and vigour of his Youth, about the age of XXV [c] years, he took with him one *Apollophanes* a *Rhetorician*, his fellow-ſtudent, and (if [d] *Syncellus* ſay true) his Kinſman, who was afterwards at *Smyrna*, Maſter to *Polemon* the *Laodiccan*, as he was to *Ariſtides* the famous Philoſopher and Apologiſt for the Chriſtians. Thus furniſhed with a ſuitable Companion, he is ſaid to have gone for *Egypt*, to converſe with

[c] *Suid. ubi ſupr. Maxim. Pachym. Syncel. aliique plures.*

[d] *Encom. S. Dionyſ. p. 349. Tom. I*

with their Philoſophers and Wiſe Men, that he might perfect himſelf in the Study of the *Mathematics*, and the more myſterious and recondite parts of Learning. *Egypt* had in all Ages been looked upon as the prime School not onely of Aſtrology, but of the more abſtruſe and uncommon ſpeculations of Theology; and the great Maſters of Wiſdom and Divinity among the *Gentiles* never thought they had gained enough, till they had crowned their Studies by converſing with the *Egyptian* Sages. Hence it was frequented by *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Solon*, *Thales*, by *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and whom not? nay of *Pythagoras* [a] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reports that he ſuffered himſelf to be circumciſed, that ſo he might be admitted εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα, to the concealed Rites and Notions of their Religion, and be acquainted with their ſecret and myſtical Philoſophy. The place he fixed at was *Heliopolis*, a City between *Coptus* and *Alexandria*, where the *Egyptian* Prieſts for the moſt reſided, as a place admirably advantagious for the contemplation of the Heavenly bodies, and the Study of Philoſophy and Aſtronomy; and where [b] *Strabo* (who lived much about this time) tells us he was ſhewed the habitations of the Prieſts, and the apartments of *Plato* and *Eudoxus*, who lived here thirteen years; nay, a very ancient [c] Hiſtorian aſſures us, that *Abraham* himſelf lived here, and taught the *Egyptian* Prieſts Aſtronomy, and other parts of Learning.

[a] *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 302.*

[b] *Geograph. lib. 17. p. 806.*

[c] *Alexand. Polyhiſt. Hiſt. de Judæis ap. Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. p. 419.*

III. *DIONYSIUS* no doubt plied his Studies in this place, during whoſe ſtay there, one memorable accident is reported. The Son of God about this time was delivered up at *Jeruſalem* to an acute and ſhameful death by the hands of Violence and Injuſtice; when the Sun, as if aſhamed to behold ſo great a wickedneſs, hid his head, and put on mourning to wait upon the Funerals of its Maker. This *Eclipſe* was contrary to all the known Rules and Laws of Nature, it hapning in a Full Moon, when the Moon is in its greateſt diſtance from the Sun, and conſequently not liable to a conjunction with him, the Moon moving it ſelf under the Sun from its *Oriental* to its *Occidental* point, and thence back by a retrograde motion, cauſing a ſtrange defection of light for three hours together. That there was ſuch a wonderful and preternatural *darkneſs over all the Earth* for three hours at the time of our Saviours ſuffering, whereby the Sun was darkned, is unanimouſly atteſted by the Evangelical Hiſtorians; and not by them onely, but [d] *Phlegon Trallianus* ſometimes ſervant to the Emperour *Trajan*, ſpeaks of an *Eclipſe* of the Sun that hapned about that time, Μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, the greateſt of any that had been ever known, whereby the day was turned into night, and the Stars appeared at noon-day, an Earthquake alſo accompanying it, whereby many houſes at *Nice* in *Bithynia* were overturned. *Apollophanes* beholding this ſtrange Eclipſe, cried out to *Dionyſius* that theſe were changes and revolutions of ſome great affairs, to whom the other replied, that *either God ſuffered, or at leaſt ſympathized and bore part with him that did.* I confeſs theſe paſſages are not to be found in the moſt ancient Writers of the Church: but that ought to be no juſt exception, when we conſider what little care was then taken to conſign things to writing, and how great a part of thoſe few ancient Records that were written were quickly loſt, whereof *Euſebius* ſufficiently complains; not to ſay, that a great many writings might, and did eſcape his notice; and [e] *Maximus*, I remember, anſwering the objection, that the Books aſcribed to S. *Denys* are not mentioned by *Euſebius*, tells us, that him-

[d] *Chronic. lib. 13. apud Euſeb. Chron. ad Ann. Chr.* XXXII. *vid. Græca* ET. AT. *p. 202. vid. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. 2. p. 80. & Chron. Alexandr. ad Ann. Tiber.* XVIII. *Indict.* 4. *Olympiad.* CCII. 4. *p. 520.*

[e] *Prolog. ante oper. S. Dionyſ. p. 36.*

himſelf had met with ſeveral pieces of the Ancients, of which not the leaſt footſtep in *Euſebius*. But however that be, it concludes not againſt the matter of fact, many things though never entered upon Record, being as to the ſubſtance of them, preſerved by conſtant Tradition and Report. I deny not but that the ſeveral Authors who report this paſſage, might immediately derive it out of the Epiſtles ſaid to be written to S. *Polycarp* and *Apollophanes*. But then cannot ſuppoſe that the Author of theſe Epiſtles did purely feign the matter of fact of his own head, but rather delivered what Tradition had conveyed down to his time. Indeed that which would more ſhrewdly ſhake the foundation of the Story, if it be true, is what [a] *Origen* ſuppoſes, that this *darkneſs that was over all the Earth*, and the Earthquake that attended our Lords Paſſion, extended no farther then *Judæa*, as ſome of the Prodigies no farther then *Jeruſalem*. But to what degrees of truth or probability that opinion may approve it ſelf, I leave to others to enquire.

[a] *Tract. XXXV. in Matth. fol. m. 89. col. 1.*

IV. *DIONYSIUS* having finiſhed his Studies at *Heliopolis*, returned to *Athens*, incomparably fitted to ſerve his Countrey, and accordingly was advanced to be one of the Judges of the *Areopagus*, a place of great honour and renown. The *Areopagus* was a famous Senate-houſe built upon a Hill in *Athens*, wherein aſſembled their great Court of Juſtice, περὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δικαστηρίων τιμιώτατον & ἀγιώτατον, as [b] one calls it, the moſt ſacred and venerable *Tribunal* in all *Greece*. Under their cognizance came all the greater and more capital Cauſes, and eſpecially matters of Religion, blaſphemy againſt the gods, and contempt of the holy myſteries; and therefore S. *Paul* was arraigned before this Court, as *a ſetter forth of ſtrange gods*, when *he preached to them* concerning *Jeſus* and *Anaſtaſis*, or the *Reſurrection*. None might be of this Council but perſons of birth and quality, wiſe and prudent men, and of very ſtrict and ſevere manners, and ſo great an awe and reverence did this ſolemn and grave Aſſembly ſtrike into thoſe that ſate in it, that [c] *Iſocrates* tells us, that in his time, when they were ſomewhat degenerated from their ancient Vertue, however otherwiſe men were irregular and exorbitant, yet once choſen into this Senate, they preſently ceaſed from their vicious inclinations, and choſe rather to conform to the Laws and Manners of that Court, ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐμμένειν, then to continue in their wild and debauch'd courſe of life. They were exactly upright and impartial in their proceedings, and heard cauſes at night, or in the dark, that the perſon of the Plaintiff or the Pleader might have no undue influence upon them. Their ſentence was decretory and final, and from their determination lay no appeal. Their number was uncertain, by ſome reſtrained to nine, by others enlarged to thirty one, by others to fifty one, and to more by ſome. Indeed the *Novemviri*, who were the *Baſileus* or King, the *Archon*, the *Polemarchus*, and the ſix *Theſmothetæ*, were the conſtant Seminary and Nurſery of this great Aſſembly, who having diſcharged their ſeveral Offices, annually paſſed into the *Areopagus*, and therefore when *Socrates* was condemned by this [d] Court, we find no leſs then two hundred fourſcore and one, giving their Votes againſt him, beſides thoſe whoſe *White Stones* were for his abſolution: and in an ancient Inſcription upon a Column in the *Acropolis* at *Athens*, erected to the memory of *Rufus Feſtus*, *Proconſul* of *Greece*, and one of theſe Judges, mention is made of the *Areopagite Senate of three hundred*.

[b] *Ariſtid. Tom. 1. p. 331.*

[c] *Loco ſupr. laudat.*

[d] *D. Laert. l. 2. in vit. Socrat. p. 115.*

---Η ΕΞ ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ--- *Cætera vid. apud R. Volaterran. Comment. Urban. l. 8. col. 318.*

V. IN

V. IN this grave and venerable judicature ſate our S. *Denys*, when S. *Paul* about the year XLIX or L, came to *Athens*, where he reſolutely aſſerted the cauſe of Chriſtianity againſt the attempts of the *Stoic* and *Epicurean* Philoſophers, who mainly appeared againſt it. The *Athenians*, who were infinitely curious and ſuperſtitious in matters of Religion, not knowing what to make of this new and ſtrange Doctrin that he taught, preſently brought him before the *Areopagite*-Senate, to whom the proper cognizance of ſuch cauſes did belong. Here in a neat and eloquent diſcourſe, delivered not with greater freedom of mind, then ſtrength of reaſon, he plainly demonſtrated the folly and abſurdity of thoſe many vain deities, whom they blindly worſhipped, explained to them that infinite Being that made and governed the World, and what indiſpenſable obligations he had laid upon all Mankind to worſhip and adore him, and how much he had enforced all former engagements to gratitude and obedience, to repentance and reformation by this laſt and beſt diſpenſation, by ſending his Son to publiſh ſo excellent a Religion to the World. His diſcourſe however entertained by ſome with ſcorn and laughter, and gravely put off by others, yet wanted not a happy influence upon many, whom it convinced of the reaſonableneſs and divinity of the Chriſtian Faith: among whom was our *Dionyſius*, one of the Judges that ſate upon him, and *Damaris* his *wife* (for ſo [a] S. *Chryſoſtom* and others make her) and probably his whole houſe. An [b] Author (I confeſs I know not by what Authority) relates a particular diſpute between *Dionyſius* and S. *Paul* concerning the *Unknown God*, who as God-man was to appear in the latter Ages to reform the World; this the Apoſtle ſhewed to be the Holy *Jeſus*, lately come down from Heaven, and ſo ſatisfied S. *Denys* that he prayed him to intercede with Heaven, that he might be fully confirmed in this belief. The next day S. *Paul* having reſtored ſight to one that was born blind, charged him to go to *Dionyſius*, and by that token claim his promiſe to be his Convert; who being amazed at this ſight, readily renounced his Idolatry, and was with his houſe baptized into the Faith of Chriſt. But I know the credit of my Author too well to lay any great ſtreſs upon this relation, and the rather becauſe I find that *Baronius* himſelf is not willing to venture his Faith upon it. To which I might add [c] S. *Chryſoſtoms* obſervation, that the *Areopagite* was converted ἀπὸ δημιουργίας μόνης, onely by S. *Pauls* diſcourſe, there being no miracle that we know of, that might promote and further it.

[a] *De ſacerdot. l.4.c.7.p.67. T. 4. Ambroſ. Epiſt. 82. p.198. Tom. 3.*

[b] *Hild. in paſſio. S. Dionyſ. n.6,7, 8. ap. Sur. Octob. IX. p.122.*

[c] *Loc. ſupr. citat.*

VI. BEING baptized, he was, we are [d] told, committed to the care and tutorage of S. *Hierotheus*, to be by him further inſtructed in the Faith, a perſon not ſo much as mentioned by any of the Ancients, which creates with me a vehement ſuſpicion, that it is onely a feigned name, and that no ſuch perſon ever really was in the World. Indeed the [e] *Greek Menæon* makes him to have been one of the Nine *Senators* of the *Areopagus*, to have been converted by S. *Paul*, and by him made Biſhop of *Athens*, and then appointed Tutor to S. *Denys*. [f] Others make him by birth a *Spaniard*, firſt Biſhop of *Athens*, and then travelling into his own Countrey, Biſhop of *Segovia* in *Spain*. And both I believe with equal truth. Nor probably had ſuch a perſon ever been thought of, had there not been ſome intimations of ſuch an inſtructor in *Dionyſius* his Works, confirmed by the *Scholiaſts* that writ upon him, and afterwards by others improved into a formal Story: As for S. *Dionyſius* he is made to travel with S. *Paul* for three years after his Converſion, and then to have been

[d] *S. Metaphr. ap. Sur. ibid. Maxim. Syncel. ubi ſupr. Pſeudo-Dionyſ. de divin. nomin. c. 2. p.175. T. 1.*

[e] Τῇ δ' τοῦ Φεβρυαρ.

[f] *Pſeudo-Dext. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. LXXI.*

been conſtituted by him Biſhop of *Athens*; ſo that it was neceſſary it ſeems to pack *Hierotheus* into *Spain*, that room might be made for him. Indeed that *Dionyſius* was, and that without any affront to S. *Hierotheus*, the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*, we are aſſured by an Authority that cannot be doubted, [a] *Dionyſius* the famous Biſhop of *Corinth* (who lived not long after him) expreſly affirming it; and [b] *Nicephorus* adds, what is probable enough, that it was done with S. *Pauls* own hands. I ſhall but mention his journey to *Jeruſalem* to meet the Apoſtles, who are ſaid to have come from all parts of the World to be preſent at the laſt hours of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and his ſeveral Viſitations of the Churches in *Phrygia* and *Achaia*, to plant or confirm the Faith.

[a] *Apud Euſeb. H.Eccl.l.3. c.4. p.74. & l.4. c. 23. p.144.*

[b] *Niceph.H.Eccl. l.2.c.20.p.167.*

VII. ALL which, ſuppoſing they were true, yet here we muſt take our leave. For now the Writers of his Life generally make him prepare for a much longer journey. Having ſetled his affairs at *Athens*, and ſubſtituted a Succeſſor in his *See*, he is ſaid to go to *Rome* (a brief account of things ſhall ſuffice, where no truth lies at the bottom:) at *Rome* he was diſpatched by S. *Clemens* into *France*, where he planted the Faith, and founded an Epiſcopal See at *Paris*, whence after many years, about the ninetieth year of his Age, he returned into the *Eaſt*, to converſe with S. *John* at *Epheſus*, thence back again to *Paris*, where he ſuffered martyrdom, and among infinite other miracles reported of him, he is ſaid to have taken up his head, after it had been cut off by the Executioners, and to have carried it in his hands (an Angel going before, and an heavenly *Chorus* attending him all the way) for two miles together, till he came to the place of his interment, where he gently laid it and himſelf down, and was there honourably entombed. This is the ſum of a very tedious Story. A Story ſo improbable in it ſelf, ſo directly contrary to what [c] *Severus Sulpitius* affirms, that none were martyred for the Faith in *France*, till the fifth Perſecution under the reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; that I ſhall not ſpend much time in its confutation. Eſpecially when the thing has been unanſwerably done by ſo many learned and ingenious men in the Church of *Rome*, and by none more effectually then *Sirmond* and *Launoy*, who have cleared it beyond all poſſibilities of juſt exception.

[c] *Sacr.Hiſt.lib. 2. pag.143.*

VIII. INDEED we find in ſeveral very ancient [d] *Martyrologies*, as alſo in [e] *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, who reports it out of the *Acts* of *Saturninus* the Martyr, that one *Dionyſius* with ſome others was ſent by the Biſhop of *Rome* into *France* in the time of *Decius* the Emperour, *Ann. Chr.* CCL. where he preached the Chriſtian Faith, and became Biſhop of *Paris*, and after great torments and ſufferings, was beheaded for his reſolute and conſtant profeſſion of Religion, and accordingly his martyrdom is recorded in the moſt ancient *Martyrologies*, upon a day diſtinct from that of the *Athenian Dionyſius*, and the ſame miracles aſcribed to him, that are reported of the other. And that this was the firſt and true foundation of the Story, I ſuppoſe no wiſe man will doubt. Nor indeed is the leaſt mention made of any ſuch thing, I am ſure not any in Writer of Name and Note, till the times of *Charles* the *Great*: When [f] *Ludovicus* Emperour, and King of *France* wrote to *Hilduin* Abbot of S. *Denys*, to pick up what ever *Memoirs* he could find concerning him, either in the Books of the *Greeks* or *Latines*, or ſuch Records as they had at home, and to digeſt and compile them into orderly Tracts. He did ſo, and furniſhed out a very large and particular

[d] *Uſuard. Martyr. Calend. Octob. & VII. Id. Octob. Martyr. Bedæ VII. Id.Octob.*

[e] *Greg. Turon. Hiſt. Franc. lib.1. c. 28. p. 265. Edit. Du. Cheſn.*

[f] *Vid. Epiſt. Ludovici & Hilduin. Reſcript. apud Sur.loc. citat.*

ticular relation, which was quickly improved and defended by *Hincmar* Biſhop of *Rhemes*, Scholar to *Hilduin*, and *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* of *Rome*, to whom the *Greek* Writers of that and the following Ages readily gave their Vote and Suffrage. Nor has a late [a] Author much mended the matter in point of antiquity, who tells us that in a convention of Biſhops in *France* held *Ann.* DCCCXXV. ten years before *Hilduin* wrote his *Areopagitics*, mention is made of S. *Dionyſius* his being ſent into *France* by *Clemens* S. *Peters* Succeſſor. For we can eaſily allow that there might about that time be ſome blind and obſcure Tradition, though the fragment of the *Synod*, which he there produces, ſpeaks not one ſyllable of this *Dionyſius* his being the *Areopagite*, or having any relation to *Athens*. In ſhort the caſe ſeems plainly this:

[a] *J. Mabillon. not. ad Epiſt. Hincmar. inter Analect. Veter. p.63.*

IX. HILDUIN ſet on by his potent Patron, partly that he might exalt the honour of *France*, partly to advance the reputation of his particular Convent, finding an obſcure *Dionyſius* to have been *Biſhop* of *Paris*, removes him an Age or two higher, and makes him the ſame with him of *Athens*, a perſon of greater honour and veneration, and partly from the Records, partly from the Traditions currant among themſelves, draws up a formal account of him from firſt to laſt; adding 'tis like what he thought good of his own, to make up the Story. Theſe Commentaries of his, we may ſuppoſe, were quickly conveyed to *Rome*, where being met with by the *Greeks*, who came upon frequent Embaſſies to that *See* about that time, they were carried over to *Conſtantinople*, out of which *Methodius* (who had himſelf been *Aprocriſiarius* or Embaſſador from *Nicephorus* the *Greek Patriarch* to *Pope Paſchal* at *Rome*, and after infinite troubles was advanced to the *Patriarchat* of *Conſtantinople*,) furniſhes himſelf with materials to write the life of *Dionyſius*: for that he had them not out of the Records of his own Church is plain, in that when *Hilduin* ſet upon compoſing his *Areopagitics*, he expreſly ſays [b], that the *Greeks* had written nothing concerning the Martyrdom of S. *Denys*, the particulars whereof, by reaſon of the vaſt diſtance, they could not attain. Out of *Hilduin* therefore, or at leaſt ſome reports of that time, *Methodius* muſt needs derive his intelligence; but moſt probably from *Hilduin*, between whoſe relation and that of *Methodius*, there is ſo exact an agreement, not onely in particular paſſages, but oft-times in the very ſame words, as [c] *Monſieur Launoy* has demonſtrated by a particular collation. *Methodius* his Tract was by the *Greek* Embaſſadors quickly brought from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, where [d] *Anaſtaſius* confeſſes he met with it, tranſlated it into *Latine*, and thence tranſmitted it into *France*, where it was read, owned, and publiſhed by [e] *Hincmar*, as appears by his Epiſtle to *Charles* the Emperour. Where he plainly tells us, that no ſooner had he read this Life written by *Methodius*, but he found it admirably to agree with what he had read in his Youth (he means I doubt not, the Writings of *Hilduin*) by whom and how the *Acts* of S. *Denys* and his companions came to the knowledge of the *Romans*, and thence to the notice of the *Greeks*. This is the moſt likely pedigree and procedure of the Story that I can think of; and from hence how eaſie was it for the after-Writers both of the *Weſtern* and the *Eaſtern* Church to ſwallow down a Story, thus plauſibly fitted to their taſte? Nor had the *Greeks* any reaſon over-nicely to examine, or reject what made ſo much for the honour of their Church and Nation, and ſeemed to lay not *France* onely, but the whole *Weſtern* Church under an obligation to them, for furniſhing

[b] *Reſcript. ad Ludov. Imper. n. 10. ibid.*

[c] *Reſponſ. diſcuſſ. cap. 9. p. 120.*

[d] *Epiſt. ad Carol. Calv. Imp. apud. Sur. ibid. p.132.*

[e] *Extat apud. Sur. ubi ſupr. & Mabillon. loc. citat.*

ing them with ſo great and excellent a perſon. But to return to our *Dionyſius*.

X. THOUGH we cannot doubt but that he behaved himſelf with all diligence and fidelity in the diſcharge of his Office; yet becauſe the Ancients have conveyed down no particulars to our hands, we ſhall not venture upon reports of falſe, or at beſt doubtful credit. Nothing of certainty can be recovered of him, more then what *Ariſtides* the Chriſtian Philoſopher (who himſelf lived, and was probably born at *Athens*, not long after *Dionyſius*) relates in the * *Apology* which he publiſhed for the Chriſtian Religion, that after a moſt reſolute and eminent confeſſion of the Faith, after having undergone ſeveral of the ſevereſt kinds of torment, he gave the laſt and great teſtimony to it, by laying down his life. This was done, as is moſt probable, under the reign of *Domitian*, as is confeſſed (betraid into it by a ſecret inſtinct of truth) by Abbot *Hilduin*, *Methodius*, and their followers: while others extend it to the times of *Trajan*, others to the reign of *Adrian*, who entered upon the Empire *Ann.*CXVII. partly that they might leave room enough for the account which they give of him, partly to preſerve the Authority of his Writings, wherein a paſſage is cited out of *Ignatius* his Epiſtles, written juſt before his Martyrdom, *Ann.*CVII. The Reader I hope will not expect from me an account of the miracles ſaid to be done by him either before or ſince his death, or of the fierce conteſts that are between ſeveral places in the *Roman* Church concerning his Reliques. One paſſage however I ſhall not omit. In a Village in *Luxemburg* not far from *Treves* is a Church dedicated to S. *Denys*, wherein is kept his Scull, at leaſt a piece of it, on the Crown whereof there is a white Croſs while the other parts of the Scull are black. This common Tradition, and ſome [b] Authors to avouch it, will have to be made, when S. *Paul* laid his hands upon him at his conſecration. Which if ſo, I have no more to obſerve, but that *Orders* (which the Church of *Rome* make a Sacrament) did here even in a literal ſenſe confer an *indeleble character* and mark upon him.

* *Apud uſuard. & Adon. Mart. V. Non. Octobr.*

[b] *Vid. Author. citat. ap. P. Halloix. not. ad vit. Dionyſ. p.* 241.

XI. HIS τύπος σωματικὸς, the ſhape and figure of his body is by the [c] *Greek Menæon* thus deſcribed: he was of a middle ſtature, ſlender, fair, but inclining to paleneſs, his noſe gracefully bending, hollow-eyed with ſhort eye-brows, his ear large, his hair thick and white, his beard moderately long, but very thin. For the image of his mind expreſſed in his diſcourſes, and the excellent conduct of his life, the *Greeks* according to their magnifying humour as well as language, beſtow moſt hyperbolical elogies and commendations on him. They ſtile him, ἱεροφάντορα, καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων θεωρὸν, the Sacred Interpreter and contemplator of hidden and unſpeakable myſteries, and an unſearchable depth of heavenly knowledge; τριαδικὸν θεόλογον, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν ζωοποιῶν χαρισμάτων θεοφόρον ὄργανον, the *Trinity-Divine*, the divine inſtrument of thoſe enlivening graces that are above all comprehenſion. They ſay of him that his life was wonderful, his diſcourſe more wonderful; his tongue full of light, his mouth breathing an holy fire; but his mind ἀκριβῶς θεοειδέστατος, moſt exactly like to God; with a great deal more of the like nature up and down their Offices. And certainly were the notions which he has given us of the cœleſtial Hierarchy and Orders of Angels, and the things of that ſupramundane State, as clear and certain, as ſome would perſuade us, he might deſerve that title which

[c] Τῇ γ'. τῆς Ὀκτωβρ.

Ibid.

[d] others

others give him πτερύγιον ἢ πτηνὸν τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ, *the Wing, or the Bird of Heaven.*

XII. THE great and evident demonſtration of his Wiſdom and Eloquence, we are told[b], are the Works which he left behind him, the Notions and Language wherewith they are clothed, being ſo lofty and ſublime, as are ſcarcely capable to be the iſſue of a meer mortal creature. Books infinitely intricate and perplext (as our Countreyman [c] *Johannes Scotus*, who firſt tranſlated them into *Latine*, tells us) far beyond the reach of Modern apprehenſions, and which few are able to pierce into, both for their Antiquity, and ſublimeneſs of thoſe Heavenly Myſteries, whereof they treat. A Work ſo grateful to all ſpeculative Enquirers, into the natures of things, and the more abſtruſe and recondite parts of Learning, that (if *Suidas* ſay true) ſome of the Heathen Philoſophers, and particularly *Proclus*, often borrows not onely his notions, but his very words and phraſes from him; whence he ſuſpects, that ſome of the Philoſophers at *Athens* ſtole thoſe Books of his mentioned in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to S. *Timothy*, and which now are wanting, and publiſhed them under their own names. But had I been to make the conjecture, I ſhould rather have ſuſpected that this *Pſeudo-Dionyſius* fetched his ſpeculations, and good part of his expreſſions from *Plotinus*, *Iamblichus*, and the reſt of the later *Platoniſts*. For certainly one egg is not more like another, then this mans Divinity is like the Theology of that School, eſpecially as explained by the Philoſophers who lived in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. That our *Dionyſius* was not the Author of the Books at this day extant under his name, I ſhall not concern my ſelf to ſhew. For however it be contended for by many with all imaginable zeal and ſtiffneſs, yet want there not thoſe, and men of note, even in the *Roman* Communion, who clearly diſown and deny it; as among the Reformed it has been largely diſproved by many, and by none with greater learning and induſtry then *Monſieur Daille*, who has ſaid whatever is neceſſary, if not more then enough upon this argument: though as to the date of their birth and firſt appearance, when he thruſts them down to the ſixth Century, he takes ſomewhat off from the antiquity, which may with probability be allowed them.

XIII. WHO was the particular Author of theſe Books, is not eaſie to determine. Among the ſeveral conjectures about this matter, none methinks deſerves a fairer regard, then what [d] *Laurentius Valla* tells us ſome learned *Greeks* of his time conceived; that it was *Apollinaris*, but whether Father or Son, it matters not, both being men of parts, and of the ſame ſtrain and humour, ἀμφότεροι ἑλληνικῶν λόγων διδάσκαλοι[e], both of them Maſters in all the learning of the *Greeks*, though of the two the Son was moſt likely to be the man. Certain it is, that *Apollinaris* was πρὸς πολυδαπλῶ εἴδησιν, & λόγων ἰδέᾳ παρεσκευασμένος, as [f] *Sozomen* deſcribes him, trained up to all ſorts of Learning, and skilled in the artifices and frames of Words and Speeches, and [g] S. *Baſil* ſays of him, that being indued with a facility of writing upon any argument, joined with a great readineſs and volubility of language, he filled the World with his Books: though even in his Theologic Tracts he ſought not to eſtabliſh them by Scripture-proofs, but from humane arguments and ways of reaſoning: διῳκείζετο δὲ τὸ δόγμα αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἀπὸ ῥητῆς τινος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πανοίας, as [h] another alſo ſays of him. He was born and bred at *Alexandria*

[a] *Vid. Anaſtaſ. Biblioth. Epiſt. ap. Sur. loc. cit. p. 132. Chryſoſt. de Pſeudo-Proph. p. 401. Tom. 6.*

[b] *Suid. in voce* Διονύσιος, *p. 745. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 20. p. 167.*

[c] *Epiſt. ad Carol. Calv. Franc. Reg. ap. Uſſer. Epiſt. Hibern. p. 59.*

[d] *Annot. in Act. Apoſt. c. 17.*

[e] *Socrat. H. Ecc. l. 2. c. 46. p. 160.*

[f] *H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18. p. 623. Socr. loc. citat.*

[g] *Ep.* LXXIV. *p. 125. Tom. 2.*

[h] *Leont. de Sect. Act. IV. p. 446.*

dria, (then which no place more famous for Schools of Humane Learning, especially the Profession of the *Platonic* Philosophy) and afterwards lived at *Laodicea*, where he was so intimately familiar with the *Gentile-Philosophers*, that *Theodotus* Bishop of the place forbad him (though in vain) any longer to keep company with them, fearing lest he might be perverted to *Paganism*; as afterwards *George* his successor excommunicated him for his insolent contempt in not doing it. This is said to have given the first occasion to his starting aside from the Orthodox Doctrines of the Church. For resenting it as an high affront, and being [a] τῇ εὐφυΐᾳ τῶν Σοφιστικῶν λόγων θαῤῥῶν, prompted with a bold conceit of his sophistical Wit, and subtle ways of reasoning, he began to innovate in matters of Doctrine, and set up a Sect after his own name. And certainly whoever thoroughly considers *Apollinaris* his principles, as they are represented by [b] *Socrates*, [c] *Sozomen*, [d] *Theodoret*, [e] *Basil*, and [f] *Epiphanius*, will find many of them to have a great affinity with the *Platonic* notions, and some of them not un-akin to those in *Dionysius* his Books, and that as to the Doctrine of the *Trinity* they were right in the main, which [g] *Socrates* particularly tells us the *Apollinarians* confessed to be consubstantial. To which I add, what a learned [h] man of our own has observed upon this argument, that *Apollinaris* and his followers were guilty of forging Ecclesiastical Writings, which they fastned upon *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Athanasius*, and *Pope Julius*, as [i] *Leontius* particularly proves at large. So that they might be probably enough forged in the School of *Apollinaris*, either by himself, or some of his Disciples

[a] *Socrat. lib. p.* 161.
[b] *Socrat. loc. citat.*
[c] *Sozom. l. 6. c.* 27. *p.* 676. *ex Ep. Nazian. de Nectar.*
[d] *Theodor. l. 5. c.* 3. *p.* 200.
[e] *Basil. ubi supr.*
[f] *Epiph. Heres.* 77. *p.* 421.
[g] *Ibid. vid. Leont. loc. citat.*
[h] Dr. Stillingfl. his Answer to Cress. Apolog. c. 2. §. 17. p. 133.
[i] *De Sect. Act.* VIII. *p.* 527.

XIV. IT makes the conjecture look yet more favourable, that there was one [k] *Dionysius*, a friend probably of *Apollinaris*, to whom he is said to have written that famous Epistle that went under the name of *Pope Julius*: and then among his own Scholars he had a *Timotheus* (condemned together with his Master by [l] *Damasus*, and the Synod at *Rome*) so that they might easily enough take occasion from their own to vent their conceptions under the more venerable names of those ancient and Apostolic persons. Or, which is more probable, *Apollinaris* himself so well versed in the arts of counterfeiting, might from them take the hint to compose and publish them under the name of the ancient *Dionysius*. Nor indeed could he likely pitch upon a name more favourable and agreeable to his purpose, a man born in the very Center of Learning and Eloquence, and who might easily be supposed to be bred up in all the Institutions of Philosophy, and in a peculiar manner acquainted with the Writings and *Theorems* of *Plato* and his Followers, so famous, so generally entertained in that place. And there will be the more reason to believe it still, when we consider, that [m] *Apollinaris* reduced the Gospels and the Writings of the Apostles into the form of *Dialogues* in imitation of *Plato* among the *Greeks*. And then for the stile, which is very lofty and affected, we noted before how peculiarly qualified *Apollinaris* was with a quick invention of words, and a sophistical way of speech, and the [n] Historian observes that the great instrument by which he set on foot his Heresie, and wherein he had a singular talent, was τέχνη λόγων, artificial Schemes of Words, and subtle ways to express himself. Besides he was an incomparable Poet (not onely the Father but the Son) to the study whereof he peculiarly addicted himself, and wrote Poems to the imitation, and the envy of the best among the

[k] *Vid. Collat. Cathol. cum Severian. Conc. Tom.* 4. *col* 1767.
[l] *Theod. H. Eccl. l.* 5. *c.* 9, 10. *p.* 212.
[m] *Socrat. l.* 3. *c.* 16. *p.* 187.
[n] *Sozom. l.* 6. *c.* 25. *p.* 672.
Sozom. l. 5. *c.* 18. *p.* 622.

the Heathens. In imitation of *Homer* he writ *Heroic* Poems of the History of the old Teſtament till the reign of *Saul*, *Comedies* after the manner of *Menander*, *Tragœdies* in imitation of *Euripides*, and *Odes* in imitation of *Pindar*: he compoſed Divine Hymns, that were publicly ſung in the Churches of his ſeparation, and Songs which men ſung both in their Feaſts and at their Trades, and even women at the Diſtaff. By this means he was admirably prepared for lofty and poetic ſtrains, and might be eaſily tempted, eſpecially the matter admitting it, to give way to a wanton and luxuriant fanſie in the choice, compoſition, and uſe of words. And certainly never was there a ſtranger heap (λέξεων πολυκομπίαν, *Maximus* himſelf calls it) of ſublime, affected, bombaſt, and poetic phraſes, then is to be met with in theſe Books attributed to S. *Dionys.* *Id. l. 6. c. 25. p. 671.*

XV. IF it ſhall be enquired, why a man ſhould after ſo much pains chuſe to publiſh his Labors rather under another mans name then his own; there needs no other anſwer, then that this has been an old trade, which ſome men have taken up, either becauſe 'twas their humor to lay their own children at other mens doors, or to decline the cenſure which the notions they publiſhed were likely to expoſe them to, or principally to conciliate the greater eſteem and value for them, by thruſting them forth under the name of thoſe, for whom the World has a juſt regard and veneration. As for *Monſieur Dailles* conjecture, that the reaſon why ſeveral learned Volumes were written and faſtned upon the Fathers of the ancient Church, was to vindicate them from that common imputation of the *Gentiles*, who were wont to charge the Chriſtians for being a rude and illiterate generation, whoſe Books were ſtuffed with nothing but plain ſimple Doctrines, and who were ſtrangers to all kind of Learning and Eloquence; that to obviate this objection, ſeveral took upon them to compoſe Books full of Learning and Philoſophy, which they publiſhed under the names of the firſt preachers and propagaters of the Chriſtian Faith, and that this particularly was the caſe of the *Recognitions* aſcribed to *Clemens*, and the Writings attributed to *Dionyſius*: The firſt I grant very likely and rational, the *Recognitions* being probably written about the ſecond Century, when (as appears from *Celſus* his Book againſt the Chriſtians) this objection was moſt rife, and when few learned diſcourſes had been publiſhed by them: But can by no means allow it as to the ſecond, *Dionyſius* his Works being written long after the Learning and Eloquence of the Chriſtians had ſufficiently approved it ſelf to the World, to the ſhame and conviction, the envy and admiration of its greateſt Enemies. And there was far leſs need of them for this purpoſe, if it be true what *Daille* himſelf ſo confidently aſſerts, and ſo earneſtly contends for, that they were not written till the beginning of the ſixth Century, about the year DXX. when there were few learned *Gentiles* left to make this objection, Heatheniſm being almoſt wholly baniſhed out of the civilized World. *De Script. Dionyſ. c. 39. p. 221.*

XVI. BUT whoever was their genuine Parent, or upon what account ſoever he wrote them, it is plain, that he laid the foundation of a myſtical and unintelligible Divinity among Chriſtians, and that hence proceeded all thoſe wild *Roſicrucean* notions, which ſome men are ſo fond of, and the life and practice whereof they cry up as the very ſoul and perfection of the Chriſtian State. And that this Author does immediately miniſter to this deſign, let the Reader judge by one inſtance, and I aſſure

him 'tis none of the moſt obſcure and intricate paſſages in theſe Books. I have ſet it down in its own Language as well as ours, not being confident of my own verſion (though expreſſed word for word;) for I pretend to no great faculty in tranſlating what I do not underſtand. Thus then he diſcourſes concerning the knowledge of God. *God* (ſaith he) *is known in all things, and without all things: he is known by knowledge, and by ignorance: there is both a cogitation of him, and a word, and a ſcience, and a touch, and a ſenſe, and an opinion, and an imagination, and a name, and all other things; and yet he is neither thought, nor ſpoken, nor named. He is not any thing of thoſe things that are, nor is he known in any of the things that are; he is both all things in all, and nothing in nothing; out of all things he is known to all and out of nothing to nothing. Theſe are the things which we rightly diſcourſe concerning God. And this again is the moſt divine knowledge of God, that which is known by ignorance, according to the union that is above underſtanding; when the mind getting at a diſtance from all things that are, and having diſmiſſed it ſelf, is united to thoſe ſuper-illuſtrious Beams, from whence and where it is enlightned in the unfathomable depth of wiſdom.* More of this and the like ſtuff is plentifully ſcattered up and down theſe Books. And if this be not myſtical and profound enough, I know not what is; and which certainly any man but one well verſed in this ſort of Theology, would look upon as a ſtrange *Jargon* of non-ſenſe, and contradiction. And yet this is the height of devotion and piety, which ſome men earneſtly preſs after, and wherein they glory. As if a man could not truly underſtand the myſteries of Religion, till he had reſigned his reaſon, nor be a Chriſtian, without firſt becoming an Enthuſiaſt, nor be able to ſpeak ſenſe, unleſs in a Language which none can underſtand.

Διὸ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκεται, καὶ χωρὶς πάντων· καὶ διὰ γνώσεως ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκεται, καὶ διὰ ἀγνωσίας. Καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ νόησις, καὶ λόγος, καὶ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἁφὴ, καὶ αἴσθησις, καὶ δόξα, καὶ φαντασία, καὶ ὄνομα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ οὔτε νοεῖται, οὔτε λέγεται, οὔτε ὀνομάζεται. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τι τῶν ὄντων, οὐδὲ ἔν τινι τῶν ὄντων γινώσκεται. Καὶ ἐν πᾶσι πάντα ἔστι, καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ οὐδέν, καὶ ἐκ πάντων πᾶσι γινώσκεται, καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς οὐδενί. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ λέγομεν. Καὶ ἔστιν αὖ αὐτοῦ καὶ θειοτάτη κατὰ Θεὸν γνῶσις, ἡ διὰ ἀγνωσίας γινωσκομένη, κατὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἕνωσιν ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὄντων πάντων ἀποστὰς, ἔπειτα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀφεὶς, ἑνωθῇ τοῖς ὑπερφαέσιν ἀκτῖσιν, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ τῷ ἀνεξερευνήτῳ βάθει τῆς Σοφίας καταλαμπόμενος. Dionyſ. de Divin. Nomin. cap. 7. p. 238.

Writings falſly attributed to him.

De Cœleſti Hierarchia.	Lib. I.	*Ad Soſipatrum.*	Epiſtola I.
De Divinis Nominibus.	I.	*Ad Polycarpum.*	I.
De Eccleſiaſtica Hierarchia.	I.	*Ad Demophilum.*	I.
De Myſtica Theologia.	I.	*Ad Titum.*	I.
Epiſtolæ ad Caium..	IV.	*Ad Joannem Evangeliſtam.*	I.
Ad Dorotheum	I.	*Ad Apollophanem.*	I.

The End of S. DIONYSIUS's *Life.*

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

THE LIFE OF S. CLEMENS BISHOP of ROME.

S. CLEMENS ROMANUS.

His birth-place. His Parents, Kindred, Education, and Converſion to Chriſtianity noted out of the Books extant under his name. His relation to the Imperial Family ſhewed to be a miſtake. His being made Biſhop of Rome.

Rome. *The great confuſion about the firſt Biſhops of that See. A probable account endeavoured concerning the order of* S. Clemens *his ſucceſſion, and the reconciling it with the times of the other Biſhops. What account given of him in the ancient Epiſtle to* S. James. Clemens *his appointing Notaries to write the Acts of the Martyrs, and diſpatching Meſſengers to propagate the Goſpel. The Schiſm in the Church of* Corinth; *and* Clemens *his Epiſtle to that Church. An enquiry into the time when that Epiſtle was written. The Perſecution under* Trajan. *His proceeding againſt the* Heteriæ. *A ſhort relation of* S. Clemens *his troubles out of* Simeon Metaphraſtes. *His baniſhment to* Cherſon. Damnati ad Metalla, *what. The great ſucceſs of his Miniſtry in the place of his exile.* S. Clemens *his Martyrdom, and the kind of it. The anniverſary miracle reported on the day of his ſolemnity. The time of his Martyrdom. His genuine Writings. His Epiſtle to the* Corinthians: *the commendations given of it by the Ancients. Its Stile and Character. The great modeſty and humility that appears in it. The fragment of his ſecond Epiſtle. Suppoſititious Writings. The* Recognitions; *their ſeveral titles, and different editions. Their Antiquity, what. A conjecture concerning the Author of them. The cenſures of the Ancients concerning the corrupting of them, conſidered. The Epiſtle to* S. James.

I. IT makes not a little for the honour of this Venerable Apoſtolical Man, (for of him all antiquity underſtands it) that he was *Fellow-labourer* with S. *Paul*, and one of thoſe, *whoſe names were written in the Book of Life.* He was born at *Rome*, upon *Mount Cælius*, as, beſides others, the [a] *Pontifical* under the name of *Damaſus*, informs us. His Fathers name was *Fauſtinus*, but who he was, and what his Profeſſion and courſe of life is not recorded. Indeed in the Book of the *Recognitions*, and the τὰ Κλημέντια (mentioned by the Ancients, and lately publiſhed) we have more particular accounts concerning him: Books which however falſly attributed to S. *Clemens*, and liable in ſome caſes to juſt exception, yet being of great antiquity in the Church, written not long after the Apoſtolic Age (as we ſhall ſhew hereafter) we ſhall thence derive ſome few notices to our purpoſe, though we cannot abſolutely engage for the certainty of them. There we find S. *Clemens* brought in, giving this account of himſelf.

[a] *Vit. Clement. Concil. Tom. 1. col. 74.*

II. HE [b] was deſcended of a noble race, ſprung from the family of the *Cæſars*, his Father *Fauſtinianus*, or *Fauſtus*, being near a kin to the Emperour (I ſuppoſe *Tiberius*) and educated together with him, and by his procurement matched with *Mattidia*, a woman of a prime Family in *Rome*. He was the youngeſt of three ſons, his two elder Brothers being *Fauſtinus* and *Fauſtus*, who after changed their names for *Nicetas* and *Aquila*. His Mother, a Woman it ſeems of exquiſit beauty, was by her husbands own brother ſtrongly ſollicited to unchaſt embraces. To avoid whoſe troubleſome importunities, and yet loth to reveal it to her huſband, leſt it ſhould break out to the diſturbance and diſhonour of their Family, ſhe found out this expedient: ſhe pretended to her husband that ſhe was warned in a dream together with her two eldeſt ſons to depart for ſome time from *Rome*. He accordingly ſent them to reſide at *Athens*,

[b] *Recogn. l. 7 n. 8. p. 476. Clem. Homil. 12. n. 8. p. 678. Epitom. n. 76. p. 781. Edit. Paris.*

Athens, for the greater conveniency of their education. But hearing nothing of them, though he ſent Meſſengers on purpoſe every year, he reſolved at laſt to go himſelf in purſuit of them; which he did, leaving his youngeſt ſon, then twelve years of age, at home, under the care of Tutors and Guardians. [a] S. *Clemens* grew up in all manly Studies, and vertuous actions, till falling under ſome great diſſatisfactions of mind concerning the immortality of the ſoul, and the ſtate of the other life, he applied himſelf to ſearch more narrowly into the nature and the truth of things. After having baffled all his own notions, he betook himſelf to the Schools of the Philoſophers, where he met with nothing but fierce contentions, endleſs diſputes, ſophiſtical and uncertain arts of reaſoning; then he reſolved to conſult the *Egyptian Hierophantæ*, and to ſee if he could meet with any who by arts of *Magic* was able to fetch back one of thoſe who were departed to the inviſible World, the very ſight of whom might ſatisfie his curious enquiries about this matter. While he was under this ſuſpenſe, he heard of the Son of God his appearing in the world, and the excellent doctrins he had publiſhed in *Judæa*, wherein he was further inſtructed by the miniſtry of S. *Barnabas*, who came to *Rome*. Him he followed firſt to *Alexandria*, and thence after a little time to *Judæa*. Arriving at *Cæſarea* he met with S. *Peter*, by whom he was inſtructed and baptized, whoſe Companion and Diſciple he continued for a great part of his life.

[a] *Recogn. l. 1. p. 399. Cl. Hom. 1. p. 546. Epiſt. p. 749.*

III. THIS is the ſum of what I thought good to borrow from thoſe ancient Writings. As for his relations, what various miſadventures his Father and Mother, and his two Brothers ſeverally met with, by what ſtrange accidents they all afterwards met together, were converted and baptized into the Chriſtian Faith, I omit, partly as leſs proper to my purpoſe, partly becauſe it looks more like a dramatic Scene of Fanſie, then a true and real Hiſtory. As to that part of the account of his being related to the Imperial Family, though it be more then once and again confidently aſſerted by [b] *Nicephorus* (who tranſcribes a good part of the Story) and by [c] others before him, yet I cannot but behold it as an evident miſtake, ariſing from no other Fountain then the Story of *Flavius Clemens* the *Conſul*, who was Couſin-german to the Emperour *Domitian*, and his Wife *Flavia Domitilla* near akin alſo to the Emperour; concerning whoſe converſion to, and martyrdom for the Faith of Chriſt, we have [d] elſewhere given an account from the Writers of thoſe Times. Probable it is, that S. *Clemens* for the main attend S. *Peters* motions, and came with him to *Rome*, where he had at laſt the Government of that Church committed to him. [e] *Dorotheus* tells us, that he was the firſt of the *Gentiles* that embraced the Chriſtian Faith, and that he was firſt made Biſhop of *Sardica*, a City in *Thrace*, afterwards called *Triaditza*, and then of *Rome*. But herein I think he ſtands alone, I am ſure has none of the Ancients to join with him; unleſs he underſtands it of another *Clemens*, whom the [f] *Chronicon Alexandrinum* alſo makes one of the LXX Diſciples, but withall ſeems to confound with ours. That he was Biſhop of *Rome*, there is an unanimous and unqueſtionable agreement of all ancient Writers, though they ſtrangely vary about the place and order of his coming to it. The Writers of the *Roman* Church, how great words ſoever they ſpeak of the conſtant and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of S. *Peters* Chair, are yet involved in an inextricable labyrinth about the ſucceſſion of the four firſt Biſhops of that See, ſcarce

[b] *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 35. p. 191. l. 3. c. 2. & 18. p. 247.*

[c] *Eucher. Lugd. ad Valerian. de contempt. Mund. Anonym. de vit. Petr. & Paul. ap. P. Jun. not. in Clem. Ep. ad Corinth.*

[d] *Primit. Chriſt. p. 1. ch. 3.*

[e] *Synopſ. de vit. App. in Bibl. PP. Tom 3. p. 150. col. 1.*

[f] *Chron. Alex. p. 508.*

ſcarce two of them of any note bringing in the ſame account. I ſhall not attempt to accommodate the difference between the ſeveral Schemes that are given in, but onely propoſe what I conceive moſt likely and probable.

IV. EVIDENT it is both from [a]*Irenæus* and [b]*Epiphanius*, as alſo before them from [c]*Caius* an ancient Writer, and from [d]*Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, that *Peter* and *Paul* jointly laid the Foundations of the Church of *Rome*, and are therefore equally ſtiled Biſhops of it, the one as *Apoſtle of the Gentiles* (as we may probably ſuppoſe) taking care of the *Gentile* Chriſtians, while the other as *the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion*, applied himſelf to the *Jewiſh* Converts at *Rome*. For we cannot imagine, that there being ſuch chronical and inveterate prejudices between *Jew* and *Gentiles*, eſpecially in matters of Religion, they ſhould be ſuddainly laid aſide, and both enter-common in one public Society. We know that in the Church of *Jeruſalem* till the deſtruction of the Temple, none were admitted but *Jewiſh* Converts: and ſo it might be at firſt at *Rome*, where infinite numbers of *Jews* then reſided, they might keep themſelves for ſome time in diſtinct aſſemblies, the one under S. *Paul*, the other under *Peter*. And ſome foundation for ſuch a conjecture there ſeems to be even in the *Apoſtolic* Hiſtory, where S. *Luke* tells us, that S. *Paul* at his firſt coming to *Rome* being rejected by the *Jews* turned to the *Gentiles*, declaring to them *the ſalvation of God*, who gladly heard and entertained it, and that he continued thus *preaching the Kingdom of God, and receiving all that came in unto him for two years together*. This I look upon as the firſt ſetled foundation of a *Gentile* Church at *Rome*, the further care and preſidency whereof S. *Paul* might devolve upon *Linus* (whom the interpolated *Ignatius* makes his Deacon or Miniſter) as S. *Peter* having eſtabliſhed a Church of *Jewiſh* Converts might turn it over to S. *Clemens*, of whom [e]*Tertullian* expreſly ſays, that *Peter* ordained him Biſhop of *Rome*. Accordingly the *Compiler* of the [f]*Apoſtolic Conſtitutions* makes *Linus* to be ordained Biſhop of *Rome* by S. *Paul*, and *Clemens* by S. *Peter*. He ſays indeed that *Linus* was the firſt, and ſo he might very well be, ſeeing S. *Paul* (whatever the Modern Writers of that Church ſay to the contrary) was ſome conſiderable time at *Rome*, before S. *Peter* came hither. *Linus* dying, was probably ſucceeded by *Cletus* or *Anacletus* (for the *Greeks*, and doubtleſs moſt truly, generally make him the ſame perſon) in his diſtinct capacity. At which time *Clemens*, whom S. *Peter* had ordained to be his Succeſſor, continued to act as Preſident over the Church of *Jewiſh* Converts: and thus things remained till the death of *Cletus*, when the difference between *Jew* and *Gentile* being quite worn off, the entire Preſidency and Government of the whole Church of *Rome* might devolve upon S. *Clemens* as the ſurviver; and from this period of time, the years of his Epiſcopacy, according to the common computation, are to begin their date. By this account, not onely that of [g]*Optatus* and the [h]*Bucherian* Catalogue may be true, who make *Clemens* to follow *Linus*, but alſo that of *Baronius* and many of the Ancients, who make both *Linus* and *Cletus* to go before him, as we can allow they did as Biſhops and Paſtors of the *Gentile* Church. As for a more diſtinct and particular account of the Times, I thus compute them: *Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered Martyrdom in the *Neronian* perſecution (as we have elſewhere probably ſhewed) *Ann.* LXV. After which *Linus* ſate twelve years, four moneths, and twelve days: *Cletus* twelve years, one (but as *Baronius*, ſeven)

[a] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. p. 232.*
[b] *Epiph. Hæreſ. XXVII. p. 51. vid. Ham. Diſſert. V. c. 1. p. 256.*
[c] *Cai. adv. Proculum. &*
[d] *Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Rom. apud Euſeb. l. 2. c. 25. p. 68.*

Act. 28. 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31.

[e] *De Præſcript. Hæret. c. 32. p. 213.*
[f] *Lib. 7. c. 47. col. 451.*

[g] *De Schiſm. Donat. lib. 2. p. 38.*
[h] *A Bucher. edit. comment. in Vict. Can. Paſch. c. 15. p. 269.*

ven) moneths, and eleven days, which between them make XXV years, and extend to *Ann. Chr.* XC. after which if we add the nine years, eleven moneths, and twelve days, wherein *Clemens* ſate ſole Biſhop over that whole Church, they fall in exactly with the third year of *Trajan*, the time aſſigned for his Martyrdom, by *Euſebius*, *Hierom*, *Damaſus*, and many others. Or if with *Petavius*, *Ricciolus*, and ſome others, we aſſign the Martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*, *Ann.* LXVII. two years later, the computation will ſtill run more ſmooth and eaſie, and there will be time enough to be allowed for the odd moneths and days aſſigned by the different accounts, and to make the years of their Pontificat compleat and full. Nor can I think of any way, conſidering the great intricacy and perplexity of the thing, that can bid fairer for an eaſie ſolution of this matter. For granting *Clemens* to have been ordained by S. *Peter* for his ſucceſſor (as ſeveral of the Ancients expreſly affirm) and yet withall (what is evident enough) that he died not till *Ann. Chr.* C. *Traj.* III. it will be very difficult to find any way ſo proper to reconcile it. As for that fanſie of [a] *Epiphanius*, that *Clemens* might receive impoſition of hands from *Peter*, but refuſed the actual exerciſe of the Epiſcopal Office, ſo long as *Linus* and *Cletus* lived: he onely propoſes it as a conjecture, founded meerly upon a miſtaken paſſage of *Clemens* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and confeſſes 'tis a thing wherein he dare not be poſitive, not being confident whether it were ſo or no.

[a] *Contr. Carpocrat. Hæreſ.* XXVII. *p.* 51. *vid. Clem. Epiſt. ad Corinth. p.* 69.

V. MIGHT the ancient [b] Epiſtle written to S. *James* the *Brother of our Lord*, under the name of our S. *Clemens*, be admitted as a competent evidence, there we find not onely that *Clemens* was conſtituted Biſhop by S. *Peter*, but with what formality the whole affair was tranſacted. It tells us that the Apoſtle ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, preſented *Clemens* before the Church as a fit perſon to be his Succeſſor; the good man with all imaginable modeſty declined the honour, which S. *Peter* in a long diſcourſe urged upon him, and ſet out at large the particular duties both of Miniſters in their reſpective Orders and Capacities, as alſo of the people; which done, he laid his hands upon him, and compelled him to take his ſeat. How he adminiſtred this great but difficult Province, the Eccleſiaſtical Records give us very little account. The Author of the [c] *Pontifical* that fathers himſelf upon *Pope Damaſus*, tells us, that he divided *Rome* into ſeven *Regions*, in each of which he appointed a *Notary*, who ſhould diligently enquire after all the Martyrs that ſuffered within his diviſion, and faithfully record the Acts of their Martyrdom. I confeſs the credit of this Author is not good enough abſolutely to rely upon his ſingle teſtimony in matters ſo remote and diſtant: though we are otherwiſe ſufficiently aſſured, that the cuſtom of Notaries taking the Speeches, Acts, and Sufferings of the Martyrs did obtain in the early ages of the Church. Beſides this, we are told by others that he diſpatched away ſeveral perſons to preach and propagate the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe Countries, whither the ſound of the Goſpel had not yet arrived. Nor did he onely concern himſelf to propagate Chriſtianity, where it wanted, but to preſerve the peace of thoſe Churches where it was already planted. For an unhappy Schiſm having broken out in the Church of *Corinth*, they ſent to *Rome* to require his advice and aſſiſtance in it, who in the name of the Church, whereof he was Governour, wrote back an incomparable Epiſtle to them, to compoſe and quel μεγὰν & ἀνόσιον σχίσιν, as [d] he calls it, *that impious and abominable*

[b] *Extat Græce & Lat. inter PP. Apoſt. à Cotelerio edit.*

[c] *Lib. Pontif. in vit. Clem. Conc. T.* 1. *col.* 74.

Hegeſip. ap. Euſeb. l. 3. *c.* 16. *p.* 88.

[d] *Epiſt. ad Corinth. p.* 2.

minable Sedition that was ariſen amongſt them. And indeed there ſeems to have been a more intimate and friendly intercourſe betwixt theſe two Churches in thoſe times, then between any other mentioned in the Writings of the Church. The exact time of writing this Epiſtle is not known, the date of it not being certainly determinable by any notices of Antiquity, or any intimations in the Epiſtle it ſelf. The conjecture that has obtained with ſome of moſt note and learning is, that it was written before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, while the Temple and the *Leviticall* miniſtration were yet ſtanding. Which they collect, I ſuppoſe, from a [a] paſſage, where he ſpeaks of them in the preſent tenſe. But whoever impartially conſiders the place, will find no neceſſary foundation for ſuch an inference, and that S. *Clemens* his deſign was onely to illuſtrate his Argument, and to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of obſerving thoſe particular Stations and Miniſtries which God has appointed us, by alluding to the Ordinances of the *Moſaic* Inſtitution. To me it ſeems moſt probable to have been written a little after the Perſecution under *Domitian*, and probably not long before *Clemens* his exile. For excuſing the no ſooner anſwering the Letters of the Church of *Corinth*, he [b] tells them it was διὰ γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, by reaſon of thoſe calamities and ſad accidents that had happened to them. Now plain it is, that no Perſecution had been raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, eſpecially at *Rome*, from the time of *Nero* till *Domitian*. As for Mr. *Youngs* conjecture from this place, that it was written in the time of his baniſhment; he forgot to conſider that the Epiſtle was written not in *Clemens* his own name, but in the perſon of the Church of *Rome*. A circumſtance that renders the place incapable of being particularly applied to him.

[a] *Ibid. pag.* 53.

[b] *Ib. pag.* 1.

VI. BY a firm patience and a prudent care he weathered out the ſtormy and troubleſom times of *Domitian*, and the ſhort but peaceable reign of *Nerva*. When alas *the clouds returned after rain*, and began to thicken into a blacker ſtorm in the time of *Trajan*, an excellent Prince indeed, of ſo ſweet and plauſible a diſpoſition, of ſo mild and inoffenſive a converſation, that it was ever after a part of their ſolemn acclamation at the choice of a new elected Emperour, MELIOR TRAJANO [c], *better then Trajan*. But withall he was zealous for his Religion, and upon that account a ſevere enemy to Chriſtians. Among ſeveral Laws enacted in the beginning of his reign, he publiſhed one (if [d] *Baronius*, which I much queſtion, conjecture the time aright, for [e] *Plinies* Epiſtle, upon which he ſeems to ground it, was probably written at leaſt nine or ten years after) whereby he forbad the *Heteriæ*, the Societies or Colledges erected up and down the *Roman* Empire, whereat men were wont to meet, and liberally feaſt under a pretence of more convenient diſpatch of buſineſs, and the maintainance of mutual love and friendſhip; which yet the *Roman* State beheld with a jealous eye, as fit Nurſeries for Treaſon and Sedition. Under the notion of theſe unlawful combinations, the Chriſtian Aſſemblies were looked upon by their Enemies; for finding them confederated under one common Preſident, and conſtantly meeting at their ſolemn Love-feaſts, and eſpecially being of a way of Worſhip different from the Religion of the Empire, they thought they might ſecurely proceed againſt them as illegal Societies, and contemners of the Imperial conſtitution, wherein S. *Clemens* as head of the Society at *Rome*, was ſure to bear the deepeſt ſhare. And indeed it was no more then what himſelf had long expected, as appears from

[c] *Eutrop. H. Rom. l.* 8. *non longe ab initio.*

[d] *Ad. Ann.* 100. *n.* VIII. *Tom.* 2.

[e] *Epiſt.* 97. *l.* 10

from his Letter to the *Corinthians*; where having ſpoken of the torments and ſufferings which the Holy Apoſtles had undergone, he tells them[a], that he looked upon himſelf and his people as ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σκάμματι, ſet to run the ſame race, ἐκ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἔπεσε, and that the ſame fight and conflict was laid up for them. [a] *ubi ſupr. p. 9.*

VII. *SIMEON the Metaphraſt* in the account of his [b] Martyrdom, (much what the ſame with that Life of S. *Clemens*, ſaid to be written by an uncertain Author, publiſhed long ſince by *Lazius* at the end of *Abdias Babylonius*) ſets down the beginning of his troubles to this effect. S. *Clemens* having converted *Theodora*, a noble Lady, and afterwards her Husband *Siſinnius*, a Kinſman and favourite of the late Emperour *Nervæ*, the gaining ſo great a man quickly drew on others of chief note and quality to embrace the Faith. So prevalent is the example of religious Greatneſs to ſway men to Piety and Vertue. But Envy naturally maligns the good of others, and hates the Inſtrument that procures it. This good ſucceſs derived upon him the particular *odium* of *Torcutianus*, a man of great power and authority at that time in *Rome*, who by the inferiour Magiſtrates of the City, excited the People to a mutiny againſt the Holy Man, charging him with Magic and Sorcery, and for being an enemy and blaſphemer of the gods, crying out either that he ſhould do ſacrifice to them, or expiate his impiety with his blood. *Mamertinus Præfect* of the City, a moderate and prudent man, being willing to appeaſe the uproar, ſent for S. *Clemens*, and mildly perſuaded him to comply. But finding his reſolution inflexible, he ſent to acquaint the Emperour with the caſe, who returned this ſhort *Reſcript*, that he ſhould either ſacrifice to the gods, or be baniſhed to *Cherſon*, a diſconſolate City beyond the *Pontic* Sea. *Mamertinus* having received the Imperial Mandat, unwillingly complied with it, and gave order that all things ſhould be made ready for the Voyage, and accordingly he was tranſported thither, to dig in the Marble Quarries, and labour in the Mines. *Damnatio ad Metalla* is a puniſhment frequently mentioned in the *Roman* Laws, where it is ſaid to be *proxima morti pœna* [c], the very next to capital puniſhments. Indeed the uſage under it was very extreme and rigorous: for beſides the ſevereſt labour and moſt intolerable hardſhip, the condemned perſon was treated with all the inſtances of inhumanity, whiped and beaten, chained and fettered, deprived of his eſtate [d], which was forfeited to the Exchequer, and the perſon himſelf perpetually degraded into the condition of a Slave, and conſequently rendred incapable to make a Will. And not this onely, but they were further expoſed to the moſt public marks of Infamy and Diſhonour, [e] their heads half ſhaved, their right eye bored out, their left leg diſabled, their foreheads branded with an infamous mark, a piece of diſgrace firſt uſed in this caſe by [f] *Caligula* (and the Hiſtorian notes it as an inſtance of his cruel temper) and from him continued till the times of *Conſtantine*, who aboliſhed it by a [g] Law *Ann. Chr.* CCCXV. not to mention the hunger and thirſt, the cold and nakedneſs, the filth and naſtineſs, which they were forced to conflict with in thoſe miſerable places.

[b] *Habetur Græc. & Lat. integrum ap. Coteler. loc. cit. p. 826.*

Id. ibid. p. 832.

[c] *L. 28. ff. de pœn. lib. 48. Tit. 19.*

[d] *L. 36. ubi ſupr. l. 12. ff. de jur. fiſc. l. 49. Tit. 14. l. 1. de bon. damnat. l. 8. Qui teſt. fac. poſſ. §. 4.*

[e] *Cypr. Epiſt. 77. ad Nemeſ. p. 155 Euſeb. l. 8. c. 12. p. 307.*

[f] *Sueton. in vit. Calig. c. 27. p. 428.*

[g] *L. 2. Cod. Th. de pœn. l. 9. Tit. 40.*

VIII. ARRIVING at the place of his uncomfortable exile, he found vaſt numbers of Chriſtians condemned to the ſame miſerable fate, whoſe minds were not a little erected under all their preſſures at the ſight of ſo good a man, by whoſe conſtant preaching, and the frequent miracles that he wrought, their Enemies were converted into a better opi-

nion of them and their Religion, the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries daily flocking over to the Faith, ſo that in a little time Chriſtianity had beaten *Paganiſm* out of the Field, and all Monuments of Idolatry thereabouts were defaced and overturned. The fame whereof was quickly carried to the Emperour, who diſpatched *Auſidianus* the Preſident to put a ſtop to this growing Sect, which by methods of terrour and cruelty he ſet upon, putting great numbers of them to death. But finding how readily and reſolutely they preſſed up to execution, and that this days Martyrs did but prepare others for to morrows Torments, he gave over contending with the multitude, and reſolved to ſingle out one of note above the reſt, whoſe exemplary puniſhment might ſtrike dread and terrour into the reſt. To this purpoſe S. *Clemens* is pitched on, and all temptations being in vain tried upon him, the Executioners are commanded to carry him aboard and throw him into the bottom of the Sea, where the Chriſtians might deſpair to find him. This kind of death was called καταπελτισμὸς, and was in uſe not onely among the *Greeks*, as appears by the inſtance mentioned by [a] *Diodorus Siculus*, but the *Romans*, as we find in ſeveral Malefactors condemned to be thrown into the Sea both by [b] *Tiberius* and *Avidius Caſſius*. To this our Lord has reſpect, when in the caſe of wilful ſcandal, he pronounces it *better for the man that a Mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the bottom of the Sea*. Where though [c] S. *Hierom* tells us that this puniſhment was uſual among the ancient *Jews* in caſe of more enormous crimes, yet do I not remember that any ſuch capital puniſhment ever prevailed among them. I ſhall not here relate what I find concerning the ſtrange and miraculous diſcovery of S. *Clemens* his body, nor the particular miracle of a little Child preſerved in the Church erected to him in the middle of the Sea for a whole year tôgether (though ſolemnly averred by [d] *Ephræm* Biſhop of the place) as deſpairing they would ever find a belief wide enough to ſwallow them, nor thoſe infinite other miracles ſaid to be done there; it ſhall onely ſuffice to mention one; that upon the Anniverſary ſolemnity of his Martyrdom the Sea retreats on each ſide into heaps, and leaves a fair and dry paſſage for three miles together to the Martyrs Tomb, erected within a Church, built (as it muſt be ſuppoſed by Angels) within the Sea, and the Peoples devotions being ended, the Sea returns to its own place, τιμῶντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ μάρτυρα, ſays [e] one of my Authors, God by this means doing honour to the Martyr. I onely add, that theſe Traditions were currant before the time of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, [f] who ſpeaks of them with great reverence and devotion. S. *Clemens* died (as both [g] *Euſebius* and [h] S. *Hierome* witneſs, for I heed not the account of the *Alexandrin Chronicon*, which places it four years after, *Trajan* VII. though the Conſuls which he there aſſigns properly belong to the IV. of that Emperour) in the third year of *Trajan*, a little more then two years after his baniſhment, after he had been ſole Biſhop of *Rome* nine years ſix moneths and ſo many days, ſay *Baronius* and others, though *Bucherius* his Catalogue, more to be truſted (as being compoſed before the death of *Pope Liberius*, *Ann.* CCCLIV.) nine years eleven moneths and twelve days. His martyrdom happened on the XXIV. of *November*, according to *Baronius* and the ordinary *Roman* computation, but on the nineth of that Moneth, ſays the little Martyrology publiſhed by [i] *Bucherius*, and which unqueſtionably was one of the true and genuine Calendars of the ancient

[a] *Biblioth. l.* 16.
[b] *Sueton. in vit. Tib. c.* 62. *p.* 366. *Vul. Gallic. in Avid. Caſſ. c.* 4. *p.* 247.
Mark 9. 42.
[c] *Com. in Matt.* 18. *p.* 53. *Tom.* 9.
[d] *Serm. de mirac. in puer. à S. Clem. fact. ap. Sur. Novemb.* 23. *& Gr. & Lat. ap. Coteler. p.* 837.
[e] *Ibid. p.* 841.
[f] *De mirac. l.* 1. *c.* 35, 36. *p.* 46.
[g] *Lib.* 3. *c.* 34. *p.* 106.
[h] *De Script. Eccl. in Clem.*
[i] *Ann.* 4. *Olymp.* CCXX. *Ind.* 1. *p.* 594.
ubi ſupra.
[k] *Loc. ſupr. citat. p.* 269.

cient Church. He was honoured at *Rome* by a Church erected to his memory, yet ſtanding in [a] S. *Hierom's* time.

[a] *De Script. in Clement.*

IX. THE Writings which at this day bear the name of this Apoſtolic man, are of two ſorts, Genuine or Suppoſititious. In the firſt Claſs is that famous Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſo much magnified by the Ancients, ἰκάνωτάτη γραφὴ (as **Irenæus* calls it) the moſt excellent and abſolute writing, μεγάλη τε ϗ θαυμασία, ſays [b] *Euſebius* a truly great and admirable Epiſtle, and very uſeful as [c] S. *Hierom* adds, ἀξιόλογος as [d] *Photius* ſtiles it, worthy of all eſteem and veneration, ἀνωμολογημένη παρὰ πᾶσι, as [e] *Euſebius* aſſures us, received by all, and indeed reverenced by them next to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore publicly read in their Churches for ſome Ages, even till his time, and it may be a long time after. The ſtile of it (as [f] *Photius* truely obſerves) is very plain and ſimple, imitating an Eccleſiaſtical and unaffected way of Writing, and which breaths the true *genius* and ſpirit of the Apoſtolic Age. It was written upon occaſion of a great Schiſm and Sedition in the Church of *Corinth*, begun by two or three factious perſons againſt the Governours of the Church, who envying either the gifts, or the authority and eſteem of their Guides and Teachers, had attempted to depoſe them, and had drawn the greateſt part of the Church into the Conſpiracy: whom therefore he endeavours by ſoft words and hard Arguments to reduce back to Peace and Unity. His modeſty and humility in it are peculiarly diſcernable, not onely that he wholly writes it in the name of the Church of *Rome*, without ſo much as ever mentioning his own, but in that he treats them with ſuch gentle and mild perſuaſives. Nothing of ſowreneſs, or an imperious *lording it over Gods heritage* to be ſeen in the whole Epiſtle. Had he known himſelf to be the infallible Judge of Controverſies, to whoſe ſentence the whole Chriſtian World was bound to ſtand, inveſted with a ſupreme unaccountable Power, from which there lay no Appeal, we might have expected to have heard him argue at another rate. But theſe were the Encroachments and Uſurpations of later Ages, when a ſpirit of Covetouſneſs and ſecular ambition had ſtifled the modeſty and ſimplicity of thoſe firſt and beſt Ages of Religion. There is ſo great an affinity in many things both as to Words and Matter between this and the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, as tempted *Euſebius* and S. *Hierom* of old, and ſome others before them, to conclude S. *Clemens* at leaſt the Tranſlator of that Epiſtle. This Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* after it had been generally bewailed as loſt for many Ages, was not more to the benefit of the Church in general, then the honour of our own in particular, ſome forty years ſince publiſhed here in *England*, a treaſure not ſufficiently to be valued. Beſides this firſt, there is the fragment of a ſecond Epiſtle, or rather *Homily*, containing a ſerious exhortation and direction to a pious life: ancient indeed, and which many will perſuade us to be his, and to have been written many years before the former, as that which betrays no footſteps of troubleſom and unquiet times: but *Euſebius*, S. *Hierom*, and *Photius* aſſure us that it was rejected, and never obtained among the ancients equal approbation with the firſt. And therefore though we do not peremptorily determine againſt its being his, yet we think it ſafer to acquieſce in the judgment of the Ancients, then of ſome few late Writers in this matter.

* *Adv. Hæreſ. l.* 3. *ap. Euſeb. l.* 5. *c.* 6. *p.* 170.

[b] *Lib.* 3. *c.* 16. *p.* 88.

[c] *De Script. Eccleſ. in Clem.*

[d] *Cod.* CXII. *col.* 289.

[e] *Ibid. c.* 38. *p.* 110.

[f] *Cod.* CXXVI. *col.* 305.

Locis ſuprà citatis.

X. AS for thoſe Writings that are undoubtedly ſpurious and ſuppoſititious,

[a] *Ibid. pag.* 110. ſititious, diſown'd (as [a] *Euſebius* ſays) becauſe they did not τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζειν ἢ χαρακτῆρα, retain the true ſtamp and character of Orthodox Apoſtolic Doctrin, though the truth is, he ſpeaks it onely of the *Dialogues of Peter and Appion*, not mentioning the *Decretal* Epiſtles, as not worth taking notice of, there are four extant at this day that are entitled to him, the *Apoſtolical Canons* and the *Conſtitutions* (ſaid to be penned by him, though dictated by the Apoſtles) the *Recognitions*, and the Epiſtle to S. *James*. For the two firſt, the *Apoſtolic Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, I have declared my ſenſe of them in another place, to which I ſhall add nothing here. The *Recognitions* ſucceed, conveyed to us under different titles by the Ancients, ſometimes ſtiled S. *Clemens* his *Acts*, *Hiſtory*, *Chronicle*, ſometimes S. *Peters Acts*, *Itinerary*, *Periods*, *Dialogues with Appion*, all which are unqueſtionably but different inſcriptions (or it may be parcels) of the ſame book. True it is what [b] *Photius* ſuſpected, and [c] *Rufinus* (who tranſlated it) expreſly tells us, that there were two ſeveral editions of this Book, differing in ſome things, but the ſame in moſt. And it deſerves to be conſidered, whether the τὰ Κλημέντα mentioned by [d] *Nicephorus*, and which he ſays the Church received, and denies to be thoſe meant by *Euſebius*, and thoſe *Clementine Homilies* lately publiſhed under that very name, be not that other Edition of the *Recognitions*, ſeeing they exactly anſwer *Rufinus* his Character, differing in ſome things, but in moſt agreeing with them. There is yet a third Edition, or rather Abſtract out of all, ſtiled Κλήμεντος περὶ τῆς πρὸς Πέτρον πορείας, &c. *Clemens his Epitome of the Acts, Travels, and Preachings of S. Peter*, agreeing with the former, though keeping more cloſe to the *Homilies* then the other. This I gueſs to have been compiled by *Simeon the Metaphraſt*, as for other reaſons, ſo eſpecially becauſe the appendage added to it by the ſame hand concerning *Clemens* his martyrdom is word for word the ſame with that of *Metaphraſtes*, the cloſe of it onely excepted, which is taken out of S. *Ephræms* Homily of the miracle done at his Tomb.

Præf. to Primit. Chriſtianity.

[b] *Cod.* CXII. *col.* 289.

[c] *Præfat. ad Gandent. p.* 397.

[d] *H. Eccl. l.* 3. *c.* 18. *p.* 248.

XI. THE Recognitions themſelves are undoubtedly of very great antiquity, written about the ſame time, and by the ſame hand (as *Blondel* probably conjectures) with the *Conſtitutions* about the Year CLXXX, or not long after. Sure I am, they are cited by [f] *Origen* as the Work of *Clemens in his Periods*, and his large quotation is in ſo many words [g] extant in them at this day. Nay before him we meet with a very long fragment of *Bardeſanes the* [h] *Syrian* (who flouriſhed *Ann.* CLXXX.) *concerning Fate*, word for word the ſame with what we find in the *Recognitions*, and it ſeems equally reaſonable to ſuppoſe that *Bardeſanes* had it thence, as that the other borrowed it from him. Nay what if *Bardeſanes* himſelf was the Author of theſe Books? 'Tis certain that he was a man of great parts and learning, a man prompt and eloquent, καὶ διαλεκτικώτατος [i], an acute and ſubtle Diſputant, heretically enclined, for he came out of the School of *Valentinus*, whoſe uncouth notions he had ſo deeply imbibed, that even after his recantation, he could never get clear from the dregs of them, as *Euſebius* informs us: though *Epiphanius* tells us he was firſt Orthodox, and afterwards fell into the errours of that Sect, like a well fraighted Ship that having duly performed its Voyage, is caſt away in the very ſight of the Harbour. He was a great Mathematician and Aſtrologer, ἐπ' ἄκρον τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐλήλακως [k], accurately verſed in the *Chaldæan* learning, and wrote incomparable *Dialogues* concerning

[e] *Pſeudo-Iſid. p.* 28.

[f] *Philocal. c.* 23. *p.* 81, 82.

[g] *Recognit. l.* 10.

[h] *Extat ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evan. l.* 6. *c.* 10. *p.* 273 *& ſeq. vid. Recogn. lib.* 9. *p.* 503. *&c.*

[i] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 30. *p.* 151. *Epiph. Hæreſ.* LVI. *p.* 207.

[k] *Euſeb Præp. Evang. l.* 6. *c.* 9. *p.* 273.

Fate

Fate, which he dedicated to the Emperour *Antoninus*. And ſurely none can have looked into the *Recognitions*, but he muſt ſee what a conſiderable part the Doctrines concerning *Fate*, the *Geneſis*, the Influence of the Stars and heavenly Conſtellations, and ſuch like notions make there of S. *Peters* and S. *Clemens* his Dialogues and Diſcourſes. To which we may add what *Photius* has obſerved, and is abundantly evident from the thing it ſelf, that theſe Books are conſiderable for their clearneſs and perſpicuity, their eloquent ſtile, and grave Diſcourſes, and that great variety of Learning that is in them, plainly ſhewing their Compoſer to have been a Maſter in all Humane Learning, and the Study of Philoſophy. I might further remarque, that *Bardeſanes* ſeems to have had a peculiar *genius* for Books of this nature, it being particularly [a] noted of him, that beſides the Scriptures, he traded in certain *Apocryphal* Writings. He wrote πλεῖστα Συγγράμματα [b], which S. *Hierom* renders *infinite Volumes*, written indeed for the moſt part in *Syriac*, but which his Scholars tranſlated into *Greek*, though he himſelf was ſufficiently skilful in that Language, as *Epiphanius* notes. In the number of theſe Books might be the *Recognitions*, plauſibly fathered upon S. *Clemens*, who was notoriouſly known to be S. *Peters* Companion and Diſciple: and were but ſome of his many Books now extant, I doubt not but a much greater affinity both in ſtile and notions would appear between them. But this I propoſe onely as a probable conjecture, and leave it at the Readers pleaſure either to reject or entertain it. I am not ignorant that both [c] S. *Hierom* and [d] *Photius* charge theſe Books with hæretical Opinions, eſpecially ſome derogatory to the honour of the Son of God, which it may be *Ruſinus* (who [e] confeſſes the ſame thing, and ſuppoſes them to have been inſerted by ſome hæretical hand) concealed in his Tranſlation: Nay [f] *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Ebionites* did ſo extremely corrupt them, that they ſcarce left any thing of S. *Clemens* ſound and true in them, which he obſerves from their repugnancy to his other Writings, thoſe *Encyclical* Epiſtles of his (as he calls them) which were read in the Churches. But then its plain, he means it onely of thoſe Copies which were in the poſſeſſion of thoſe hæretics, probably not now extant, nor do any of thoſe particular adulterations which he ſays they made in them, appear in our Books, nor in thoſe large and to be ſure uncorrupt fragments of *Bardeſanes* and *Origen* is there the leaſt conſiderable variation from thoſe Books which we have at this day. But of this enough.

[a] *Epiph. loc. cit.*

[b] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. ubi ſupr. de Script. Eccl. in Bardeſ.*

[c] *Apol. adv. Ruf. in. p. 219.*

[d] *Phot. Cod. CXII. col. 289.*

[e] *Apolog. pro Orig. ap. Hieron. Tom. 4. p. 195.*

[f] *Hæreſ. XXX. p. 65.*

XII. THE Epiſtle to S. *James* the *brother of our Lord* is, no doubt, of equal date with the reſt, in the cloſe whereof the Author pretends that he was commanded by S. *Peter* to give him an account of his Travels, Diſcourſes, and the ſucceſs of his Miniſtry, under the title of *Clemens his Epitome of Peters popular preachings*, to which he tells him he would next proceed. So that this Epiſtle originally was nothing but a Præface to S. *Peters Acts* or *Periods* (the ſame in effect with the *Recognitions*) and accordingly in the late Edition of the *Clementine* Homilies (which have the very Title mentioned in that Epiſtle) it is found prefixed before them. This Epiſtle (as *Photius* tells us) varied according to different Editions, ſometimes pretending that it, and the account of S. *Peters* Acts annexed to it, were written by S. *Peter* himſelf, and by him ſent to S. *James*; ſometimes that they were written by *Clemens* at S. *Peters* inſtance and command. Whence he conjectures that there was a twofold

[g] *Loc. ſupra citat.*

Edition

Edition of S. *Peters Acts*, one ſaid to be written by himſelf, the other by *Clemens*, and that when in time the firſt was loſt, that preceding to S. *Clemens* did remain: For ſo he aſſures us he conſtantly found it in thoſe many Copies that he met with, notwithſtanding that the Epiſtle and Inſcription were ſometimes different and various. By the Original whereof now publiſhed appears the fraud of the Factors of the *Romiſh* Church, who in all *Latine* Editions have added an *Appendix* almoſt twice as large as the Epiſtle it ſelf. And well had it been, had [illegible] onely inſtance, wherein ſome men to ſhore up a tott'ring made bold with the Writers of the ancient Church.

His Writings.

Genuine.	*Recognitionum lib.* 10.
Epiſtola ad Corinthios.	
	Τὰ Κλημέντια,
Doubtful.	ſeu,
Epiſtola ad Corinth. ſecunda.	*Homiliæ Clementinæ.*
Suppoſititious.	*Conſtitutionum App. lib.* 8.
Epiſtola ad Jacobum Fratrem Domini.	*Canones Apoſtolici.*

The End of S. CLEMENS's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. SIMEON BISHOP of *JERUSALEM.*

S. SYMEON HIEROSOLYMITANUS.

The heedleſs confounding him with others of the like name. His Parents and near Relation to our Saviour. The time of his Birth. His ſtrict Educatiõn and way of Life. The Order and Inſtitution of the Recha-

bites, *what. His converſion to Chriſtianity. The great care about a Succeſſor to S.* James *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. Simeon *choſen to that place, when and why. The cauſes of the deſtruction of the* Jewiſh *ſtate. The original and progreſs of thoſe Wars briefly related. The miſerable ſtate of* Jeruſalem *by Siege, Peſtilence, and Famine.* Jeruſalem *ſtormed. The burning of the Temple, and the rage of the Fire. The number of the Slain and Captives. The juſt accompliſhment of our Lord's predictions. The many Prodigies portending this deſtruction. The Chriſtians forewarned to depart before* Jeruſalem *was ſhut up. Their withdrawment to* Pella. *The admirable care of the Divine Providence over them. Their return back to* Jeruſalem, *when. The flouriſhing condition of the Chriſtian Church there. The occaſion of S.* Simeons *Martyrdom. The infinite jealouſie of the* Roman *Emperours concerning the line of* David. Simeons *apprehenſion and crucifixion. His ſingular torments and patience. His great age, and the time of his death.*

I. IT cannot be unobſerved by any that have but looked into the Antiquities of the Church, what confuſion the identity or ſimilitude of names has bred among Eccleſiaſtic Writers, eſpecially in the more early Ages, where the Records are but ſhort and few. An inſtance whereof, were there no other, we have in the perſon of whom we write: Whom ſome will have to be the ſame with S. *Simon the Cananite*, one of the twelve Apoſtles; others confound him with *Simon*, one of the four *brethren of our Lord*, while a third ſort make all three to be but one and the ſame perſon: the ſound and ſimilitude of names giving birth to the ſeveral miſtakes. For that *Simeon* of *Jeruſalem* was a perſon altogether diſtinct from *Simon* the Apoſtle, is undeniably evident from the moſt ancient *Martyrologies* both of the *Greek* and the *Latine* Church, where vaſtly different accounts are given concerning their perſons, imployments, and the time and places of their death; *Simon* the Apoſtle being martyred in *Britain*, or as others in *Perſia*, while *Simeon* the Biſhop is notoriouſly known to have ſuffered in *Paleſtine* or in *Syria*. Nor are the teſtimonies of *Dorotheus*, *Sophronius*, or *Iſidore*, conſiderable enough to be weighed againſt the Authorities of *Hegeſippus*, *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, and others. But of this enough.

Vid. Chron. Alexandr. Olymp. CCXX. *Ind.* I. *Traj.* VII. *& Ann. ſequent. p.* 594.

II. S. *Simeon* was the ſon of [a] *Cleophas*, brother to *Joſeph*, husband to the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and ſo his Father had the honour to be Uncle to our Saviour, in the ſame ſenſe that *Joſeph* was his Father. His Mother (ſay [b] ſome) was *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, mentioned in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, *Siſter* or Couſin-german to the Mother of our Lord: And if ſo, he was by both ſides nearly related to our Savior. He was born (as appears from his Age, and the date of his Martyrdom aſſigned by *Euſebius*) *Ann. Mundi* 3936. thirteen years according to the Vulgar computation before our Saviours Incarnation. His Education was according to the ſevereſt rules of Religion profeſſed in the *Jewiſh* Church, being entered into the Order of the *Rechabites*, as may be probably collected from the Ancients. For [c] *Hegeſippus* informs us, that when

[a] *Hegeſip. ap. Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 11. *p.* 87. *Epiph. Hæreſ.* LXVI. *p.* 274. *& omnia antiqua Martyrologia, Adonis, Bedæ, Notkeri, Uſuardi apud Bolland. de Vit. SS. ad diem* XVIII. *Febr. pag.* 53, 54.

[b] *Hegeſip. ib. c.* 32. *p.* 104. *Niceph. l.* 3. *c.* 16. *p.* 245.

[c] *Ibid. l.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.* 65.

when the *Jews* were buſily engaged in the Martyrdom of S. *James the Juſt*, a *Rechabite Prieſt*, one of the Generation of the ſons of *Rechab* mentioned by the Prophet *Jeremy*, ſtept in, and interceded with the People to ſpare ſo juſt and good a man, and one that was then praying to Heaven for them. This perſon * *Epiphanius* expreſly tells us was S. *Simeon* the ſon of *Cleophas*, and Couſin-german to the holy Martyr. The *Rechabites* were an ancient Inſtitution, founded by *Jonadab the ſon of Rechab*, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Jehu*, and obliged his poſterity to theſe following Rules, to drink no Wine, ſowe no Fields, plant no Vineyards, build no Houſes, but to dwell onely in Tents and Tabernacles. All which precepts (the laſt onely excepted, which Wars and Foreign Invaſions would not ſuffer them to obſerve) they kept with the moſt religious reverence, and are therefore highly commended by God for their exact conformity to the Laws of their Inſtitution, and brought in to upbraid the degeneracy of the Houſe of *Iſrael*, in violating the Commands he had laid upon them. They continued it ſeems (and ſo God had promiſed them, that *they ſhould not want a man to ſtand before him for ever*) till the very laſt times of the *Jewiſh* Church, though little notice be taken of them, as indeed they are but once mentioned throughout the whole Hiſtory of the Bible, and that onely accidentally, and then too no leſs then three hundred years after their firſt Inſtitution. Probable it is, that in after-times all *Rechabites* were not *Jonadabs* immediate deſcendants, but that all were accounted ſuch, who took upon them the obſervance of the ſame Rules and Orders which *Jonadab* had preſcribed to his immediate poſterity. It further ſeems probable to me, that from theſe *Rechabites*, the *Eſſenes*, that famous Sect among the *Jews*, borrowed their Original; that part of them eſpecially, that dwelt in Towns and Cities, and in many things conformed themſelves to the Rules of the civil and ſociable life. For as for the Θεωρητικοὶ deſcribed [a] by *Philo*, they gave up themſelves mainly to ſolitude and contemplation, lived in Foreſts and among Groves of *Palm-trees*, and ſhunned all intercourſe and converſe with other men. While the *Practic* part of them (more particularly taken notice of by [b] *Joſephus*) though abſtaining from marriage, and deſpiſing the riches and pleaſures of this World, did yet reſide in Cities, and places of Public Concourſe, labour in their ſeveral Trades and Callings, maintain Hoſpitality, and were united in a common Colledge and Society, where they were kept to a ſolemn obſervance of the great duties of Religion, and devoted to the Orders of a very ſtrict pious life. And among theſe, I doubt not, the *Rechabites* were incorporated and ſwallowed up, though it may be together with the general name of *Eſſenes*, they might ſtill retain their particular and proper name. But to return.

III. HIS firſt Inſtitution in Chriſtianity was probably laid under the Diſcipline of our Lord himſelf, whoſe Auditor and Follower [c] *Hegeſippus* ſuppoſes him to have been; and in all likelihood he was one of the LXX Diſciples, in which capacity he continued many years, when he was advanced to a place of great honour and eminency in the Church. About the Year LXII. S. *James the Juſt*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by the artifices of *Ananus* the High-Prieſt, had been cruelly martyred by the *Jews*. The providing for whoſe place was ſo far thought to be the concernment of the whole Chriſtian Church, that the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord are ſaid [d] to have come from all parts to adviſe and conſult with thoſe

* *Hæreſ.* LXXVIII. *p.* 441.

Jer. 35. 2, 3, &c.

[a] *Lib.* Περὶ βίου Θεωρητικοῦ, ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν. *p.* 891. & *ſeq.*

[b] *De Bell. Jud. l.* 2. Κεφ. ιβ'. *p.* 785. *& Antiq. Jud. l.* 18. *c.* 2. *p.* 617.

[c] *Ap. Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 32 *p.* 104.

[d] *Ibid. c.* 11. *p.* 86. *vid. lib.* 4. *c.* 22. *p.* 142.

of our Saviours Kindred and Relations, about a fit Succeſſor in his room. None was thought meet to be a Candidate for the place, but one of our Lords own Relations; and accordingly with one conſent they devolved the honour upon *Simeon*, our Lords next Kinſman, whom they all judged moſt worthy of the place. I know *Euſebius* ſeems to intimate that this Election was made not onely after S. *James* his death, but after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, between which there was the diſtance of no leſs then eight or nine years. But (beſides that *Euſebius* makes the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* immediately to ſucceed upon S. *James* his Martyrdom, when yet there was ſo great a ſpace) it is very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſo famous and eminent a Church, a Church newly Conſtituted, and planted in the midſt of the moſt bitter and inveterate Enemies, ſhould for ſo long a time be deſtitute of a Guide and Paſtor, eſpecially ſeeing the Apoſtles were all long ſince diſperſed into ſeveral remote quarters of the World: Not to ſay that moſt of the Apoſtles were dead before that time; or if they had not, could not very conveniently have returned and met together about this affair in ſo diſmal and diſtracted a ſtate of things, as the *Roman* Wars, and the utter ruine and overthrow of the *Jewiſh* Nation had then put thoſe parts into. Beſides that [a] *Euſebius* himſelf elſewhere places *Simeons* ſucceſſion immediately after S. *James* his Martyrdom. Nor is the leaſt vacancy in that See mentioned by any other Writer. The [b] *Chronicle* of *Alexandria* places his ſucceſſion *Ann.* LXIX. for it tells us, that this year S. *James* the *Apoſtle* and *Patriarch* of *Jeruſalem* (whom S. *Peter* at the time of his going to *Rome*, as his proper See, had ordained to that place; this paſſage, 'tis plain the Publiſher for want of rightly diſtinguiſhing, did not underſtand) dying, *Simeon* or *Simon* was made *Patriarch* in his room.* But this account is againſt the Faith of all the Ancients, who make S. *James* to have ſuffered Martyrdom ſeveral years before; nor do any of them ſay that he was ordained by S. *Peter*, many of them expreſly affirming, that he immediately received his Conſecration from the hands of our Lord himſelf.

[a] *Chron. ad Ann. Chr.* LXII.

[b] *Ann.* 1. *Olympiad.* CCXII. *Indict.* XI. *Veſpaſ.* 2. *p.* 580.

IV. HOW he managed the affairs of that Church, is not diſtinctly known, few particular accounts of things being tranſmitted to us. Confident we may be that his preſidency was attended with ſufficient trouble and difficulty, not onely from the malicious and turbulent temper of that People, whom he was continually expoſed to, but becauſe it fell in with the moſt black and fatal period of the *Jewiſh* Church. For the ſins of that Nation being now ripe for Vengeance, and having filled up the meaſure of their iniquities by their cruel uſage of the Apoſtles and Meſſengers of our Saviour, their barbarous treatment of S. *Stephen*, and afterward of S. *James the great*, and their laſt bloudy murder of S. *James the leſs*, but above all, by their inſolent and mercileſs carriage towards the Son of God, and the Saviour of the World, *the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermoſt*, and the *Romans* broke in upon them, and *took away* both *their Place and Nation.* The ſum whereof, becauſe containing ſuch remarkable paſſages of Providence, ſuch inſtances of ſevere diſpleaſure towards a People, that for ſo many Ages had enjoyed the peculiar influences of the Divine Favour, and whoſe deſtruction at laſt ſo evidently juſtified the predictions of our Saviour, and made ſuch immediate way for the honour and advancement of Chriſtianity, we ſhall here relate.

V. THE *Jews*, a ſtubborn and unquiet People, impatiently reſented the

the tyranny of the *Roman* Yoke, which ſeemed heavier to their necks then it did to other Nations, becauſe they looked upon themſelves as a more free-born People, and were elated with thoſe great Charters and Immunities which Heaven had immediately conferred upon them. This made them willing to catch at any opportunity to re-aſſert themſelves into their ancient liberty. A thing which they more unanimouſly attempted under the Government of [a] *Ceſtius Florus*, whom *Nero* had ſent to be *Procurator* of that Province: by whoſe intolerable oppreſſions and inſolent cruelties for two years together, nothing abated by prayers and importunities, and the ſolicitations of potent Interceſſors, their patience was tired out, and they broke out into Rebellion. The fatal aſſault began firſt at [b] *Cæſarea*, which inſtantly like lightning ſpread it ſelf over the whole Nation, till all places were full of Bloud and Violence. *Florus* unable himſelf to deal with them, called in to his aſſiſtance *Ceſtius Gallus* the Preſident of *Syria*, who came from *Antioch* with an Army, took *Joppa* and ſome other places, and ſate down before *Jeruſalem*, but after all was forced to depart, and indeed to fly with his whole Army, leaving all his Warlike Inſtruments and Proviſions behind him. The news of this ill ſucceſs was ſoon carried to [c] *Nero*, then reſiding in *Achaia*, who preſently diſpatched *Veſpaſian* (a man of prudent Conduct, experienced Valour, the beſt Commander of his time) to be General of the Army. He coming into *Syria*, united the *Roman* Forces, fell into *Galilee*, burnt *Gadara*, and deſtroyed *Jotapata*, where [d] *Joſephus* himſelf was taken Priſoner. He purſued his Conqueſts with an unwearied diligence, Victory every where attending upon his Sword, and was preparing to beſiege *Jeruſalem* [e], when hearing of the diſtractions of *Italy* by the death of *Nero*, and the Uſurpations of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, he reſolved for *Rome*, to free it from thoſe unhappy incumbrances that were upon it; whoſe reſolutions herein were ſo far applauded by the Army, that they preſently proclaimed him Emperour. Who thereupon haſtned into *Egypt* to ſecure that Countrey, a place of ſo conſiderable importance to the Empire.

[a] *Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. l. 2. c. 4. p. 798. Egeſip. de excid. Hieroſol. l. 2. c. 14. p. 272, &c.*

[b] *Ibid. κ'. κ'. p. 809.*

[c] *Ibid. l. 3. c. 1. p. 830.*

[d] *Ib. Κεφ. κδ'. p. 850. Egeſip. l. 3. c. 18. p. 351.*

[e] *Ibid. l. 5 Κεφ. κη'. p. 892.*

VI. FROM *Alexandria* [f] *Veſpaſian* remanded his ſon *Titus* back into *Judæa* to carry on the War, who thought no way quicker to bring it to a period, then to attempt the Capital City, to ſtrike at *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, and accordingly put all things in readineſs to beſiege it. The ſtate of [g] *Jeruſalem* at this time was very ſad. That place, whoſe honour and ſecurity once it was to be *a City at unity within it ſelf*, was now torn in pieces with inteſtine Factions; and how unlikely is that *Kingdom* long to *ſtand*, that is once *divided againſt it ſelf*? *Simon* the ſon of *Giora*, a bold and ambitious man, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the upper City; *John* who headed the *Zealots*, an inſolent and ungovernable Generation, commanded the lower parts, and the out-skirts of the Temple; the inner parts whereof were ſecured by *Eleazar* the ſon of *Simon*, who had drawn over a conſiderable number of the Souldiers to his Party; and all thoſe mutually quarrelling with, and oppoſing one another. *Titus* with his Army approaching, a little before the *Paſchal* ſolemnity begirt the City, drawing it by degrees into a cloſer Siege, he ſtraitly block'd up all *avenues* and paſſages of eſcape, building a Wall of thirty nine [h] Furlongs, which he ſtrengthened with thirteen Forts; whereby he prevented all poſſibility either of coming into, or going out of the City. And now was exactly accompliſhed, what our Lord had ſome time ſince told them would

[f] *Ibid. Κεφ. μβ'. p. 903.*

[g] *Ibid. l. 6. c. 1. p. 904.* [h] *Κεφ. λα'. p. 910.*

[h] *Ibid. l. 6. Κεφ. λα'. p. 936.*

Luke 19. 41, 42, 43, 44. would come to paſs, when *he beheld the City and wept over it, ſaying, if thou hadſt known, even thou at leaſt in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace! but now they are hidden from thine eyes. For the days ſhall come upon thee, that thine enemies ſhall caſt a trench about thee, and compaſs thee round, and keep thee in on every ſide, and ſhall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, becauſe thou knowſt not the time of thy viſitation.* The truth is, who ever would be at the pains to compare what our Lord has ſaid concerning this War and the ſackage of *Jeruſalem*, with the accounts given of them by *Joſephus*, would find ſo juſt a correſpondence between the prophecy and the ſucceſs, as would tempt him to think that the Hiſtorian had taken his meaſures as much from our Lords predictions as from the event of things. But to proceed: Terms of mercy were offered upon ſurrender, but ſcornfully rejected, which exaſperated the *Roman* Army to fall on with greater fierceneſs and ſeverity. And now God and Man, Heaven and Earth ſeemed to fight againſt them. Beſides the *Roman* Army without, and the irreconcilable Factions and Diſorders within, a [a] Famin (haſtned by thoſe vaſt multitudes that had flocked to the *Paſſover*) raged ſo horribly within the City, that they took more care to prey upon one another, and to plunder their Proviſions, then how to defend themſelves againſt the common Enemy: thouſands were ſtarved for want of Food, who died ſo faſt, that they were not capable of performing to them the laſt Offices of Humanity, but were forced to throw them upon common heaps; nay were reduced to that extremity, that ſome offered violence to all the Laws of Nature, among which was [b] *Mary* the daughter of *Eleazar*, who being undone by the Souldiers, and no longer able to bear the force and rage of Hunger, boiled her ſucking child and eat him. So plainly had our Lord foretold *the daughters of Jeruſalem*, that *the days were coming, in the which they ſhould ſay, bleſſed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave ſuck.*

Συγκρίνας δ' τις τὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις τῆς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Συγγραφέως ἱστορίαις τῆς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀποθαυμάσειεν, θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς προάδοξον τῆς προγνώσιν τε καὶ προῤῥησιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας; Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 7. p. 81.

[a] *Ibid.* Κεφ. λβ'. p. 937. & l. 7. Κεφ. κ'. p. 954.

[b] Κεφ. κα'. *ubi ſupr.*

VII. *TITUS* went on with the Siege, and finding that no methods either of kindneſs or cruelty would work upon this obſtinate generation of men, gave order that all things ſhould be made ready for a ſtorm. Having gained the Tower of *Antonia*, the *Jews* fled to the Temple which was hard by, the [c] Out-gates and Porches whereof were immediately ſet on fire, the *Jews* like perſons ſtupified and amazed, never endeavouring to quench it. *Titus*, the ſweetneſs of whoſe nature ever enclined him to pity and compaſſion, was greatly deſirous to have ſpared the People, and ſaved the Temple. But all in vain; an obſcure Souldier threw a Firebrand into the Chambers that were about the Temple, which preſently took fire, and though the General ran and ſtormed, and commanded to put it out, yet ſo great was the clamour and confuſion, that his Orders could not be heard; and when they were, it was too late, the conquering and triumphant Flames prevailing in ſpight of all oppoſition, and making their way with ſo fierce a [d] rage as if they threatned to burn up *Mount Sion* to the very roots. So effectually did our Saviours Commination take place, who told his Diſciples, when they admired the ſtately and magnificent buildings of the Temple, *Verily I ſay unto you, there ſhall not be left here one ſtone upon another, that ſhall not be thrown down.* And that nothing might be wanting to verifie our Lords prædiction, *Turnus Rufus* was commanded to plow up the very foundations of

[c] *Ib.* Κεφ. κβ'. κγ'. &c. p. 956.

[d] *Ibid.* Κεφ. κη'. p. 959.

of it. How sad a sight must it needs be to behold all things hurled into a mixture of Bloud, Smoke, and Flames! the *Jews* were slain like Sheep, or Dogs, and many to prevent the Enemies Sword, voluntarily leapt into the Fire; the [a] number of them that perished in this Siege amounting to no less then eleven hundred thousand, besides ninety seven thousand that were made Slaves; the infinite multitudes that from all parts had flocked to the Feast of the *Passover*, and were by the *Roman* Army crowded up within the City, rendring the account not improbable.

[a] *Ibid.* Κεφ. με'. *p.* 968.

VIII. SUCH was the period of the *Jewish* Church and State; thus fell *Jerusalem*, (by far the most eminent City not of *Judæa* onely, but of the whole *East*, as [b] *Pliny* himself confesses) notwithstanding its antiquity, wealth, and strength, after it had stood from the time of *David* MCLXXIX. years. And memorable it is, that this fatal Siege began a little before the *Passover*, about that very time when they had so barbarously treated and put to death the Son of God. So exact a proportion does the Divine Justice sometimes observe in the retributions of its Vengeance. A Fate not onely predicted by our Lord and his Apostles, but lately presignified by immediate [c] Prodigies and *Signs from Heaven*. A blazing Comet in the fashion of a Sword, hung directly over the City for a whole year together. In the Feast of Unleavened Bread, a little before the breaking out of the War, at Nine of the Clock of the Night, a light suddenly shined out between the Altar and the Temple, as bright as if it had been Noon-day. About the same time a Heifer as she was led to sacrifice, brought forth a Lamb in the very midst of the Temple. The East Gate of the inner part of the Temple, all of massy Brass, and which twenty men could hardly shut, after it had been fast locked and barred, was at night seen to open of its own accord. Chariots and Armies were beheld in the Air, all in their Martial Postures, and preparing to surround the City. At *Pentecost* when the Priests entered into the inner Temple, they first perceived a noise and motion, and immediately heard a voice that said, Μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν, *Let us depart hence*. And four years before ever the War began, while all things were peaceable and secure, one *Jesus*, a plain Country Fellow, pronounced many dreadful woes against the Temple, the City, and the People, wherein he continued, especially at festival times, notwithstanding all the cruelties used towards him for seven years together, when some made a shift to dispatch him by a violent death. But alas, an Angel it self cannot stop men that are riding Post towards their own destruction. So little will warnings, or threatnings, or miracles signifie with them, whom Heaven hath once given up to an incurable infatuation.

[b] *Nat. Hist. l.* 5. *c.* 14. *p.* 80.

[c] *Joseph. ubi sup. l.* 7. Κεφ. λα'. *p.* 960.

Ταῦτα τὶς ἐννοῶν εὑρήκει, τὴν μὲν θεὸν ἀνθρώπων κηδόμενον καὶ παντοίως προσημαίνοντα τῷ σφετέρῳ γένει τὰ σωτήρια, τοὺς δ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας καὶ κακῶν αὐθαιρέτων ἀπολλυμένους. Joseph. loc. citat.

IX. BUT it's high time to return and enquire, in the midst of this sad and calamitous state of things what became of S. *Simeon* and the Christians of that place. And of them we find, that being timely warned by the caution which our Lord had given them, that *when they should see Jerusalem compassed with Armies, and the abomination of desolation* (that is the *Roman* Army) *standing in the holy place, they should then flee unto the Mountains*, betake themselves to some obscure place of refuge; and having been lately commanded by a particular [d] revelation communicated to some pious and good men among them, (which says *Epiphanius* was done by the ministry of an Angel,) to leave *Jerusalem*, and go to *Pella*, they uni-

[d] *Euseb. l.* 3. *c.* 5 *p.* 75. *Epiph. Hæres.* XXIX. *p.* 58. *Hæres.* XXX. *p.* 59. *de Pond. & mens. p.* 537.

universally withdrew themselves, and seasonably retreated thither, as to a little *Zoar* from the flames of *Sodom*, and so not one perished in the common ruine. This *Pella* was a little Town in *Cœlo-Syria* beyond *Jordan*, deriving its name probably from *Pella* a City of *Macedonia*, as being founded and peopled by the *Macedonians* of *Alexanders* Army, who sate down in *Asia*. That its inhabitants were *Gentiles*, it's plain, in that the [a] *Jews* under *Alexander Jannæus* their King sacked it, because they would not receive the Rites of their Religion. And God 'tis like on purpose directed the Christians hither, that they might be out of the reach of the *Besom of Destruction* that was to sweep away the *Jews* where-ever it came. Nor was it a less remarkable instance of the care and tenderness of the Divine Providence over them, that when *Cestius Gallus* had besieged *Jerusalem*, on a sudden he should unexpectedly break up the Siege, at once giving them warning of their danger, and an opportunity to escape. How long *Simeon* and the Church continued in this little Sanctuary, and when they returned to *Jerusalem*, appears not. If I might conjecture, I should place their return about the beginning of *Trajans* reign, when the fright being sufficiently over, and the hatred and severity of the *Romans* asswaged, they might come back with more safety. Certain it is, that they returned before [b] *Adrians* time, who forty seven years after the devastation coming to *Jerusalem* in order to its reparation, found there a few houses, and a little Church of Christians built upon *Mount Sion*, in that very place where that *Upper Room* was, into which the Disciples went up when they returned from our Lords Ascension. Here the Christians who were returned from *Pella*, kept their solemn Assemblies, and were so renowned for the flourishing state of their Religion, and the eminency of their Miracles, that *Aquila* the Emperours Kinsman, and whom he had made Governour and Overseer of the rebuilding of the City, being convinced, embraced Christianity. But still pursuing his old Magic and Astrological studies, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions that were given him, he was cast out of the Church. Which he resented as so great an affront, that he apostatized to *Judaism*, and afterwards translated the Bible into *Greek*. But to return back to *Simeon*; confident we may be that he administred his Province with all diligence and fidelity, in the discharge whereof God was pleased to preserve him as a person highly useful to his Church, to a very great Age, till the middle of *Trajans* reign, when he was brought to give his last testimony to his Religion, and that upon a very slight pretence.

X. THE *Roman* Emperors were infinitely jealous of their new established Sovereignty, and of any that might seem to be Corrivals with them, especially in *Palestine* and the *Eastern* parts. For an ancient and constant tradition (as appears besides *Josephus*, both from *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*) had been entertained throughout the *East*, that out of *Judæa* should arise a Prince, that should be the great Monarch of the World. Which though *Josephus* to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, flatteringly applied to *Vespasian*, yet did not this quiet their minds, but that still they beheld all that were of *the line of David* with a jealous eye. This made *Domitian*, *Vespasians* son resolve to destroy all that were of

[a] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 13. c. 23. p. 452.

[b] Epiph. de Pond. & Mens. ibid.

Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἅλωσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ φυλῆς Δαβὶδ ἀναζητεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθῆναί τινα παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου μέγιστον Ἰουδαίοις συμβῆναι διωγμὸν πάλιν. Chron. Alexandr. ad Ann. 1. Olympiad. CCXIII. Indict. XV. Vespas. V. p. 586. eadem habet de Domitian ad An. 1. Olymp. CCXVIII. Ind. V. Domit. XIII. p. 590.

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the blood royal of the houſe of *Judah*; upon which account two Nephews of S. *Jude* one of the brothers of our Lord were brought before him, and deſpiſed by him for their poverty and meanneſs, as perſons very unlikely to ſtand competitors for a Crown. The very ſame Indictment was brought againſt our aged Biſhop; for ſome of the Sects of the [a] *Jews* not able to bear his activity and zeal in the cauſe of his Religion, and finding nothing elſe to charge upon him, accuſed him to *Atticus*, at that time *Conſular Legat* of *Syria*, for being of the Poſterity of the Kings of *Judah*, and withall a Chriſtian. Hereupon he was apprehended and brought before the *Proconſul*, who commanded him for ſeveral days together to be wracked with the moſt exquiſit torments. All which he underwent with ſo compoſed a mind, ſo unconquerable a patience, that the *Proconſul* and all that were preſent were amazed to ſee a perſon of ſo great age able to endure ſuch and ſo many tortures: at laſt he was commanded to be crucified. He ſuffered in CXX. year of his age, and in the X. year of *Trajans* reign, *Ann. Chr.* CVII. (the *Alexandrin Chronicon* [b] places it *Traj.* VII. *Ann. Chr.* as appears by the *Conſuls*, CIV. though as doubtful of that, he places it again in the following year) after he had ſate Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (computing his ſucceſſion from S. *James* his Martyrdom) XLIII, or XLIV. years; [c] *Petavius* makes it no leſs then XLVII. though *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* (probably by a miſtake of the figure) aſſign him but XXIII. A longer proportion of time then a dozen of his immediate ſucceſſors were able to make up, God probably lengthening out his life, that as a skilful and faithful Pilot he might ſteer and conduct the Affairs of that Church in thoſe diſmal and ſtormy days.

[a] *Euſeb. l. 3. c. 32. p. 103, 104.*

[b] *An. 4. Olymp. CCXX. Ind. I. p. 594.*

[c] *Animadv. ad Epiph. Hæreſ. LXVI. p. 266.*

The End of S. SIMEON's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. IGNATIUS BISHOP of ANTIOCH.

S. IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENUS.

His Originals unknown. Called Theophorus, *and why. The Story of his being taken up into our Saviours arms, refuted. His Apostolic education.* S. Johns *Disciple. His being made Bishop of* Antioch. *The eminency*

of that See. The order of his ſucceſſion ſtated. His prudent Government of that Church. The tradition of his appointing Antiphonal *hymns by revelation.* Trajans *perſecuting the Church at* Antioch. *His diſcourſe with* Ignatius. Ignatius *his cruel uſage. His ſentence paſſed. His being tranſmitted to* Rome: *and why ſent ſo far to his execution. His arrival at* Smyrna, *and meeting with* S. Polycarp. *His Epiſtles to ſeveral Churches. His coming to* Troas, *and Epiſtles thence. His arrival at* Porto Romano. *Met on the way by the Chriſtians at* Rome. *His earneſt deſire of martyrdom. His praying for the proſperity of the Church. The time of his Paſſion. His being thrown to wild Beaſts. What kind of puniſhment that among the* Romans. *The collection of his Remains, and their tranſportation to* Antioch; *and the great honours done to them. The great plenty of them in the Church of* Rome. Trajans *ſurceaſing the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. The dreadful Earthquakes happening at* Antioch. Ignatius *his admirable Piety. His general ſolicitude for the preſervation and propagation of the Chriſtian Doctrine, as an Apoſtle. His care, diligence, and fidelity as a Biſhop. His patience and fortitude as a Martyr. His Epiſtles.* Polycarps *commendation of them.*

I. FINDING nothing recorded concerning the Countrey or Parentage of this Holy Man, I ſhall not build upon meer fanſie and conjecture. He is ordinarily ſtiled both by himſelf and others *Theophorus*, which though like *Juſtus* it be oft no more then a common Epithet, yet is it ſometimes uſed as a proper name. It is written according to the different accents, either Θεοφόρος, and then it notes a divine perſon, a man whoſe ſoul is full of God, and all holy and divine qualities, ὁ ἐν Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀναφέρων, as *Ignatius* himſelf is ſaid to explain it; or Θεόφορος, and ſo in a paſſive ſignification it implies one that is born or carried by God. And in this latter ſenſe he is ſaid to have derived the title from our Lords taking him up into his Arms. For thus we are told, that he was that very *Child* whom our Saviour took into his arms, and ſet in the midſt of his Diſciples, as the moſt lively inſtance of Innocency and Humility. And this affirmed (if number might carry it) not onely by the [a] *Greeks* in their public Rituals, by [b] *Metaphraſtes*, [c] *Nicephorus*; and others, but (as the Primate of *Armagh* [d] obſerves from the Manuſcripts in his own poſſeſſion) by two *Syriac* Writers, more ancient then they. But how confidently or generally ſoever it be reported, the Story at beſt is precarious and uncertain, not to ſay abſolutely falſe and groundleſs. Sure I am [e] S. *Chryſoſtom* (who had far better opportunities of knowing then they) expreſly affirms of *Ignatius*, that he never ſaw our Saviour, or enjoyed any familiarity or converſe with him.

Mark 9.36. Matt. 18.2,3,4.

[a] *Mænæon Græcor.* Τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ τοῦ Δεκεμβρ. [b] *Metaphr. ad Decembr.* 20. *Græc. & Lat. apud Cotsler. p.* 991. [c] *Niceph. H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 35. *p.* 192. [d] *Annot. in Ignat. Act. p.* 37. [e] *Homil. in S. Ignat. p.* 506. *Tom.* 1.

Οὕτως φερωνύμως πέφυκεν Θεόφορος, πάτερ. Νήπιος γὰρ ἔτι κομιδῇ ὑπάρχων εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κυρίου φέρεται, ἴσως ἀναφωνεῖ· πρὸς ἡμᾶς, γίνεσθέ μοι, ὡς τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο. Men. Græc. loc. citat.

II. IN his younger years he was brought up under Apoſtolical Inſtitution: ſo [f] *Chryſoſtom* tells us, that he was intimately converſant with the Apoſtles, educated and nurſed up by them, every where at hand, and made partaker ῥημάτων & ἀποῤῥήτων, both of their familiar diſcourſes, and more

[f] *Ibid. p.* 499.

more ſecret and uncommon Myſteries. Which though 'tis probable he means of his particular converſation with S. *Peter* and *Paul*, yet ſome of the forementioned Authors, and not they onely, but the [a] *Acts* of his Martyrdom, written as is ſuppoſed by ſome preſent at it, further aſſure us, that he was S. *Johns* Diſciple. Being fully inſtructed in the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, he was for his eminent parts, and the great Piety of his life, choſen to be Biſhop of *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, and the moſt famous and renowned City of the *Eaſt*; not more remarkable among Foreign Writers for being the *Oriental* Seat of the *Roman* Emperours, and their Vice-Roys and Governours; then it is in Eccleſiaſtics for its eminent entertainment of the Chriſtian Faith, its giving the venerable title of *Chriſtians* to the Diſciples of the Holy *Jeſus*, and S. *Peters* firſt and peculiar reſidence in this place. Whence the Synod of [b] *Conſtantinople* aſſembled under *Nectarius*, in their *Synodical* Epiſtle to the *Weſtern* Biſhops, deſervedly call it, *the moſt ancient and truly Apoſtolic Church of Antioch, in which the honourable name of* Chriſtians *did firſt commence.* In all which reſpects it is frequently in the Writings of the Church by a proud kind of title ſtiled Θεόπολις, or *the City of God.* That *Ignatius* was conſtituted Biſhop of this Church, is allowed on all hands, though as to the time and order of his coming to it, almoſt the ſame difficulties occur, which before did in *Clemens* his ſucceſſion to the See of *Rome*, poſſibly not readily to be removed but by the ſame method of ſolution, eaſily granted in this caſe by *Baronius* himſelf, and ſome other Writers of note in that Church. I ſhall not need to prove what is evident enough in it ſelf, and plainly acknowledged by the Ancients, that *Peter* and *Paul* planted Chriſtianity in this City, and both concurred to the foundation of this Church, the one applying himſelf to the *Jews*, the other to the *Gentiles.* And large enough was the Vineyard to admit the joint-endeavours of theſe two great Planters of the Goſpel, it being a vaſt populous City, containing at that time according to S. *Chryſoſtoms* computation no leſs then two hundred thouſand ſouls. But the Apoſtles (who could not ſtay always in one place) being called off to the Miniſtry of other Churches, ſaw it neceſſary to ſubſtitute others in their room, the one reſigning his truſt to *Enodius*, the other to *Ignatius.* Hence in the *Apoſtolic Conſtitutions* [c] *Enodius* is ſaid to be ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* by S. *Peter*, and *Ignatius* by S. *Paul*; till *Enodius* dying, and the *Jewiſh* Converts being better reconciled to the *Gentiles*, *Ignatius* ſucceeded in the ſole care and Preſidency over that Church, wherein he might poſſibly be afterwards confirmed by *Peter* himſelf. In which reſpect probably the Author of the [d] *Alexandrine Chronicon* meant it, when he affirms that *Ignatius* was conſtituted Biſhop of *Antioch* by the *Apoſtles.* By this means he may be ſaid both immediately to ſucceed the Apoſtle, as [e] *Origen*, [f] *Euſebius*, [g] *Athanaſius*, and [h] *Chryſoſtom* affirm, and withall to be the next after *Enodius*, as [i] S. *Hierom*, [k] *Socrates*, [l] *Metaphraſtes* and others place him. However *Enodius* dying, and he being ſetled in it by the Apoſtles hands, might be juſtly ſaid to ſucceed S. *Peter*; in which ſenſe it is that ſome of the Ancients expreſly affirm him to have received his Conſecration from S. *Peter*, διὰ τὸ τῦ μεγάλυ Πέτρυ δεξιᾶς τὴν ἀρχιεροσυνὴν τὴν χάριν ἐδέξαλο, ſays [m] *Theodoret*; and ſo their own [n] Hiſtorian relates it, that *Peter* coming to *Antioch* in his paſſage to *Rome*, and finding *Enodius*

[a] *Act. Ignat. p. 1. & 5. Edit. uſſer.*

[b] *Ap. Theodoret. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 9. p. 211.*

* *Ad Ann. 45. n. 14. vid. Ad. Martyr. Rom. Feb. 1. p. 88.*

[c] *Lib. 7. c. 47. p. 451.*

[d] *Ad Ann. Tib. XIX. p. 526.*

[e] *Orig. Hom. 6. in Luc. p. 214.*

[f] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 36. p. 106.*

[g] *Athan. de Synod. Arim. & Seleu. p. 922.*

[h] *Chryſoſt. loc. cit. p. 500.*

[i] *Hier. de ſcript. in Ignat.*

[k] *Socr. H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 8. p. 313.*

[l] *Metaphr. ubi ſupr.*

[m] *De Immutab. Dialog. 1. p. 33. Tom. 4.*

[n] *Jo. Malel Chron. l. 10. ap. uſſer. Not. in Epiſt. ad Antioch. pag. 107.*

lately

lately dead, committed the Government of it to *Ignatius*, whom he made Biſhop of that place: though it will be a little difficult to reconcile the Times to an agreement with that account.

III. SOMEWHAT above forty years S. *Ignatius* continued in his charge at *Antioch*, (*Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* aſſigns him but four years, the figure μ for forty, being probably through the careleſsneſs of Tranſcribers ſlipt out of the account) in the midſt of very ſtormy and tempeſtuous times. But [a] he like a wiſe and prudent Pilot ſate at the Stern, and declined the dangers that threatned them by his prayers and tears, his faſtings and the conſtancy of his preaching, and thoſe indefatigable pains he took among them, fearing leſt any of the more weak and unſetled Chriſtians might be overborn with the ſtorms of Perſecution. Never did a little calm and quiet interval happen, but he rejoiced in the proſperity of the Church: though as to himſelf he ſomewhat impatiently expected and longed for Martyrdom, without which he accounted he could never perfectly attain to the love of Chriſt, nor fill up the duty and meaſures of a true Diſciple, which accordingly afterwards became his portion. Indeed as to the particular acts of his Government, nothing memorable is recorded of him in the Antiquities of the Church, more then what [b] *Socrates* relates (by what authority, I confeſs, I know not) that he ſaw a Viſion, wherein he heard the Angels with alternate hymns celebrating the honour of the holy Trinity, in imitation whereof he inſtituted the way of *Antiphonal* hymns in the Church of *Antioch*, which thence ſpread it ſelf over the whole Chriſtian Church. Whether this Story was made on purpoſe to out-vie the *Arrians* who were wont on the *Sabbaths* and *Lords-days* to ſing alternate hymns in their Congregations, with ſome tart reflections upon the Orthodox, inſomuch that *Chryſoſtom* was forced to introduce the ſame way of ſinging into the Orthodox Aſſemblies; or whether it was really inſtituted by *Ignatius*, but afterwards grown into diſ-uſe, I will not ſay. Certain it is, that *Flavianus* afterwards Biſhop of *Antioch* in the reign of *Conſtantius* is [c] ſaid to have been the firſt that thus eſtabliſhed the Quire, and appointed *Davids* Pſalms to be ſung by turns, which thence propagated it ſelf to other Churches. S. *Ambroſe* was the firſt that brought it into the *Weſtern* Church, reviving (ſays the [d] Hiſtorian) the ancient inſtitution of *Ignatius*, long diſuſed among the *Greeks*. But to return.

IV. IT was about the year of Chriſt CVII. When *Trajan* the Emperour ſwelled with his late Victory over the *Scythians* and the *Daci*, about the nineth year of his reign came to *Antioch*, to make preparation for the War which he was reſolved to make upon the *Parthians* and *Armenians*. He entered the City with the Pomps and Solemnities of a triumph, and as his firſt care uſually was about the concernments of Religion, he began preſently to enquire into that affair. Indeed he [e] looked upon it as an affront to his other Victories to be conquered by Chriſtians; and therefore to make this Religion ſtoop, had already commenced a Perſecution againſt them in other parts of the Empire, which he reſolved to carry on here. S. *Ignatius* (whoſe ſolicitude for the good of his Flock made him continually ſtand upon his guard) thinking it more prudent to go himſelf, then ſtay to be ſent for, of his own [f] accord preſented himſelf to the Emperour, between whom there is ſaid to have paſſed a large and particular diſcourſe, the Empire wondring that he dared to tranſgreſs his Laws, while the good man aſſerted his own innocency,

[a] *Act. Ignat. p.* 1,2.

[b] *H. Eccl. loc. citat.*

[c] *Theodoret. H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.*24. *p.*107.

[d] *Sigibert. Chr. ad Ann. Chr.* 987.

[e] *Act. ib. p.*2.

[f] *Act. Ign. p.*3.

cency, and the power which God had given them over evil Spirits, and that the gods of the *Gentiles* were no better then *Dæmons*, there being but one ſupreme deity, who made the World, and his onely begotten Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, who though crucified under *Pilate*, had yet deſtroyed him that had the power of ſin, that is, the Devil, and would ruine the whole Power and Empire of the *Dæmons*, and tread it under the feet of thoſe, who carried God in their hearts. The iſſue was, that he was caſt into priſon, where (if what the [a] *Greek* Rituals and ſome others report, be true) he was for the conſtancy and reſolution of his Profeſſion, ſubjected to the moſt ſevere and mercileſs torments, whipped with *Plumbatæ*, Scourges with leaden Bullets at the end of them, forced to hold fire in his hands, while his ſides were burnt with papers dipt in oil, his feet ſtood upon live coals, and his fleſh was torn off with burning Pincers. Having by an invincible patience overcome the malice and cruelty of his Tormenters, the Emperour pronounced the [b] final ſentence upon him, that being incurably over-run with Superſtition, he ſhould be carried bound by Souldiers to *Rome*, and there thrown as a prey to wild Beaſts. The good man heartily rejoiced at the fatal decree, *I thank thee, O Lord* (ſaid he) *that thou haſt condeſcended thus perfectly to honour me with thy love, and haſt thought me worthy with thy Apoſtle Paul to be bound with iron chains.* With that he chearfully embraced his chains, and having fervently prayed for his Church, and with tears recommended it to the divine care and providence, he delivered up himſelf into the hands of his Keepers, that were appointed to tranſport him to the place of execution.

[a] Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ια'. μην. τῶ Δεκεμβ.

[b] *Act. Martyr.* p. 4.

V. IT may juſtly ſeem ſtrange, and 'twas that which puzled the great [c] *Scaliger*, why he ſhould be ſent ſo vaſt a way from *Antioch* in *Syria* to be martyred at *Rome*. Whereof theſe probable accounts may be rendred. Firſt, It was uſual with the Governours of Provinces, where the malefactors were more then ordinarily eminent, either for the quality of their perſons, or the nature of their crimes, to ſend them to *Rome*, that their puniſhment might be made exemplary in the eye of the World. Secondly his enemies were not willing he ſhould ſuffer at home, where he was too much honoured and eſteemed already, and where his death would but raiſe him into a higher Veneration with the People, and ſettle their minds in a firmer belief of that Faith, which he had taught them, and which they then ſaw him ſealing with his bloud. Thirdly, by ſo long a journey, they hoped that in all places where he came, men would be more effectually terrified from embracing that Religion, which they ſaw ſo much diſtaſted and reſented by the Emperour, and the profeſſion whereof could not be purchaſed but at ſo dear a rate; beſides the probability, that by this uſage the conſtancy of *Ignatius* himſelf might be broken, and he forced to yield. Fourthly, they deſigned to make the good mans puniſhment as ſevere and heavy as they could, and therefore ſo contrived it, that there might be a concurrence of circumſtances to render it bitter and grievous to him. His great age, being then probably above fourſcore years old, the vaſt length and tedioufneſs of the journey, (which was not a little encreaſed by the μακρόπεροι διαύλοι τῆς δρόμου, as [d] S. *Chryſoſtom* obſerves, their going the fartheſt way about, for they went not the direct paſſage to *Rome*, but by infinite windings, diverted from place to place) the trouble and difficulty of the paſſage, bad at all times, but much worſe

[c] *Animadv. ad Euſeb. Chron.* p. 207.

[d] *Homil. cit.* p. 504.

worſe now in Winter, the want of all neceſſary conveniencies and accommodations for ſo aged and infirm a perſon, the rude and mercileſs uſage of his Keepers, who treated him with all ruggedneſs and inhumanity: *From Syria even to Rome both by Sea and Land I fight with Beaſts, night and day I am chained to ten Leopards, (which is my military guard) who, the kinder I am to them, are the more cruel and fierce to me,* as [a] himſelf complains. Beſides what was dearer to him then all this, his credit and reputation might be in danger to ſuffer with him, ſeeing at ſo great a diſtance the *Romans* were generally more likely to underſtand him to ſuffer as a Malefactor for ſome notorious crime, then as a Martyr for Religion, and this [b] *Metaphraſtes* aſſures us, was one particular end of his ſending thither. Not to ſay that beyond all this, the Divine Providence (which knows how to bring good out of evil, and to over-rule the deſigns of bad men to wiſe and excellent purpoſes) might the rather permit it to be ſo, that the leading ſo great a man ſo far in triumph, might make the Faith more remarkable and illuſtrious, that he might have the better opportunity to eſtabliſh and confirm the Chriſtians, who flocked to him from all parts as he came along; and by giving them the example of a generous Vertue, arm them with the ſtronger reſolution to die for their Religion, and eſpecially that he might ſeal the truth of his Religion at *Rome*; where his death might be διδασκαλίαν εὐσεβείας, (as *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks) a Tutor of Piety, and teach κρείττονα φιλοσοφεῖν, the City that was ſo famous for Arts and Wiſdom, a new and better Philoſophy then they had learned before. To all which may be added, that this was done not by the Provincial Governour, who had indeed power of executing capital puniſhments within his own Province (which ſeems to have been the main ground of *Scaligers* ſcruple) but immediately by the Emperour himſelf, whoſe pleaſure and command it was that he ſhould be ſent to *Rome*; whither we muſt now follow him to his Martyrdom: in the account whereof we ſhall for the main keep to the *Acts* of it, written in all probability by *Philo* and *Agathopus*, the Companions of his Journey, and preſent at his Paſſion; two ancient Verſions whereof the incomparable Biſhop *Uſher* firſt recovered and publiſhed to the World.

[a] *Epiſt. ad Rom. p. 23. & ap. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 36. p. 107.*

[b] *Martyr. ubi ſupr. p. 995.*

Vid. chryſoſt. Homil. cit. pag. 505.

Ibid.

VI. BEING [c] conſigned to a guard of ten Souldiers, he took his leave of his beloved *Antioch* (and a ſad parting no doubt there was between him and his people; who were to *ſee his face no more*) and was conducted on foot to *Seleucia*, a Port-town of *Syria*, about ſixteen miles diſtant thence, the very place whence *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſet ſail for *Cyprus*. Here going aboard, after a tedious and difficult Voyage they arrived at *Smyrna*, a famous City of *Ionia*, where they were no ſooner ſet on ſhore, but he went to ſalute S. *Polycarp* Biſhop of the place, his old Fellow-Pupil under S. *John* the Apoſtle. Joyful was the meeting of theſe two Holy men, S. *Polycarp* being ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he rejoiced in the others chains, and earneſtly preſſed him to a firm and final perſeverance. Hither came in the Country round about, eſpecially the Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons of the *Aſian* Churches, to behold ſo venerable a ſight, to partake of the holy Martyrs prayers and bleſſing, and to encourage him to hold on to his conſummation. To requite whoſe kindneſs, and for their further inſtruction and eſtabliſhment in the Faith, he wrote [d] Letters from hence to ſeveral Churches, one to the *Epheſians*, wherein he commends *Oneſimus* their Biſhop for his ſingular

[c] *Act. Ignat. pag. 5.*

[d] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 36. p. 107.*

gular charity; another to the *Magneſians*, a City ſeated upon the River *Meander*, which he ſent by *Damas* their Biſhop, *Baſſus* and *Apollonius* Presbyters, and *Sotio* Deacon of that Church; a third to the *Trallians* by *Polybius* their Biſhop, wherein he particularly preſſes them to ſubjection to their ſpirtual Guides, and to avoid thoſe peſtilent hæretical doctrines that were then riſen in the Church. A fourth he wrote to the Chriſtians at *Rome*, to acquaint them with his preſent ſtate, and paſſionate deſire not to be hindred in that courſe of Martyrdom, which he was now haſtening to accompliſh.

VII. HIS Keepers a little impatient of their ſtay at *Smyrna*, ſet ſail for *Troas*, a noted City of the leſſer *Phrygia*, not far from the ruines of the ancient *Troy*: where at his arrival he was not a little refreſhed with the news that he received of the Perſecution ceaſing in the Church of *Antioch*. Hither ſeveral Churches ſent their Meſſengers to viſit and ſalute him, and hence he diſpatched two Epiſtles, one to the Church at *Philadelphia*, to preſs them to Love and Unity, and to ſtand faſt in the truth and ſimplicity of the Goſpel, the other to the Church of *Smyrna*, from whence he lately departed, which he ſent, as alſo the former, by *Burrhus* the Deacon, whom they and the *Epheſians* had ſent to wait upon him; and together with that (as [a] *Euſebius* informs us) he wrote privately to S. *Polycarp*, particularly recommending to him the care and overſight of the Church of *Antioch*, for which as a vigilant Paſtor he could not but have a tender and very dear regard; though very learned men (but certainly without any juſt reaſon) think this not to have been a diſtinct Epiſtle from the former, but jointly directed and intended to S. *Polycarp* and his Church of *Smyrna*. Which however it be, they conclude it as certain that the Epiſtle to S. *Polycarp* now extant, is none of it, as in which nothing of the true temper and ſpirit of *Ignatius* does appear, while others of great note not improbably contend for it as genuine and ſincere. From *Troas* they ſailed to *Neapolis*, a maritime Town of *Macedonia*, thence to *Philippi*, a *Roman* Colony (the very ſame journey which S. *Paul* had gone before him,) where (as [b] S. *Polycarp* intimates in his Epiſtle to that Church) they were entertained with all imaginable kindneſs and courteſie, and conducted forwards in their journey. Hence they paſſed on foot through *Macedonia* and *Epirus*, till they came to *Epidamnum* a City of *Dalmatia*, where again taking Ship they ſailed through the *Adriatic*, and arrived at *Rhegium* a Port-Town in *Italy*, whence they directed their courſe through the *Tyrrhenian* Sea to *Puteoli*, *Ignatius* deſiring (if it might have been granted) thence to have gone by Land, that he might have traced the ſame way, by which S. *Paul* went to *Rome*. After a day and a nights ſtay at *Puteoli*, a proſperous wind quickly carried them to the *Roman Port*, the great Harbour and Station for their Navy, built near *Oſtia* at the mouth of *Tyber*, about ſixteen miles from *Rome*, whither the holy Martyr longed to come, as much deſirous to be at the end of his Race, as his Keepers weary of their voyage, were to be at the end of their journey.

[a] *Loc. cit. p.* 107

Act. 16. 11, 12.

[b] *Epiſt. Polycarp. ad Philip. p.* 13. *non longe ab init.*

VIII. THE Chriſtians at *Rome* daily expecting his arrival, were come out to meet and entertain him, and accordingly received him with an equal reſentment of joy and ſorrow. Glad they were of the preſence and company of ſo great and good a man, but quickly found their joy allayed with the remembrance, how ſoon, and by how ſevere a death he was to be taken from them: and when ſome of them did but intimate,

that poſſibly the People might be taken off from deſiring his death, he expreſſed a pious indignation, intreating them to caſt no rubs in his way, nor do any thing that might hinder him, now he was haſtening to his Crown. Being conducted to *Rome*, he was preſented to the *Præfect* of the City, and as 'tis probable, the Emperours Letters concerning him were delivered. In the mean time while things were preparing for his Martyrdom, he and the Brethren that reſorted to him improved their time to pious purpoſes; he prayed with them, and for them, heartily recommended the ſtate of the Church to the care and protection of our bleſſed Saviour, and earneſtly ſolicited Heaven, that it would ſtop the Perſecution that was begun, and bleſs Chriſtians with a true love and charity towards one another. That his puniſhment might be the more pompous and public, one of their ſolemn Feſtivals, the time of their *Saturnalia*, and that part of it when they celebrated their *Sigillaria*, was pitched on for his Execution: at which times they were wont to entertain the People with the bloudy Conflicts of the *Gladiators*, and the hunting of, and fighting with wild Beaſts. Accordingly on the XIII. of the *Kalends* of *January*, that is, *December* XX. he was brought out into the *Amphitheatre*, and according to his own fervent deſire, that he might have no other grave but the bellies of wild Beaſts, the Lions were let looſe upon him, whoſe roaring alarm he entertained with no other concernment, then that now as Gods own Corn he ſhould be ground between the teeth of theſe wild Beaſts, and become White Bread for his heavenly Maſter. The Lions were not long doing their work, but quickly diſpatched their Meal, and left nothing but what they could not well devour, a few hard and ſolid bones. This throwing of perſons to wild Beaſts was accounted among the *Romans*, [a] *inter ſumma ſupplicia*, and was never uſed but for very capital offences, and towards the vileſt and moſt deſpicable Malefactors, under which rank they beheld the Chriſtians, who were ſo familiarly deſtined to this kind of death, that (as [*] *Tertullian* tells us) upon any trifling and frivolous pretence, if a Famin or an Earthquake did but happen, the common out-cry was, *Chriſtianos ad Leones*, Away with the Chriſtians to the Lions.

[a] Paul. JC. *Sent. lib. 5. Tit. 23. L. 3. §. 5. ff. ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. & Venef.*

[*] *Apolog. c. 40. p. 32.*

IX. AMONG other Chriſtians that were mournful ſpectators of this Tragic Scene, were the Deacons I mentioned, who had been the Companions of his Journey, who bore not the leaſt part in the ſorrows of that day. And that they might not return home with nothing but the account of ſo ſad a Story, they gathered up the bones which the wild Beaſts had ſpared, and tranſported them to *Antioch*, where they were joyfully received, and honourably entombed in the *Cœmetery* without the Gate that leads to *Daphne*. A paſſage which *Chryſoſtom* according to his Rhetorical Vein elegantly amplifies as the great honour and treaſure of that place. From hence in the reign of [c] *Theodoſius* they were by his command, with mighty pomp and ſolemnity removed to the *Tychæon* within the City, a Temple heretofore dedicated to the public *Genius* of the City, but now conſecrated to the memory of the Martyr. And for their Tranſlation afterwards to *Rome*, and the miracles ſaid to be done by them, they that are further curious may enquire. For indeed I am not now at leiſure for theſe things. But I can direct the Reader to one that will give him very punctual and particular account of them, and in what places the ſeveral parcels of his Reliques are beſtowed; no leſs then five Churches in *Rome* enriched with them,

[b] *Ad. Ignat. p. 8. Metaphr. loc. cit. Men. Græc. Τῇ κθ'. τῶ Ianuap. Hieron. de Script. in Ignat.*

[c] *Euagr. H. Ecc. l. 1. c. 16. p. 274.*

Bolland. ad diem 1. Febr. p. 45. &c.

them, beſides others in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and indeed where not. And verily but that ſome men have a very happy faculty at doing wonders by multiplication, a man would be apt to wonder how a few bones (and they were not many which the Lions ſpared) could be able to ſerve ſo many ſeveral Churches. I could likewiſe tell him a long ſtory of the various travels and donations of *S. Ignatius* his head, and by what good fortune it came at laſt to the *Jeſuites* Colledge at *Rome*, where it is richly enſhrined, ſolemnly and religiouſly worſhipped, but that I am afraid my Reader would give me no thanks for my pains.

X. ABOUT this time, or a little before, while *Trajan* was yet at *Antioch*, he ſtopped, or at leaſt mitigated the Perſecution againſt Chriſtians: For having had an account from [a] *Pliny* the *Proconſul* of *Bithynia* (whom he had imployed to that purpoſe) concerning the innocency and ſimplicity of the Chriſtians, that they were a harmleſs and inoffenſive Generation; and lately received a Letter from [b] *Tiberianus* Governour of *Paleſtina Prima*, wherein he told him that he was wearied out in executing the Laws againſt the *Galilæans*, who crouded themſelves in ſuch multitudes to execution, that he could neither by perſuaſions nor threatnings keep them from owning themſelves to be Chriſtians, further praying his Majeſties advice in that affair: Hereupon he gave command, that no inquiſition ſhould be made after the Chriſtians, though if any of them offered themſelves, execution ſhould be done upon them. So that the fire which had hitherto flamed and burnt out, began now to be extinguiſhed, and onely crept up and down in private corners. There are that tell [c] us that *Trajan* having heard a full account of *Ignatius* and his ſufferings, and how undauntedly he had undergone that bitter death, repented of what he had done, and was particularly moved to mitigate and relax the Perſecution: whereby (as *Metaphraſtes* obſerves) not onely *Ignatius* his Life, but his very death became πολλῶν εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγαθῶν, the Procurer of great peace and proſperity, and the glory and eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Faith. Some not improbably conceive, that the ſevere judgments which hapned not long after, might have a peculiar influence to diſpoſe the Emperours mind to more tenderneſs and pity for the remainder of his life. For during his abode at *Antioch*, there were dreadful and unuſual [d] Earthquakes, fatal to other places, but which fell moſt heavy upon *Antioch*, at that time filled more then ordinary with a vaſt Army and confluence of People from all parts of the World. Among thouſands that died, and far greater numbers that were maimed and wounded, *Pedo* the *Conſul* loſt his life, and *Trajan* himſelf, had he not eſcaped out at a window, had undergone the ſame fate. Accidents which I doubt not prepared his mind to a more ſerious conſideration and regard of things. Though theſe calamities happened not till ſome years after *Ignatius* his death.

[a] *Epiſt. 97. l. 10.* *Euſeb. l. 3. c. 34. p. 105. J. Malel. Chron. l. 11. ap. uſſer. not. in Ignat. Epiſt. p. 43.*

[b] *Extat ap. Jo. Malel. loc. cit. ap. uſſer. Appen. Ignat. p. 9. vid. Excerpt. ex Jo. Antioch. à Val. edit. p. 818.*

[c] *Sim. Metaphr. Martyr. Ignat. apud Coteler. p. 1002.*

[d] *Dio. Caſſ. Hiſt. Rom. l. 68. & Xiphil. in vit. Traj. p. 249, 250, 251.* *Jo. Malel. Chro. l. 10. ubi ſupr.*

XI. WHETHER theſe judgments were immediate inſtances of the divine diſpleaſure for the ſeverity uſed againſt the Chriſtians, and particularly for their cruelty to *Ignatius*, I will not ſay. Certain it is, that the Chriſtian Church had a mighty loſs in ſo uſeful and excellent a perſon. For he was a good man, one in whoſe breſt the true ſpirit of Religion did eminently dwell, a man of very moderate and mortified affections, in which ſenſe he doubtleſs intended that famous ſaying, ſo much celebrated by the Ancients, Ο ΕΜΟΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΤΑΙ,

my Love is crucified, that is, (for to that purpose he explains it in the very words that follow) his appetites and desires were crucified to the World, and all the lusts and pleasures of it. We may with [a] S. *Chrysostom* consider him in a threefold capacity, as an *Apostle*, a *Bishop*, and a *Martyr*. As an *Apostle* (in the larger acception of the word, he being θρόνων διάδοχος τῶν Ἀποστόλων, as the [b] *Greek* Offices stile him, *the immediate successor of the Apostles in their See*,) he was careful to diffuse and propagate the genuine Doctrine which he had received of the Apostles, and took a kind of Oecumenical care of all the Churches; even in his passage to *Rome* he surveyed τὰς κατὰ πόλιν παροικίας, as [c] *Eusebius* tells us, the Diocesses, or Churches, that belonged to all the Cities whither he came, confirming them by his Sermons and Exhortations, and directing Epistles to several of the principal, for their further order and establishment in the Faith. As a *Bishop*, he was a diligent, faithful and industrious Pastor, infinitely careful of his charge; which though so exceedingly vast and numerous, he prudently, instructed, governed, and superintended, and that in the midst of ticklish and troublesome times, above forty years together. He had a true and unchangeable love for his People, and when ravished from them in order to his Martyrdom, there was not any Church to whom he [d] wrote, but he particularly begged their prayers to God for his Church at *Antioch*, and of some of them desired that they would send θεοπρεσβευτὴν, a divine Embassador thither on purpose to comfort them, and to congratulate their happy deliverance from the Persecution. And because he knew that the prosperity of the Church and the good of Souls were no less undermined by Heresie from within, then assaulted by Violence and Persecution from without, he had a peculiar eye to that, and took all occasions of warning the Church to beware of Hereticks and Seducers, τὰ θηρία τὰ ἀνθρωπόμορφα, as he stiles [e] them, those beasts in the shape of men, whose wild notions and brutish manners began even then to embase Religion, and corrupt the simplicity of the Faith. Indeed he duly filled up all the measures of a wise Governour, and an excellent Guide of Souls, and [f] S. *Chrysostom* runs through the particular characters of the Bishop delineated by S. *Paul*, and finds them all accomplished and made good in him; with so generous a care (*says he* [g]) so exact a diligence did he preside over the flock of Christ, even to the making good what our Lord describes, ὡς μέγιστον ὅρον καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, as the utmost pitch and line of Episcopal fidelity, *to lay down his life for the sheep*; and this he did with all courage and fortitude; which is the last consideration we shall remarque concerning him.

XII. AS a *Martyr* he gave the highest testimony to his fidelity, and to the truth of that Religion which he both preached and practised. He gloried in his sufferings as his honour and his priviledge, and looked upon his chains, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, he calls [h] them, as his Jewels and his Ornaments: he was raised above either the love or fear of the present state, and could with as much ease and freedom (says [i] *Chrysostom*) lay down his life, as another man could put off his clothes. The truth is, his soul was strangely inflamed with a desire of Martyrdom, he wished every step of his Journey to meet with the wild Beasts that were prepared for him, and tells the [k] *Romans*, he desired nothing more then they might presently do his Work, that he would invite and court them speedily to devour him, and if he found them backward, as they had been

[a] *Orat. supr. laud. p. 499.*

[b] *Men. Græc.* τῇ κ'. τοῦ Δεκεμβρ.

[c] *H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 36. p. 106.*

[d] *Epist. ad Eph. p. 9. ad Magnes. p. 15. ad Trallian. p. 20. ad Rom. p. 25. ad Philadelph. p. 31 ad Smyrn. p. 37.*

[e] *Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 34. & Euseb. ubi supr.*

[f] *ubi supr. p. 500. &c.*

[g] *Ibid. p. 499.*

[h] *Epist. ad Eph. p. 6.*

[i] *Loc. laudat.*

[k] *Epist. ad Rom. p. 23. & apud Euseb. loc. cit.*

been towards others, he would provoke and force them. And though the death he was to undergo was most savage and barbarous, and dressed up in the most horrid and frightful shapes, enough to startle the firmest resolution, yet could they make no impression ἐπὶ τὴν στερρᾶν καὶ ἀδαμάντινον ψυχὴν (as the [a] *Greeks* say of him) upon his impregnable adamantine mind, any more then the dashes of a Wave upon a Rock of Marble, *Let the fire* (said he*) *and the Cross, the assaults of wild Beasts, the breaking of bones, cutting of limbs, battering the whole body in pieces, yea and all the torments which the Devil can invent come upon me, so I may but attain to be with Jesus Christ*; professing he thought it much better to die for Christ, then to live and reign the sole Monarch of the World. Expressions certainly of a mighty Zeal, and a divine Passion wound up to its highest note. And yet after all, this excellent person was humble to the lowest step of abasure: he oft [b] professes that he looked upon himself as an *Abortive*, and the very least of the Faithful in the whole Church of *Antioch*, and that though it was his utmost ambition, yet he did not know whether he was worthy to suffer for Religion. I might in the last place enter into a discourse concerning his *Epistles* (the true *Indices* of the piety and divine temper of his mind,) those seven I mean, enumerated and quoted by *Eusebius*, and collected by S. *Polycarp*, as [c] himself expresly testifies; but shall forbear, despairing to offer any thing considerable after so much as has been said by learned men about them: onely observing, that in the exceptions to the argument from S. *Polycarps* testimony, little more is said even by those who have managed it to the best advantage, then what might be urged against the most genuine writing in the World. I add S. *Polycarps* character of these Epistles, whereby he recommends them as highly useful and advantagious, that *they contain in them Instructions and Exhortations to Faith and Patience, and whatever is necessary to build us up in the Religion of our Lord and Saviour.*

[a] *Men. Græc. ubi supr.*

* *Epist. ad Rom. p. 24. & ap. Euseb. ubi supr.*

[b] *Epist. ad Eph. p. 9. ad Rom. p. 25. Epist. ad Trall. p. 17.*

[c] *Epist. Polycar. p. 23. edit. usser. & ap. Euseb. loc. cit. p. 108.*

His Writings.

Genuine.		Spurious.	
Ad Ephesios Epistola.	I.	*Ad Mariam Cassobolitam.*	I.
Ad Magnesianos.	I.	*Ad Tarsenses.*	I.
Ad Trallianos.	I.	*Ad Antiochenos.*	I.
Ad Romanos.	I.	*Ad Philippenses.*	I.
Ad Philadelphenos.	I.	*Ad Heronem.*	I.
Ad Smyrnæos.	I.	*Ad B. Virg. Mariam.*	I.
Doubtful.		*Ad Joannem Apostolum.*	II.
Epistola ad Polycarpum.			

The End of S. IGNATIUS's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. POLYCARP BISHOP of SMYRNA.

S. POLYCARPUS.

The place of his Nativity. His education under S. John. *The honour and eminency of* Smyrna. *By him constituted Bishop of* Smyrna. *Whether the same with the Bishop to whom* S. John *committed the young man.*

S. Po-

S. Polycarp *the* Angel *of the Church of* Smyrna *mentioned in the* Apocalyps. Ignatius *his arrival at* Smyrna. *His Letters to that Church, and to* S. Polycarp. *His Journey to* Rome *about the* Quartodeciman *Controversie. The time of it enquired into.* Anicetus *his succession to the See of* Rome. *His reception there by* Anicetus. *Their mutual kindness notwithstanding the difference. His stout opposing Heretics at* Rome. *His sharp treatment of* Marcion, *and mighty zeal against those early corrupters of the Christian Doctrine.* Irenæus *his particular remarques of* S. Polycarps *actions. The Persecution under* M. Antoninus. *The time of* Polycarps *Martyrdom noted. The acts of it written by the Church of* Smyrna: *their great esteem and value.* S. Polycarp *sought for. His Martyrdom foretold by a dream. His apprehension. Conducted to* Smyrna. Irenarchæ, *who.* Polycarps *rude treatment by* Herodes. *His being brought before the Proconsul. Christians refused to swear by the Emperours* genius, *and why. His pious and resolute answers. His slightings the Proconsuls threatnings. His sentence proclaimed.* Asiarchæ *who. Preparation for his burning. His Prayer before his death. Miraculously preserved in the fire. Dispatched with a Sword. The care of the Christians about his Remains: this far from a superstitious veneration. Their annual meeting at the place of his Martyrdom. His great Age at his death. The day of his Passion. His Tomb how honoured at this day. The judgments happening to* Smyrna *after his death. The Faith and Patience of the Primitive Christians noted out of the Preface to the* Acts *of his Martyrdom. His Epistle to the* Philippians. *Its usefulness. Highly valued and publicly read in the ancient Church. The Epistle it self.*

I. S*POLYCARP* was born towards the latter end of *Nero's* reign, or it may be a little sooner, his great Age at the time of his death, with some other circumstances rendring it highly probable, if not certain. Uncertain it is where he was born, and I see no sufficient reason to the contrary, why we may not fix his Nativity at *Smyrna*, an eminent City of *Ionia* in the lesser *Asia*, the first of the seven that entered their claim of being the birth-place of the famous [a] *Homer*, in memory whereof they had a Library, and a four-square *Portico*, called *Homereum*, with a Temple and the Statue of *Homer* adjoining to it, and used a sort of brass Coin, which they called Ὁμήρειον, after his name, and probably with his Image stampt upon it. A place it was of great honour and renown, and has not onely very magnificent titles heaped upon it by the Writers of those Times, but in several ancient Inscriptions, set up by the public Order of the Senate, not long after the time of *Adrian*, it is stiled, *The chief City of Asia, both for beauty and greatness, the most splendid, the Metropolis of Asia, and the Ornament of Ionia.* But it had a far greater and more honourable Privilege to glory in, if it was (as we suppose) the place of S. *Polycarp's* Nativity, however of his Education, the seat of his Episcopal care and charge, and the Scene of his Tragœdy and Martyrdom. The [b] *Greeks*, in

[a] Strab. Geograph. l. 14. p. 645.

Η ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ
ΚΑΛΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΕΘΕΙ ΚΑΙ
ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙ
ΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Marmor. Oxon. II. *p.* 47. *Eadem habet Marm.* LXXVIII. *p.* 129. CXLIII. *p.* 277. *Append.* XV. *p.* 296.

[b] Τῇ κγ'. τοῦ μην. τοῦ Φεβρυαρ.

in their *Menæon*, report that he was educated at the charge of a certain noble Matron (whoſe name we are told was *Calliſto*) a woman of great Piety and Charity, who when ſhe had exhauſted all her Granaries in relieving the Poor, had them ſuddenly filled again by S. *Polycarps* prayers. The circumſtances whereof are more particularly related by *Pionius* (who ſuffered, if, which I much queſtion, it was the ſame under the *Decian* Perſecution) to this [a] effect. *Calliſto* warned by an Angel in a dream ſent and redeemed *Polycarp* (then but a child) of ſome who ſold him, brought him home, took care of his education, and finding him a Youth of ripe and pregnant parts, as he grew up, made him the *Major-domo* and Steward of her houſe; whoſe charity it ſeems he diſpenced with a very liberal hand, inſomuch that during her abſence, he had emptied all her Barns and Store-houſes to the uſes of the Poor. For which being charged by his Fellow-Servants at her return, ſhe not knowing then to what purpoſe he had imployed them, called for the Keys, and commanded him to reſign his truſt, which was no ſooner done, but at her entrance in, ſhe found all places full, and in as good condition as ſhe had left them, which his prayers and interceſſion with Heaven had again repleniſhed. As indeed Heaven can be ſometimes content rather to work a Miracle, then Charity ſhall ſuffer and fare the worſe for its kindneſs and bounty. In his younger years he is ſaid to have been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith by *Bucolus*, whom the ſame [b] *Menæon* elſewhere informs us S. *John* had conſecrated Biſhop of *Smyrna*; however [c] Authors of more unqueſtionable credit and ancient date tell us, that he was S. *Johns* Diſciple, and not his onely, but as [d] *Irenæus*, who was his Scholar (followed herein by S. *Hierom*) aſſures us, he was taught by the Apoſtles, and familiarly converſed with many who had ſeen our Lord in the Fleſh.

II. *BUCOLUS* the vigilant and induſtrious Biſhop of *Smyrna* being dead, (by whom S. *Polycarp* was, as we are [e] told, made *Deacon* and *Catechiſt* of that Church, an Office which he diſcharged with great diligence and ſucceſs,) *Polycarp* was ordained in his room, according to *Bucolus* his own prediction, who as the [f] *Greeks* report, had in his life time foretold that he ſhould be his Succeſſor. He was conſtituted by S. *John*, ſay the [g] Ancients generally; though [h] *Irenæus* followed herein by the [i] *Chronicle* of *Alexandria*, affirms it to have been done by the *Apoſtles*, whether any of the Apoſtles beſides S. *John* were then alive, or whether he means *Apoſtolic* perſons (commonly ſtiled Apoſtles in the Writings of the Church) who joined with S. *John* in the conſecration. [k] *Euſebius* ſays, that *Polycarp* was familiarly converſant with the Apoſtles, and received the Government of the Church of *Smyrna* from thoſe who had been *Eye-witneſſes and Miniſters of our Lord.* It makes not a little for the honour of S. *Polycarp*, and argues his mighty diligence and ſolicitude for the good of ſouls, that (as we ſhall note more anon) *Ignatius* paſſing to his Martyrdom, wrote to him, and particularly recommended to him the inſpection and overſight of his Church at *Antioch*, knowing him (ſays [l] *Euſebius*) to be truly an Apoſtolical man, and being aſſured that he would uſe his utmoſt care and fidelity in that matter. The [m] Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* tells us, that it was the Biſhop of *Smyrna* (who could not well be any other then S. *Polycarp*) to whom S. *John* committed the tutorage and education of the young man, whom he took up in his Viſitation, who ran away, and became Captain of a Company of looſe and debauched High-way men, and was afterwards reduced

[a] *Pion. vit. S. Polycarp. ex MS. Græc. apud. Bolland. Januar.* XXVI. *p.* 696.

[b] Τῷ ὡπῷ μὴνὶ τῆς'.

[c] *Act. Ignat. p.* 5. *Hieron. de Script. in Polycarp. Euſeb.* Χρον. Λογ. *p.* 81

[d] *Adv. Hæreſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3. *p.* 233. *& ap. Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 14. *p.* 127.

[e] *Pion. c.* 3. *n.* 12. *ubi ſupr.*

[f] *Men.* 23. *Febr. ubi ſupr.*

[g] *Tertull. de præſcript. Hæretic. c.* 32. *p.* 213. *Hieron. ubi ſupr. vid. Suid. in voc.* Πολυκαρπ. *Niceph. H. Eccl. l.* [illegible] *p.* 225. *Martyr. Rom. ad* 26. *Jan. p.* 11.

[h] *Loc. ſupr. citat.*

[i] *Olymp.* CCXXIV. 1. *Anton.* XXI. *p.* 602.

[k] *H. Eccl. l.* 3. *c.* 36. *p* 106.

[l] *Ib. p.* 107.

[m] *Ad. Ann.* 1. *Olympiad.* CCXX. *Indict.* XIII. *ann. Traj.* 4. *p.* 594.

and reclaimed by that Apoſtle. But ſeeing *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who relates the Story, ſets down neither the name of the Biſhop, nor the City, though he [a] confeſſes there were ſome that made mention of it; nor is this circumſtance taken notice of by any other ancient Writer, nor that Biſhops neglecting of his charge well conſiſtent with S. *Polycarps* care and induſtry, I ſhall leave the Story as I find it. Though it cannot be denied but that *Smyrna* was near to *Epheſus*, as S. *Clemens* ſays that City alſo was, and that S. *John* ſeems to have had a more then ordinary regard to that Church, it being next *Epheſus*, the firſt of thoſe ſeven famous *Aſian* Churches, to whom he directed his Epiſtles, and S. *Polycarp* at this time Biſhop of it: for that he was that *Angel of the Church of Smyrna*, to whom that Apocalyptical Epiſtle was ſent, is not onely highly probable, but by a [b] learned man put paſt all queſtion. I muſt confeſs that the character and circumſtances aſcribed by S. *John* to the Angel of that Church ſeem very exactly to agree with *Polycarp*, and with no other Biſhop of that Church (about thoſe times eſpecially) that we read of in the Hiſtory of the Church. And whoever compares the account of S. *Polycarps* Martyrdom, with the notices and intimations which the *Apocalypſt* there gives of that perſons ſufferings and death, will find the prophecy and the event ſuit together. That which may ſeem to make moſt againſt it, is, the long time of his preſidency over that See: ſeeing by this account he muſt ſit at leaſt LXXIV years Biſhop of that Church, from the latter end of *Domitians* reign (when the *Apocalyps* was written) to the Perſecution under *M. Aurelius*, when he ſuffered. To which no other ſolution needs be given, then that his great, nay extreme Age at the time of his death renders it not at all improbable; eſpecially when we find ſeveral Ages after, that *Remigius* Biſhop of *Rhemes*, ſate LXXIV years Biſhop of that place.

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 23. p. 92.*

[b] *Uſſer. Prolegom. ad Ignat. Epiſt. c. 2. p. 9.*

III. IT was not many years after S. *Johns* death, when the Perſecution under *Trajan* began to be reinforced, wherein the *Eaſtern* parts had a very large ſhare. *Ann. Chr.* CVII. *Ignatius* was condemned by the Emperour at *Antioch*, and ſentenced to be tranſported to *Rome* in order to his execution. In his voyage thither he put in at *Smyrna*, to ſalute and converſe with *Polycarp*, theſe holy men mutually comforting and encouraging each other, and conferring together about the affairs of the Church. From *Smyrna Ignatius* and his company ſailed to *Troas*, whence he ſent back an Epiſtle to the Church of *Smyrna*, wherein he endeavours to fortifie them againſt the errours of the Times which had crept in amongſt them, eſpecially againſt thoſe who undermined our Lords humanity, and denied his coming in the Fleſh, affirming him to have ſuffered onely in an imaginary and phantaſtic body. An opinion, (which as it deſerved) he ſeverely cenſures, and ſtrongly refutes. He further preſſes them to a due obſervance and regard of their Biſhop, and thoſe ſpiritual Guides and Miniſters which under him were ſet over them; and that they would diſpatch a meſſenger on purpoſe to the Church of *Antioch*, to congratulate that peace and tranquillity which then began to be reſtored to them. Beſides this he wrote particularly to S. *Polycarp*, whom he knew to be a man of an Apoſtolic temper, a perſon of ſingular faithfulneſs and integrity, recommending to him the care and ſuperintendency of his diſconſolate Church of *Antioch*. In the Epiſtle it ſelf, as extant at this day, there are many ſhort and uſeful rules and precepts of life, eſpecially ſuch as concern the Paſtoral and Epiſcopal Office.

And

And here again he renews his request concerning *Antioch*, that a messenger might be sent from *Smyrna* to that Church, and that S. *Polycarp* would write to other Churches to do the like; a thing which he would have done himself, had not his hasty departure from *Troas* prevented him. And more then this we find not concerning *Polycarp* for many years after, till some unhappy differences in the Church brought him upon the public Stage.

IV. IT happened that the *Quartodeciman* controversie about the observation of *Easter* began to grow very high between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, each standing very stifly upon their own way, and justifying themselves by Apostolical practice and tradition. That this fire might not break out into a greater flame, S. *Polycarp* [a] undertakes a journey to *Rome* to interpose with those who were the main supports and champions of the opposite party, and gave life and spirit to the controversie. Though the exact time of his coming hither cannot precisely be defined, yet will it in a great measure depend upon *Anicetus* his succession to that See, in whose time he came thither. Now evident it is that almost all the ancient Catalogues place him before *Soter*, and next to *Pius*, whom he succeded. This succession [b] *Eusebius* places *Ann. Chr.* CLIV. a computation certainly much truer then that of *Baronius*, who places it in the year CLXVII. and consonantly to this the *Chronicle* of *Alexandria* [c] places S. *Polycarps* coming to *Rome Ann. Chr.* CLVIII. *Anton. Imp.* XXI. 'Tis true indeed that in two ancient Catalogues of the Bishops of *Rome*, set down by [d] *Optatus* and [e] S. *Augustine*, *Anicetus* is set before *Pius*, and made immediately to succeed *Hyginus*; by which account he must be removed fifteen years higher, for so long *Eusebius* positively says *Pius* sate. And methinks it seems to look a little this way, that *Eusebius* having given an account of the Emperour *Antoninus Pius* his Rescript in behalf of the Christians (granted by him in his third Consulship, *Ann. Chr.* CXL. or thereabouts) immediately adds that about the time of the things [f] spoken of *Anicetus* governed the Church of *Rome*, and *Polycarp* came thither upon this errand; the late peace and indulgence granted to the Christians probably administring both opportunity and encouragement to his journey. But seeing this Scheme of Times contradicts *Eusebius* his plain and positive account in other places, and that most ancient Catalogues, especially that of [g] *Irenæus* and [h] *Hegesippus* (who both lived and were at *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus* himself) constantly place *Anicetus* next to *Pius*, I dare not disturb this ancient and almost uncontrolled account of things, till I can meet with better evidence for this matter. But when ever it was, over he came to *Anicetus* to confer with him about this affair. Which makes me the more wonder at the learned *Monsieur* [i] *Valois*, who with so peremptory a confidence denies that *Polycarp* came to *Rome* upon this errand, and that it was not the difference about the *Paschal* solemnity, but some other controversies that brought him thither, when as [k] *Irenæus* his express words are, (if *Eusebius* rightly represent them) that he came to *Rome* to confer and discourse with *Anicetus*, διὰ τὸ ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας, *by reason of a certain controversie concerning the day whereon Easter was to be celebrated.* 'Tis true he [l] says, that they differed a little περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, about some other things, but this hindred not, but that the other was the main errand and inducement of his Voyage thither: though even about that (as he adds) there was no great contention between them. For

[a] *Iren. apud. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 14. p. 127.*

[b] *Chron. ad An.* CLIV.

[c] *Loc. infra cit.*

[d] *De Schism. Donatist. l. 2. p. 38.*

[e] *Epist.* CLXV *ad Generos. col.* 751.

[f] *H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 14. p. 127.*

[g] *Lib. 3. c. 3. & ap. Eus. l. 4 c. 13. p. 126.*

[h] *Ap. Euseb. ib. c. 22. p. 142.*

[i] *Annot. in Euseb. p. 109.*

[k] *Ap. Euseb. loc. cit. vid. etiam. Chron. Alex. ad An. 2. Olym. 224 Ind. X. p. 602. ubi habet,* διὰ ζήτημα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς.

[l] *Ibid. l. 5. c. 24. pag. 193.*

those holy and blessed souls knowing the main and vital parts of Religion not to be concerned in Rituals and external observances, mutually saluted and embraced each other. They could not indeed so satisfie one another, as that either would quit the customs which they had observed, but were content still to retain their own sentiments, without violating that charity, which was the great and common Law of their Religion. In token whereof they communicated together at the Holy Sacrament; and *Anicetus* to put the greater honour upon S. *Polycarp*, gave him leave to consecrate the Eucharist in his own Church: after which they parted peaceably, each side though retaining their ancient Rites, yet maintaining the peace and communion of the Church. The ancient [a] *Synodicon* tells us that a Provincial Synod was held at *Rome* about this matter by *Anicetus*, *Polycarp*, and ten other Bishops, where it was decreed that *Easter* should not be kept at the time, nor after the Rites and manner of the *Jews*, but be celebrated αὐτῇ τῇ παρενδόξῳ ϗ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ, on the eminent and great Lords day that followed after it. But improbable it is that S. *Polycarp* should give his Vote to any such determination, when we know that he could not agree with *Anicetus* in this controversie, and that he left *Rome* with the same judgment and practice herein, wherewith he came thither.

> [a] Synod. à Papp. edit. gr. l. p. 3. & Concil. Tom. 1. col. 583. edit. noviss.

V. DURING his stay at [b] *Rome* he mainly set himself to convince gainsayers, testifying the truth of those Doctrines which he had received from the Apostles, whereby he reclaimed many to the Communion of the Church, who had been infected and over-run with errours, especially the pernicious heresies of *Marcion*, and *Valentinus*. And when *Marcion* meeting him one day accidentally in the street, and ill resenting it that he did not salute him, called out to him, *Polycarp, own us*; the good man replied in a just indignation, *I own thee to be the first-born of Satan.* So religiously cautious (says *Irenæus*) were the Apostles and their followers, not so much as by discourse to communicate with any that did adulterate and corrupt the truth; observing S. *Pauls* rule, *A man that is an Heretic after the first and second admonition reject; knowing that he that is such is perverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.* Indeed S. *Polycarps* pious and devout mind was fermented with a mighty zeal and abhorrency of the poysonous and pestilent principles, which in those times corrupted the simplicity of the Christian Faith, in so much that when at any time he heard any thing of that nature, he was wont [c] presently to stop his ears, and cry out, *Good God, into what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear such things!* immediately avoiding the place where he had heard any such discourse. And the same dislike he manifested in all the Epistles, which he wrote either to neighbour-Churches, or particular persons, warning them of errours, and exhorting them to continue stedfast in the truth. This zeal against Heretics, and especially his carriage towards *Marcion*, we may suppose he learnt in a great measure from S. *John*, of whom he was wont to [d] tell, that going into a Bath at *Ephesus*, and espying *Cerinthus* the Heresiarch there, he presently started back, *Let us be gone* (said he to his Companions) *lest the Bath, wherein there is Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads.* This passage (says *Irenæus*) some yet alive heard from S. *Polycarps* own mouth, and himself no doubt among the rest; for so he

> [b] Iren. adv. hæres. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. & ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 14.

> Εὐφημιμόνως ὁδεύων, μακάριε, τέκνον φωτός τε καὶ εἰρήνης δεικνύμενος, τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς πρωτότοκον καὶ πολέμιον ἔγνως Μαρκίωνα. Νουθετούμενοι, πάτερ, τοῖς λόγοις σου, πᾶσαν ἐκτρεπόμεθα βέβηλον αἵρεσιν, καὶ πονηρὰ συνέδρια τῶν διπλᾶς πρεσβευόντων ἀρχὰς δυσσεβῶν. Men. Græcor. ubi supr.

> Tit. 3. 9, 10.

> [c] Iren. Epist. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 20. p. 188.

> [d] Iren. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. & ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 14.

he tells us elsewhere, that in his youth when he was with S. *Polycarp* in the lesser *Asia*, he took such particular notice of things, that he perfectly remembred the very place where he used to sit while he discoursed, his goings out and coming in, the shape of his body, and the manner of his life, his discourses to the People, and the account he was wont to give of his familiar converse with S. *John*, and others who had seen our Lord, whose sayings he rehearsed, and whatever they had told him concerning our Saviour, concerning his Miracles and his Doctrine, which themselves had either seen or heard, agreeing exactly with the relations of the Sacred History. All which *Irenæus* tells us he particularly took notice of, and faithfully treasured them up in his mind, and made them part of his constant meditation. These are all the material remarks which I find among the Ancients concerning *Polycarp* during the time of his Government of the Church at *Smyrna*. Indeed there are several Miracles and particular passages of his life related by the above-mentioned *Pionius*, which tend infinitely to exalt the honour of this holy man. But seeing the Author is obscure, and that we can have no reasonable satisfaction who he was, and whence he borrowed his notices and accounts of things, I chuse rather to suspend my belief, then to entertain the Reader with those (at best uncertain) relations which he has given us.

[a] *Epist. ad. Florin. ubi supr.*

VI. IN the reign of *M. Antoninus* and *L. Verus*, began a severe Persecution, (whether fourth or fifth, let others enquire) against the Christians, *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, who lived at that time, and dedicated his Apology to the Emperours, making mention of καινὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δόγματα καὶ διατάγματα [b], *new Edicts* and *Decrees* which the Emperours had issued out through *Asia*, by virtue whereof impudent and greedy Informers spoiled and vexed the innocent Christians. But the storm increased into a more violent tempest about the seventh year of their reign, *Ann. Chr.* CLXVII. when the Emperour *Marcus Antoninus* designing an expedition against the [c] *Marcomanni*, the terrour of whom had sufficiently awakened them at *Rome*, summoned the Priests together, and began more solemnly to celebrate their Religious Rites, and no doubt but he was told that there was no better way to propitiate and atone the gods, then to bear hard upon the Christians, generally looked upon as the most open and hateful enemies to their gods. And now it was that S. *Polycarp* after a long and diligent discharge of his duty in his Episcopal station received his Crown. So vastly wide of the mark are the later [d] *Greeks*, making him in their public Offices to suffer Martyrdom under the *Decian* Persecution. Nor much nearer is that of [e] *Socrates* (however he fell into the errour) who tells us that he was martyred under *Gordianus*. Mistakes so extravagant, that there needs no more to confute them, then to mention them. Concerning his Sufferings and Martyrdom we have a full and particular relation in a Letter of the Church of *Smyrna* written not long after his death to the Church of *Philomelium* (or more truly *Philadelphia*) and in the nature of an *Encyclical* Epistle, to all the Dioceses (παροικίαις) of the Holy Catholic Church; the far greatest part whereof *Eusebius* has inserted into his History, leaving out onely the beginning and the end, though the entire Epistle together with its ancient Version, or rather Paraphrase, is since published by Bishop *Usher*. It was penned by *Euaristus*, and afterwards (as appears by their several subscriptions at the end of it) transcribed out of *Irenæus* his Copy by *Caius*,

[b] *Apud Euseb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.*

[c] *Jul. Capit. in vit. M. Antonin. c. 13. p. 181.*

[d] *Men. Græc.* τοῦ κγ' τοῦ Φεβρυαρ.

[e] *Eccl. l. 5. c. 22. p. 284.*

Caius, contemporary and familiar with *Irenæus*, out of his by one *Socrates* at *Corinth*, and from his by *Pionius*, who had with great diligence found it out. A piece it is that challenges a ſingular eſteem and reverence both for the ſubject matter and the antiquity of it, with which [a] *Scaliger* thinks every ſerious and devout mind muſt needs be ſo affected, as never to think it has enough on't: profeſſing for his own part that he never met with any thing in all the Hiſtory of the Church, with the reading whereof he was more tranſported, ſo that he ſeemed no longer to be himſelf. Which effect that it may have upon the pious well-diſpoſed Reader, we ſhall preſent him with this following account.

[a] *Animadv. ad Euſeb. Chr. ad N.* MMCLXXXIII. *p.* 221.

VII. THE Perſecution growing hot at [b] *Smyrna*, and many having already ſealed their confeſſion with their bloud, the general out-cry was, *Away with the impious*, (or the *Atheiſts*, ſuch they generally called and accounted the Chriſtians) *let Polycarp be ſought for.* The good man was not diſturbed at the news, but reſolved to endure the brunt: till his friends, knowing his ſingular uſefulneſs, and that our Lord had given leave to his Diſciples, when perſecuted in one City to flee to another, prevailed with him to withdraw into a neighbouring Village, where with a few companions he continued day and night in prayer, earneſtly interceding with Heaven (as afore-time it had ever been his cuſtom) for the peace and tranquillity of all the Churches in the World. Three days before his apprehenſion falling at night as he was at prayer into a trance, he dreamt that his Pillow was on fire, and burned to aſhes; which when he awakened, he told his friends was a prophetic preſage, that he ſhould be burnt alive for the cauſe of Chriſt. In the mean time he was every where narrowly ſought for, upon notice whereof his friends perſwaded him to retire into another Village, whither he was no ſooner come but his enemies were at hand, who ſeizing upon a couple of youths (one of whom by ſtripes they forced to a confeſſion,) were by them conducted to his lodging. Entering the houſe at Evening, they perceived him to be in bed in an upper Room; and though upon notice before hand of their coming he might eaſily have ſaved himſelf by ſlipping into another houſe, yet he refuſed, ſaying, *The will of the Lord be done.* Underſtanding his Perſecutors were there, he came down and ſaluted them with a very chearful and gentle countenance; in ſo much that they who had not hitherto known him, wondered to behold ſo venerable a perſon, of ſo great age, and ſo grave and compoſed a preſence, and what needed all this ſtir to hunt and take this poor old man. He nothing concerned, ordered a Table to be ſpread, and Proviſions to be ſet upon it, inviting them to partake of them, and onely requeſting for himſelf, that in the mean while he might have one hour for Prayer. Leave being granted, he roſe up, and betook himſelf to his devotions, wherein he had ſuch mighty aſſiſtances of divine grace, that he continued praying near two hours together, heartily recommending to God the caſe of all his friends and acquaintance, whether great or little, honourable or ignoble, and the ſtate of the Catholic Church throughout the World, all that heard him being aſtoniſhed at it, and many of them now repenting that ſo divine and venerable an old man ſhould be put to death.

[b] *Epiſt. Eccleſ. Smyrn. de Mart. Polycarp. Edit. Uſſer. p.* 16. *& apud Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 15. *p.* 129.

VIII. HIS prayer being ended, and they ready to depart, he was ſet upon an Aſs, and (it being then the *Great Sabbath*, though what that

Great

Great Sabbath was, learned men, I believe, will hardly agree till the coming of *Elias*) conducted into the City. As they were upon the Road, they were met by *Herod* and his Father *Nicetes*, who indeed were the main Springs of the Perſecution, and had put the tumult into motion. This *Herod* was an *Irenarcha*, one of thoſe, *ad quos tuendæ publicæ Pacis vigilantia pertinebat*, as [a] S. *Auguſtin* deſcribes them; their Office was moſt what the ſame with that of our modern *Juſtices of the Peace*, they being ſet to guard the Provinces, and to ſecure the public peace and quietneſs within their ſeveral Juriſdictions, to prevent and ſuppreſs Riots and Tumults, Robberies, and Rapines, and to enquire into the Companions and Receivers of all ſuch perſons, and to tranſmit to the Magiſtrates the examinations and notices which they had received of ſuch matters. They were appointed either by the Emperour himſelf, or the *Præfecti Prætorio*, or the *Decurio's*: and at this time the cuſtom in the Provinces of the leſſer *Aſia* was, that every City did yearly ſend ten of the names of their principal perſons to the Governour of the Province, who choſe out one to be the *Irenarcha*, the Keeper, or Juſtice of the Peace. Being afterwards found grievous and troubleſom to the People, they were taken away by a Law of the younger [c] *Theodoſius*, though the Office remained under another name. This Office at *Smyrna* was at this time managed by this *Herod*, whom [d] *Baronius* conjectures to be [e] *Herodes Atticus*, a man of conſular dignity, and of great learning and eloquence, and who had been Tutor to the preſent Emperour. Certain it is that that *Herod* governed in the free Cities of [f] *Aſia*, and reſided ſometimes at *Smyrna*: though it cramps the conjecture, that the name of that *Herods* Father was *Atticus*, of this *Nicetes*, unleſs we will ſuppoſe him to have had two names. But whoever he be, a great enemy he was to *Polycarp*, whom meeting upon the way, he took him up into his Chariot, where both he and his Father by plauſible inſinuations ſought to undermine his conſtancy, asking him what great harm there was in ſaying, *My Lord the Emperour*, and in ſacrificing, by which means he might eſcape. This was an uſual way of attempting the Chriſtians; not that they made any ſcruple to acknowledge the Emperour to be their *Lord*, (none were ſo forward, ſo earneſt to pay all due ſubjection and reverence to Princes) but becauſe they knew that the *Romans*, too apt to flatter the ambition of their Emperours into a fondly uſurpt Divinity, by that title uſually underſtood God, as [g] *Tertullian* tells them; in any other notion of the word they could as freely as any call him *Lord*, though, as he adds, even [h] *Auguſtus* himſelf modeſtly forbad that title to be aſcribed to him.

[a] *Epiſt.* CLIX. *col.* 720. CLX. *c.* 722. *vid. l.* 18. § 4. *ff. de muner. & honor. Tit.* 4. *& l.* 6. § 2. *ff. de cuſtod. & exhib. reor. Tit.* 3.

[c] *C. Th. l. unic. Tit.* 14. *de Hirenarch.*

[d] *Ad Ann.* CLXIX. *n.* 7.

[e] *A. Gell. noct. Att. l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 2. *J. Capit. in vit. M. Anton. c.* 3. *p.* 151.

[f] *Philaſtr. de vit. Sophiſt. l.* 2. *in Herod. p. m.* 646. *& l.* 1. *in Polemon. p.* 642.

[g] *Apolog. c.* 34. *p.* 28.

[h] *Vid. Sueton. in vit. Aug. c.* 53. *p.* 194.

IX. S. *POLYCARP* returned no anſwer to their demand, till importunately urging him, he replied, that he would not at any rate comply with their perſuaſions. Fruſtrated of the ends which they had upon him, they now lay aſide the *Vizor* of their diſſembled friendſhip, and turn their kindneſs into ſcorn and reproaches, thruſting him out of the Chariot with ſo much violence, that he bruiſed his thigh with the fall. Whereat nothing daunted, as if he had received no hurt, he chearfully haſtned on to the place of his execution under the conduct of his Guard; whither when they were come, and a confuſed noiſe and tumult was ariſen, a voice came from Heaven (heard by many, but none ſeen who ſpake it,) ſaying, *Polycarp be ſtrong, and quit thy ſelf like a man.* Immediately he was brought before the public Tribunal, where a great

thout

ſhout was made, all rejoicing that he was apprehended. The *Proconſul* (whoſe name was *L. Statius Quadratus*,) this very year, (as * *Ariſtides* the Orator who lived at this time at *Smyrna* informs us,) the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, (as not long before he had been *Conſul* at *Rome*,) asked him whether he was *Polycarp*? which being confeſſed, he began to perſuade him to recant; *Regard*, ſaid he, *thy great age, ſwear by the genius of Cæſar, repent, and ſay with us, take away the impious.* Theſe were ἃ Χωὶ ἤθες αὐτοῖς, as my Authors truly obſerve, their uſual terms and propoſals to Chriſtians, who ſtoutly refuſed to ſwear by the Emperours *genius*; upon which account the Heathens generally traduced them as Traitors and Enemies to the State, though to wipe off that charge, they openly profeſſed [a], that though they could not ſwear by the *fortune* of the Emperour, (their *genii* being accounted deities, whom the Chriſtians knew to be but *dæmons*, and caſt out at every turn) yet they ſcrupled not to ſwear by the Emperours *ſafety*, a thing more auguſt and ſacred, then all the *genii* in the World.

* *Orat. Sacr. 4.*

[a] *Tert. Apol. c. 32. p. 28. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. 8. p. 421.*

X. THE Holy Martyr looking about the *Stadium*, and with a ſevere and angry countenance, beholding the croud, beckned to them with his hand, ſighed and looked up to Heaven, ſaying, (though quite in another ſenſe then they intended) *Take away the impious.* The *Proconſul* ſtill perſuaded him to ſwear, with promiſe to releaſe him, withall urging him to blaſpheme Chriſt; for with that temptation they were wont to aſſault Chriſtians, and thereby to try the ſincerity of their *Renegado's*, a courſe which [b] *Pliny* tells us he obſerved towards Apoſtate Chriſtians, though he withall confeſſes, that none of them that were really Chriſtians could ever be brought to it. The motion was reſented with a noble ſcorn, and drew from *Polycarp* this generous confeſſion, *Fourſcore and ſix years I have ſerved him, and he never did me any harm, how then ſhall I now blaſpheme my King and my Saviour?* But nothing will ſatisfie a malicious miſguided Zeal: the *Proconſul* ſtill importuned him to ſwear by *Cæſars genius*; to whom he replied, *Since you are ſo vainly ambitious that I ſhould ſwear by the Emperours genius, as you call it, as if you knew not who I am, hear my free confeſſion, I am a Chriſtian. If you have a mind to learn the Chriſtian Religion, appoint me a time, and Ile inſtruct you in it.* The *Proconſul* adviſed him to perſuade the People; he anſwered, *To you I rather chuſe to addreſs my diſcourſe; for we are commanded by the Laws of our Religion to give to Princes and the Powers ordained of God, all that due honour and reverence, that is not prejudicial and contrary to the precepts of Religion. As for them* (meaning the common Herd) *I think them not competent Judges, to whom I ſhould apologize, or give an account of my Faith.*

[b] *Epiſt. ad Trajan. Imp. Ep. 97. l. 10.*

XI. THE *Proconſul* now ſaw 'twas in vain to uſe any further perſuaſives and intreaties, and therefore betook himſelf to ſeverer Arguments: *I have wild Beaſts at hand* (ſaid he) *to which Ile caſt thee, unleſs thou recant. Call for them* (cried the Martyr) *for we are immutably reſolved not to change the better for the worſe, accounting it fit and comely onely to turn from Vice to Vertue.* Since thou makeſt ſo light of wild Beaſts (added the *Proconſul*) I have a Fire that ſhall tame thee, unleſs thou repent. *Thou threatneſt me with a Fire* (anſwered *Polycarp*) *that burns for an hour, and is preſently extinct, but art ignorant alas of the Fire of eternal damnation and the judgment to come, reſerved for the wicked in the other World. But why delayeſt thou? bring forth what ever thou haſt a mind to.* This

and

and much more he ſpake with a pleaſant and chearful confidence, and a divine grace was conſpicuous in his very looks, ſo far was he from cowardly ſinking under the great threatnings made againſt him. Yea the *Proconſul* himſelf was aſtoniſhed at it, though finding no good could be done upon him, he commanded the *Crier* in the middle of the *Stadium* thrice to make open Proclamation (as was the manner of the *Romans* in all Capital Trials) *Polycarp has confeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian.* Whereat the whole multitude both of *Jews* and *Gentiles* that were preſent, (and probable it is that the τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, *the Common-Council, or Aſſembly of Aſia*, might about this time be held at *Smyrna* for the celebration of their common Shews and Sports; for that it was ſometimes held here is evident from an ancient * Inſcription making mention of it,) gave a mighty ſhout, crying out aloud, *This is the great Doctor of Aſia, and the Father of the Chriſtians; this is the deſtroyer of our gods, that teaches men not to do ſacrifice, or worſhip the deities.*

* —ΣΜΥΡ-ΝΑΝ ΚΟΙ-ΝΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ *Marm. Oxon.* III. *p.*70.

XII. THE cry being a little over, they immediately addreſſed themſelves to *Philip* the *Aſiarch*: theſe [a] *Aſiarchs* were *Gentile* Prieſts belonging to the *Commonalty of Aſia*, yearly choſen at the Common-Council or Aſſembly of *Aſia*, to the number of about ten, (whereof one was Principal) out of the names returned by the ſeveral Cities. It was an Office of great honour and credit, but withall of great expence and charge, they being obliged to entertain the people with Sights and Sports upon the Feſtival Solemnities, and therefore it was not conferred but upon the more wealthy and ſubſtantial Citizens. In this place was *Philip* at this time, whom the people clamorouſly requeſted, to let out a Lion upon the Malefactor. Which he told them he could not do, having already exhibited the τὰ Κυνηγέσια, the hunting of wild Beaſts with men, one of the famous Shews of the *Amphitheatre*. Then they unanimouſly demanded, that he might be burnt alive; a fate, which he himſelf from the Viſion in his Dream had prophetically foretold ſhould be his portion. The thing was no ſooner ſaid then done, each one ſtriving to bear a part in this fatal tragœdy, with incredible ſpeed fetching Wood and Faggots from ſeveral places, but eſpecially the *Jews* were peculiarly active in the ſervice, malice to Chriſtians being almoſt as natural to them, as 'tis for the fire to burn. The fire being prepared, S. *Polycarp* untied his Girdle, laid aſide his Garments, and began to put off his Shoes; miniſteries which he before was not wont to be put to; the Chriſtians ambitiouſly ſtriving to be admitted to do them for him, and happy he that could firſt touch his body. So great a reverence even in his younger years had he from all for the admirable ſtrictneſs and regularity of his holy life.

[a] *Vid. l.*6. §. 14. *ff. de excuſat. Tit.* 1. *& l.* 8. §. 1. *de Vacat. Tit.* 5. *ibid. vid. etiam Ariſtid. Orat. Sacr.* IV.

XIII. THE Officers that were imployed in his execution having diſpoſed all other things, came according to cuſtom to nail him to the Stake; which he deſired them to omit, aſſuring them, that he who gave him ſtrength to endure the fire, would enable him without nailing to ſtand immovable in the hotteſt flames. So they onely tied him, who ſtanding like a Sheep ready for the ſlaughter, deſigned as a grateful ſacrifice to the Almighty, claſping his hands which were bound behind him, he poured out his ſoul to Heaven in this following Prayer. *O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and ever-bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of Angels, Powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous, who*

live before thee; I bleſs thee that thou haſt graciouſly condeſcended to bring me to this day and hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy holy Martyrs, and drink of Chriſts cup, for the reſurrection to eternal life both of ſoul and body in the incorruptibleneſs of the holy Spirit. Into which number grant I may be received this day, being found in thy ſight as a fair and acceptable ſacrifice, ſuch a one as thou thy ſelf haſt prepared, that ſo thou mayeſt accompliſh what thou, O true and faithful God, haſt foreſhewn. Wherefore I praiſe thee for all thy mercies, I bleſs thee, I glorifie thee, through the eternal High-prieſt, thy beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt; with whom to thy ſelf and the Holy Ghoſt, be glory both now and for ever. Amen. Which laſt word he pronounced with a more clear audible voice, and having done his Prayer, the Miniſters of Execution blew up the fire, which increaſing to a mighty flame, behold a wonder (ſeen, ſay my Authors, by us, who were purpoſely reſerved, that we might declare it to others) the flames diſpoſing themſelves into the reſemblance of an Arch, like the Sails of a Ship ſwelled with the Wind, gently encircled the body of the Martyr, who ſtood all the while in the midſt, not like roſted fleſh, but like Gold or Silver purified in the Furnace, his body ſending forth a delightful fragrancy, which like frankincenſe, or ſome other coſtly ſpices, preſented it ſelf to our ſenſes.

Phœnicem ſi quis medio miretur in igne
Emori, & extructo ſe reparare rogo. (flammas,
Obſtupeat, POLYCARPE, *avidas tibi parcere*
Non auſas ſacrâ te violare face.
Mille nitent telæ, rutilantq; hinc inde favillis,
Atque in te Dominum, quem colis ipſe, colunt:
Præmia nunc majora tibi ſed reddit Olympus,
Igneæ qui pedibus ſubjicit aſtra ſuis.

Inſcript. Romæ in Eccleſia S. Stephani in Cœlio, ſupraſcripta hæc Siracidæ ſententia:

Eccleſiaſtic. LI. 6.
IN MEDIO IGNIS NON ÆSTUATUS.

Vid. uſſer. not. 74. in Act. Polycarp. p. 67.

XIV. HOW blind and incorrigibly obſtinate is unbelief! The Infidels were ſo far from being convinced, that they were rather exaſperated by the miracle, commanding a Spearman, one of thoſe who were wont to diſpatch wild Beaſts when they became outragious, to go near and run him through with a Sword; which he had no ſooner done, but ſuch a vaſt quantity of bloud flowed from the wound, as extinguiſhed and put out the fire; together with which a Dove was ſeen to fly from the wounds of his Body, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been his ſoul, clothed in a viſible ſhape at the time of its departure; though true it is, that this circumſtance is not mentioned in *Euſebius* his account, and probably never was in the original. Nor did the malice of *Satan* end here, he knew by the innocent and unblamable courſe of his life, and the glorious conſtancy of his Martyrdom, that he had certainly attained the Crown of Immortality, and nothing now was left for his ſpight to work on, but to deprive them even of the honour of his bones. For many were deſirous to have given his body decent and honourable burial, and to have aſſembled there for the celebration of his memory; but were prevented by ſome who prompted *Nicetes* the Father of *Herod*, and Brother to *Alce*, to adviſe the *Proconſul* not to beſtow his body upon the Chriſtians, leſt leaving their crucified Maſter, they ſhould henceforth worſhip *Polycarpus*. A ſuggeſtion however managed by the Heathens, yet firſt contrived and prompted by the *Jews*, who narrowly watched the Chriſtians when they would have taken away his body from the place of Execution: "Little "conſidering (they are the very words of my Authors) how impoſſible it is "that either we ſhould forſake Chriſt, who died for the ſalvation of the "whole World, or that we ſhould worſhip any other. Him we adore "as the Son of God, but Martyrs as the Diſciples and Followers of our "Lord, we deſervedly love for their eminent kindneſs towards their "own

"own Prince and Maſter, whoſe Companions and fellow-Diſciples we "alſo by all means deſire to be. So far were thoſe Primitive and better Ages from that undue and ſuperſtitious veneration of the Reliques of Martyrs and departed Saints which after-ages introduced into the Church, as elſewhere we have ſhewed more at large. *Prim. Chriſt. Part.*1.*chap.*5.

XV. THE *Centurion* beholding the perverſneſs and obſtinacy of the *Jews*, commanded the body to be placed in the midſt, and in the uſual manner to be burnt to aſhes; whoſe bones the Chriſtians gathered up as a choice and ineſtimable treaſure, and decently interred them. In which place they reſolved, if poſſible (and they prayed God nothing might hinder it) to meet and celebrate the Birth-day of his Martyrdom, both to do honour to the memory of the departed, and to prepare and encourage others hereafter to give the like teſtimony to the Faith. Both which conſiderations gave birth and original to the *Memoriæ Martyrum*, thoſe ſolemn Anniverſary Commemorations of the Martyrs which we have in another place more fully ſhewed, were generally kept in the Primitive Church. *Ibid. chap.*7. Thus died this Apoſtolical man *Ann. Chr.* CLXVII. about the hundredth year of his Age; for thoſe *eighty ſix years*, which himſelf ſpeaks of, wherein he had ſerved Chriſt, cannot be ſaid to commence from his birth, but from his baptiſm or new-birth, at which time we cannot well ſuppoſe him to have been leſs then ſixteen or twenty years old: beſides his converſe with the Apoſtles, and conſecration by S. *John*, reaſonably ſuppoſe him of ſome competent years, for we cannot think he would ordain a Youth, or a very young man Biſhop, eſpecially of ſo great and populous a City. The incomparable [a] *Primate* from a paſſage in his Epiſtle conjectures him to have lived (though not then converted to Chriſtianity) at the time when S. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtles; which if ſo, muſt argue him to have been of a greater Age: nor is this any more improbable then what [b] *Quadratus*, the Chriſtian Apologiſt, who lived under *Hadrian*, and dedicated his *Apologetic* to that Emperour, reports; that there were ſome of thoſe whom our Lord had healed, and raiſed from the dead alive even in his time: and of *Simeon* ſucceſſor to S. *James* in the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*, [c] *Hegeſippus* expreſly relates that he was CXX years old, at the time of his Martyrdom. Sure I am, [d] *Irenæus* particularly notes of our S. *Polycarp*, that he lived a very long time, and was arrived to an exceeding great age, when he underwent a moſt glorious and illuſtrious Martyrdom for the Faith.

[a] *Annot. in Ep. S. Polycarp, p.*2.

[b] *Ap. Euſeb. l.*4. *c.*3. *p.*116.

[c] *Ibid. l.*3. *c.*32. *p.*104.

[d] *Adv. Hæreſ. l.*3. *c.*3. *& ap. Euſ. l.*4. *c.*14. *p.*127.

XVI. HE ſuffered on the ſecond of the Moneth *Xanthicus*, the VII. of the Kalends of *May*, though whether miſtaken for the VII. of the Kalends of *April*, and ſo to be referred to *March* XXVI. as ſome will have it, or for the VII. of the Kalends of *March*, and ſo to be adjudged to *February* XXIII. as others, is difficult to determine. It ſhall ſuffice to note, that his memory is celebrated by the *Greek* Church, *February* the XXIII. by the *Latine*, *January* the XXVI. The *Amphitheatre* where he ſuffered is in a great meaſure yet remaining (as a late [e] Eye-witneſs and diligent ſearcher into Antiquity informs us) in the two oppoſite ſides whereof are the Dens where the Lions were wont to be kept. His Tomb is in a little Chappel in the ſide of a Mountain on the *South-eaſt* part of the City, ſolemnly viſited by the *Greeks* upon his Feſtival day; and for the maintenance and reparation whereof, Travellers are wont to throw in a few *Aſpers* into an Earthen Pot that ſtands there for that purpoſe. How miſerable the ſtate of this City is under the *Turkiſh* yoke

[e] *Th. Smith Epiſt. de* VII. *Aſiæ Eccleſ. p.*164.

at this day, is without the limits of my buſineſs to enquire: To look a little higher to the Times we write of, though I love not to make ſevere and ill-natured interpretations of the actions of Divine Providence, yet I cannot but obſerve, how heavy the Divine Diſpleaſure not long after *Polycarps* death fell, as upon other places, ſo more particularly upon this City, by Plague, Fire, and Earthquakes, mentioned by [a] others, but more fully deſcribed by [b] *Ariſtides* their own Orator, who was contemporary with *S. Polycarp.* By which means their City, before one of the Glories and Ornaments of *Aſia*, was turned into Rubbiſh and Aſhes, their ſtately Houſes overturned, their Temples ruined; one eſpecially, which as it advanced *Aſia* above other Countries, ſo gave *Smyrna* the honour and precedence above other Cities of *Aſia*; their Traffick ſpoiled, their Marts and Ports laid waſte, beſides the great numbers of People that loſt their lives. Indeed the fate ſo ſad, that the Orator was forced to give over, profeſſing himſelf unable to deſcribe it.

[a] *Xiphil. Epit. Dion. in M. Anton p.* 281.

[b] *In Orat. Monodia dict. vid. Philaſtr. de vit. Sophiſt. l.* 2. *in Ariſtid. p. m.* 659.

XVII. I cannot better cloſe the Story of *Polycarps* Martyrdom, then with the Preface which the Church of *Smyrna* has in the beginning of it, as what eminently repreſents the illuſtrious faith and patience of thoſe Primitive Chriſtians. "Evident it is (ſay they) that all thoſe Martyr-"doms are great and bleſſed, which happen by the will of God; for it "becomes us Chriſtians, who have a more divine Religion then others, "to aſcribe to God the ſoveraign diſpoſure of all events. Who would "not ſtand and admire the generous greatneſs of their mind, their ſingu-"lar patience, and admirable love to God? who when their fleſh was "with ſcourges ſo torn off their backs, that the whole frame and con-"texture of their bodies, even to their inmoſt Veins and Arteries, might "be ſeen, yet patiently endured it. Inſomuch that thoſe who were "preſent, pitied and grieved at the ſight of it, while they themſelves "were endued with ſo invincible a reſolution, that none of them gave "one ſigh or groan: the holy Martyrs of Chriſt letting us ſee, that at "that time when they were thus tormented, they were ſtrangers to their "own bodies; or rather that our Lord ſtood by them to aſſiſt and comfort "them. Animated by the grace of Chriſt, they deſpiſed the torments "of men, by one ſhort hour delivering themſelves from eternal miſe-"ries; the fire which their Tormenters put to them ſeemed cool and "little, while they had it in their eye, to avoid the everlaſting and un-"extinguiſhable flames of another World; their thoughts being fixed "upon thoſe rewards which are prepared for them that endure to the "end, ſuch as *neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath ſeen, nor hath it entered into "the heart of man*; but which were ſhewn to them by our Lord, as be-"ing now no longer Mortals, but entering upon the ſtate of Angels. In "like manner thoſe who were condemned to be devoured by wild "Beaſts, for a long time endured the moſt grievous tortures; ſhells of "Fiſhes were ſtrewed under their naked bodies, and they forced to lie "upon ſharp pointed ſtakes driven into the ground, and ſeveral ſuch "like Engines of torture deviſed for them, that (if poſſible) by the con-"ſtancy of their torments, the enemy might drive them to renounce the "Faith of Chriſt: Various were the methods of puniſhments which the "Devil did invent, though bleſſed be God, there were not many, whom "they were able to prevail upon.---- And at the end of the Epiſtle they particularly remark concerning *Polycarp*, that he was not only a famous *Doctor*, but an eminent Martyr, whoſe Martyrdom all ſhove

Edit. uſſer. p. 14. *confer Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 15. *p.* 129.

ubi ſupr. p. 28.

to

to imitate, as one who by his patience conquered an unrighteous Judge, and by that means having attained an immortal Crown was triumphing with the Apoſtles, and all the ſouls of the righteous, glorifying God the Father, and praiſing of our Lord, the diſpoſer of our bodies, and the Biſhop and Paſtor of the Catholic Church throughout the World. Nor were the Chriſtians the onely perſons that reverenced his memory, but the very *Gentiles* (as [a] *Euſebius* tells us) every where ſpoke honourably of him

[a] *Loc. ſupr. cit. p.* 135.

XVIII. AS for his Writings, beſides that [b] S. *Hierom* mentions the Volums of *Papias* and *Polycarp*, and the above-mentioned [c] *Pionius* his *Epiſtles* and *Homilies*, [d] *Irenæus* evidently intimates that he wrote ſeveral Epiſtles, of all which none are extant at this day, but the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, an Epiſtle peculiarly celebrated by the Ancients, very uſeful ſays [e] S. *Hierom*, πάνυ θαυμαστὴ (as [f] *Suidas* and [g] *Sophronius* ſtile it) *a moſt admirable Epiſtle.* [h] *Irenæus* gives it this *Elogium*, that it is *a moſt perfect and abſolute Epiſtle, whence they that are careful of their ſalvation, may learn the character of his Faith, and the truth which he preached.* To which *Euſebius* adds, that in this Epiſtle he makes uſe of ſome Quotations out of the *firſt* Epiſtle of S. *Peter.* An obſervation that holds good with the Epiſtle, as we have it at this day, there being many places in it cited out of the firſt, not one out of the ſecond Epiſtle. *Photius* paſſes this juſt and true judgment of it, that it is full of many admonitions, delivered with clearneſs and ſimplicity, according to the Eccleſiaſtic way way and manner of interpretation. It ſeems to hold a great affinity both in ſtile and ſubſtance with *Clemens* his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, often ſuggeſting the ſame rules, and making uſe of the ſame words and phraſes, ſo that it is not to be doubted, but he had that excellent Epiſtle particularly in his eye at the writing of it. Indeed it is a pious and truly Chriſtian Epiſtle, furniſhed with ſhort and uſeful Precepts and Rules of Life, and penned with the modeſty and ſimplicity of the Apoſtolic Times, valued by the Ancients next to the Writings of the Holy Canon; and S. *Hierom* tells us that even in his time it was read in *Aſiæ conventu*, in the public Aſſemblies of the *Aſian* Church. It was firſt publiſhed in *Greek* by *P. Halloix* the *Jeſuit*, *Ann.* MDCXXXIII. and not many years after by Biſhop *Uſher:* and I preſume the pious Reader will think it no unuſeful digreſſion, if I here ſubjoin ſo venerable a monument of the ancient Church.

[b] *Epiſt. ad Lucin. p.* 194. *Tom.* 1.
[c] *Vit. Polycarp. c.* 3. *n.* 12. *p.* 697 *ubi ſupr.*
[d] *Epiſt. ad Florin. ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupr.*
[e] *De Script. in Polycarp.*
[f] *S id in voc.* Πολυκαρπ.
[g] *Sophron. ap. Hieron. ib.*
[h] *Adv. Hæreſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3. *& ap. Euſ. l.* 4. *c.* 15. *p.* 128.

ubi ſupr.

THE

THE EPISTLE OF S. POLYCARP,

Biſhop of *Smyrna* and Martyr, to the *Philippians*.

Polycarp and the Presbyters that are with him, to the Church of God which is at *Philippi*: Mercy unto you, and Peace from God Almighty, and *Jeſus Chriſt* our Saviour, be multiplied.

I.

REJOICED with you greatly in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye entertained the patterns of true love, and (as became you) conducted onwards thoſe who were bound with chains, which are the Ornaments of Saints, and the Crowns of thoſe that are the truly elect of God, and of our Lord: and and that the firm root of your Faith, formerly publiſhed, does yet remain, and bring forth fruit in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who was pleaſed to offer up himſelf even unto death for our ſins: whom God raiſed up, having looſed
Act. 2. 24. the pains of death: in whom, though you ſee him not, ye believe, and
1 Pet. 1. 8. believing, ye rejoice with joy unſpeakable and full of glory; *wherein-*
Eph. 2. 8. *to many deſire to enter, knowing that* by Grace ye are ſaved, not by Works, *but by the Will of God through Jeſus Chriſt.*

1 Pet. 1. 13. II. *WHEREFORE* girding up your loins, *ſerve God in fear and truth, forſaking empty and vain talking, and the error wherein ſo many are involved,*
1 Pet. 1. 21. believing in him who raiſed up our Lord Jeſus Chriſt from the dead, and gave him glory, *and a throne at his right hand; to whom all things both in Heaven and in Earth are put in ſubjection, whom every thing that has breath worſhips, who comes to judge the quick and the dead, whoſe bloud God will require of them that believe not in him. But he who raiſed him up from the dead, will raiſe up us alſo, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love what he loved, abſtaining from all unrighteouſneſs,*
1 Pet. 3. 9. *inordinate deſire, covetouſneſs, detraction, falſe witneſs;* not rendring evil for evil, or railing for railing, *or ſtriking for ſtriking, or curſing for curſing,*
Matth. 7. 1. Luke 6. 36, 37. *but remembring what the Lord ſaid, when he taught thus,* Judge not, that ye be not judged, forgive and ye ſhall be forgiven, be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you

you again: *and that* bleſſed are the poor, and they which are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of God. Matt. 5. 3. 10.

III. *THESE things, Brethren, I write to you concerning righteouſneſs, not of my own humour, but becauſe your ſelves did provoke me to it. For neither I, nor any other ſuch as I am, can attain to the wiſdom of bleſſed and glorious S.* Paul, *who being among you, and converſing perſonally with thoſe who were then alive, firmly and accurately taught the word of truth; and when abſent, wrote Epiſtles to you, by which, if you look into them, ye may be built in the Faith, delivered unto you, which is the Mother of us all, being followed by Hope, and led on by Love, both towards God, and Chriſt, and to our neighbour. For whoever is inwardly repleniſhed with theſe things, has fulfilled the law of righteouſneſs; and he that is furniſhed with love, ſtands at a diſtance from all ſin. But* the love of Money *is the beginning* of all evil. *Knowing therefore* that we brought nothing into the World, and that we ſhall carry nothing out, *let us arm our ſelves with the armour of righteouſneſs, and in the firſt place be inſtructed our ſelves to walk in the commands of the Lord, and next teach your Wives to live in the Faith delivered to them, in love, and chaſtity, that they embrace their own husbands with all integrity, and others alſo with all temperance and continency, and that they educate and diſcipline their children in the fear of God. The Widows, that they be ſober and modeſt concerning the Faith of the Lord, that they inceſſantly intercede for all, and keep themſelves from all ſlandring detraction, falſe witneſs, covetouſneſs, and every evil work: as knowing that they are the* Altars *of God, and that he accurately ſurveys the ſacrifice, and that nothing can be concealed from him, neither of our reaſonings, nor thoughts, nor the ſecrets of the heart. Accordingly knowing that God is not mocked, we ought to walk worthy of his command, and of his glory.* 1 Tim. 6. 7.

IV. *LIKEWISE let the Deacons be unblamable before his righteous preſence, as the Miniſters of God in Chriſt, and not of men; not accuſers, not double-tongued, not covetous, but temperate in all things, compaſſionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who became the* Deacon *or ſervant of all: of whom, if we be careful to pleaſe him in this World, we ſhall receive the reward of the other life according as he has promiſed to raiſe us from the dead: and if we walk worthy of him,* we believe that we ſhall alſo reign with him. *Let the Young men alſo be unblamable in all things, ſtudying in the firſt place to be chaſte, and to reſtrain themſelves from all that is evil. For it is a good thing to get above the luſts of the World, ſeeing every Luſt wars againſt the Spirit; and that* neither Fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God, *nor whoever commits baſe things.* 1 Cor. 6. 9. 10.

V. *WHEREFORE it's neceſſary that ye abſtain from all theſe things, being ſubject to the Presbyters and Deacons, as to God and Chriſt: that the Virgins alſo walk with a chaſt and undefiled conſcience. Let the Preſbyters be tender and merciful, compaſſionate towards all, reducing thoſe that are in errour, viſiting all that are weak, not negligent of the Widow and the Orphan, and him that is poor, but ever providing what is honeſt in the ſight of God and men; abſtaining from all wrath, reſpect of perſons, and unrighteous judgment, being far from covetouſneſs, not haſtily believing a report againſt any man, not rigid in judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to puniſhment. If therefore we ſtand in need to pray the Lord that he would forgive us, we our ſelves ought alſo to forgive. For we are before the eyes of him, who is Lord and God, and* all muſt ſtand before the judgment Rom. 14. 9. 10.

ment ſeat of Chriſt, and every one give an account of himſelf. *Wherefore let us ſerve him with all fear and reverence, as he himſelf has commanded us, and as the Apoſtles have preached and taught us, and the Prophets who foreſhewed the coming of our Lord. Be zealous of that which is good, abſtaining from offences and falſe brethren, and thoſe who bear the name of the Lord in hypocriſie, who ſeduce and deceive vain men. For* every
1 Joh.4.3. 2 Epiſt.v.7. one, that confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is Antichriſt; *and he who doth not acknowledge the martyrdom of the Croſs, is of the Devil, and whoever ſhall pervert the Oracles of the Lord to his private luſts, and ſhall ſay, that there is neither reſurrection nor judgment to come, that man is* the firſt-born of Satan. *Leaving therefore the vanity of many, and their falſe doctrines, let us return to that doctrine, that from the beginning was delivered to us: let us be watchful in Prayers, perſevering in Faſting, and Supplications, beſeeching the All-ſeeing God that he would not lead us into*
Matt.26.41. *temptation; as the Lord has ſaid,* the Spirit indeed is willing but the Fleſh is weak. *Let us unweariedly and conſtantly adhere to Jeſus Chriſt,*
1 Pet.2.22,24. *who is our hope and the pledge of our righteouſneſs,* who bare our ſins in his own body on the Tree, who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth, *but endured all things for our ſakes, that we might live through him. Let us then imitate his patience, and if we ſuffer for his Name, we glorifie him; for ſuch a pattern he ſet us in himſelf, and this we have believed and entertained.*

VI. *I exhort you therefore all, that ye be obedient to the word of righteouſneſs, and that you exerciſe all manner of patience, as you have ſeen it ſet forth before your eyes, not onely in the bleſſed* Ignatius, *and* Zoſimus, *and* Rufus, *but in others alſo among you, and in* Paul *himſelf, and the reſt of the Apoſtles; being aſſured that all theſe have not run in vain, but in faith and righteouſneſs, and are arrived at the place, due and promiſed to them by the Lord, of whoſe ſufferings they were made partakers. For they loved not this preſent world, but him who both died, and was raiſed up again by God for us. Stand faſt therefore in theſe things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brethren, and kindly affectionate one towards another, united in the truth, carrying your ſelves meekly to each other, deſpiſing no man. When it is in your power to do good, defer it not,* for Alms delivereth from death. Be all of you ſubject one to another, having your converſation honeſt among the Gentiles; *that both you your ſelves may receive praiſe by your good works, and that God be not blaſphemed through you. For wo unto him, by whom the Name of the Lord is blaſphemed. Wherefore teach all men ſobriety, and be your ſelves converſant in it.*

VII. *I am exceedingly troubled for* Valens, *who was ſometimes ordained a* Presbyter *among you, that he ſo little underſtands the place wherein he was ſet. I therefore warn you, that you abſtain from covetouſneſs, and that ye be chaſt and true. Keep your ſelves from every evil work. But he that in theſe things cannot govern himſelf, how ſhall he preach it to another? If a man refrain not from covetouſneſs, he will be defiled with Idolatry, and ſhall be judged among the Heathen. Who is ignorant of the judgment of the Lord?* Know
1 Cor.6.2. ye not that the Saints ſhall judge the World? *as* Paul *teaches. But I have neither found any ſuch thing in you, nor heard any ſuch thing of you, among whom the bleſſed* Paul *laboured, and who are in the beginning of his Epiſtle. For of you he boaſts in all thoſe Churches, which onely knew God at that time, whom as yet we had not known. I am therefore, Brethren, greatly troubled for him, and for his Wife, the Lord give them true repen-*

tance.

tance. Be ye alſo ſober as to this matter, and account not ſuch as enemies; but reſtore them as weak and erring members, that the whole body of you may be ſaved; for in ſo doing, ye build up your ſelves.

VIII. *I truſt that ye are well exerciſed in the holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; a thing as yet not granted to me. As it is ſaid in theſe places,* be angry and ſin not: *and,* let not the Sun go down upon your wrath. *Bleſſed is he that is mindful of theſe things, which I believe you are. The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and Chriſt Jeſus the eternal High-prieſt, and Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekneſs that you may be without anger, in patience, forbearance, long-ſuffering, and chaſtity, and give you a portion and inheritance amongſt his Saints, and to us together with you, and to all under Heaven, who ſhall believe in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in his Father, who raiſed him from the dead. Pray for all Saints. Pray alſo for Kings, Magiſtrates, and Princes, and even for them that hate and perſecute you, and for the Enemies of the Croſs, that your fruit may be manifeſt in all, that you may be compleat in him.*

IX. YE *wrote unto me, both ye and* Ignatius, *that if any one go into* Syria, *he might carry your Letters along with him: which I will do ſo ſoon as I ſhall have a convenient opportunity, either my ſelf, or by ſome other, whom I will ſend upon your errand. According to your requeſt we have ſent you thoſe Epiſtles of* Ignatius, *which he wrote to us, and as many others of his as we had by us, which are annexed to this Epiſtle, by which ye may be greatly profited. For they contain in them faith, and patience, and whatever elſe is neceſſary to build you up in our Lord. Send us word what you certainly know both concerning* Ignatius *himſelf, and his companions. Theſe things have I written unto you by* Creſcens, *whom I have hitherto commended to you, and do ſtill recommend. For he has unblamably converſed among us, as alſo I believe amongſt you. His ſiſter alſo ye ſhall have recommended, when ſhe ſhall come unto you. Be ye ſafe in the* Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Grace be with you all.* Amen.

The End of S. POLYCARP's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. QUADRATUS BISHOP of *ATHENS.*

S. QUADRATUS.

His Birth-place enquired into. His Learning. His Education under the Apoſtles. Publius *Biſhop of* Athens. Quadratus *his ſucceſſion in that See. The degenerate ſtate of that Church at his coming to it. His inde-*

fatigable

fatigable zeal and induſtry in its reformation. Its purity and flouriſhing condition noted by Origen. Quadratus *his being endowed with a ſpirit of Prophecy, and a power of miracles. This perſon proved to be the ſame with our* Athenian *Biſhop. The troubles raiſed againſt the Chriſtians under the reign of* Hadrian. Hadrians *Character. His diſpoſition towards Religion, and baſe thoughts of the Chriſtians. His fondneſs for the Learning and Religion of* Greece. *His coming to* Athens, *and kindneſs to that City. His being initiated into the* Eleuſinian *myſteries. Theſe myſteries what, and the degrees of initiation. Several addreſſes made to the Emperour in behalf of the Chriſtians.* Quadratus *his* Apologetic. Ser. Granianus *his Letter to* Hadrian *concerning the Chriſtians. The Emperours Reſcript. His good opinion afterwards of Chriſt and his Religion.* Quadratus *driven from his charge. His Martyrdom and place of Burial.*

I. WHETHER S. *Quadratus* was born at *Athens*, no notices of Church-Antiquity enable us to determine: though the thing it ſelf be not improbable, his Education and Reſidence there, and the Government of that Church ſeeming to give ſome colour to it. And as Nature had furniſhed him with incomparable parts, (*excellens ingenium*, as [a] S. *Hierom* ſays of him) ſo the place gave him mighty advantages in his education, to be thoroughly trained up in the choiceſt parts of Learning, and moſt excellent inſtitutions of Philoſophy, upon which account the [b] *Greeks* truly ſtile him, ἄνδρα πολυΐστορα, a man of great Learning and Knowledge. He became acquainted with the Doctrines and Principles of Chriſtianity, by being brought up under Apoſtolical inſtruction, for ſo [c] *Euſebius* and [d] S. *Hierom* more then once tells us, that he was an Auditor and a Diſciple of the Apoſtles; which muſt be underſtood of the longer lived Apoſtles, and particularly of S. *John*, whoſe Scholar in all probability he was, as were alſo *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Papias*, and others: and therefore [e] *Euſebius* places him among thoſe that had τὴν πρώτην τάξιν, that were of the very firſt rank and order among the Apoſtles Succeſſors. There are that make him, and that too conſtituted by S. *John* (though I confeſs I know not by what Authority, the Ancients being wholly ſilent in this matter) Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, one of the ſeven famous Churches of *Aſia*, and at that time, when S. *John* ſent his Epiſtle to that Church: which I paſs by as a groundleſs and precarious aſſertion, ſeeing they might with equal warrant have made him Biſhop of any other place.

II. UNDER the Reign of *Trajan*, as is probable, though *Baronius* places it under *Hadrian*, *Ann. Imp.* VI. [f] *Publius* Biſhop of *Athens* ſuffered Martyrdom, who is thought by ſome to have been that very *Publius* whom S. *Paul* converted in the Iſland *Melita* in his voyage to *Rome*, and who afterwards ſucceeded *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* in the See of *Athens*. To him ſucceeded our *Quadratus*, (as [g] *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, who lived not long after that time, informs us) who found the ſtate of that Church

[a] *De Script. in Quadrat.*

[b] *Men. Græc.* τῇ κα'. τῶν Σεπτεμβ.

[c] Κουαδρᾶτος ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀκουστής. *Euſeb. Χρον. Kan. Ad Ann. Pr. Z'. p. 211.*

[d] *Hier. de Scrip. in Quadr. & Epiſt. ad Magn. Orat. Tom. 2. p. 327.*

[e] *H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.*

[f] *Euſeb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.*

[g] *Epiſt. ad Athen. apud Euſeb. loc. citat.*

Church in a bad condition at his coming to it. For upon *Publius* his Martyrdom, and the Perſecution that attended it, the people were generally diſperſed and fled, as what wonder, if when *the Shepherd is ſmitten, the Sheep be ſcattered*, and go aſtray? their public and ſolemn Aſſemblies were deſerted, their Zeal grown cold and languid, their lives and manners corrupted, and there wanted but little of a total apoſtaſie from the Chriſtian Faith. This good man therefore ſet himſelf with a mighty zeal to retrive the ancient ſpirit of Religion, he re-ſetled Order and Diſcipline, brought back the People to the public Aſſemblies, kindled and blew up their faith into an holy flame. Nor did he content himſelf with a bare Reformation of what was amiſs, but with infinite diligence preached the Faith, and by daily Converts enlarged the bounds of his Church, ſo that (as the [a] *Greek Rituals* expreſs it) the *Sages* and Wiſe men of *Greece* being convinced by his Doctrines and wiſe diſcourſes, embraced the Goſpel, and acknowledged Chriſt to be the Creator of the World, and the great Wiſdom and Power of God. And in a ſhort time reduced it to ſuch an excellent temper, that [b] *Origen* (who lived ſome years after) demonſtrating the admirable efficacy of the Chriſtian Faith over the minds of men, and its triumph over all other Religions in the World, inſtances in this very Church of *Athens* for its good Order and Conſtitution, its meekneſs, quietneſs, and conſtancy, and its care to approve it ſelf to God, infinitely beyond the common Aſſembly at *Athens*, which was factious and tumultuary, and no way to be compared with the Chriſtian Church in that City; that the Churches of Chriſt when examined by the Heathen Convocations, ſhone like Lights in the World, and that every one muſt confeſs that the worſt parts of the Chriſtian Church were better, then the beſt of their popular Aſſemblies; that the *Senators* of the Church (as he calls them) were fit to govern in any part of the Church of God, while the Vulgar Senate had nothing worthy of that honourable dignity, nor were raiſed above the manners of the common people.

[a] *Men. Græc. ubi ſupr.*

[b] *Contr. Celſ. l. 3. p. 128.*

III. THUS excellently conſtituted was the *Athenian* Church; for which it was chiefly beholden to the indefatigable induſtry, and the prudent care and conduct of its preſent Biſhop, whoſe ſucceſs herein was not a little advantaged by thoſe extraordinary ſupernatural Powers which God had conferred upon him. That he was endued with a Spirit of Propheſie, of ſpeaking ſuddenly upon great and emergent occaſions, in interpreting obſcure and difficult Scriptures, but eſpecially of fore-telling future events, we have the expreſs teſtimonies of [c] *Euſebius*, affirming him to have lived at the ſame time with *Philips* Virgin-Daughters, and to have had προφητικὸν χάρισμα, the gift of Prophecy, and of another [d] Author much ancienter then he, who confuting the error of the *Cataphryges*, reckons him among the Prophets who flouriſhed under the Oeconomy of the Goſpel. I know a learned [e] man would fain perſuade us, that the *Quadratus* who had the Prophetic gifts, was a perſon diſtinct from our *Athenian* Biſhop. But the grounds he proceeds upon ſeem to me very weak and inconcluding. For whereas he ſays, that that *Quadratus* is not by *Euſebius* ſtiled a Biſhop, who knows not that perſons are not in every place mentioned under all their capacities? and leſs need was there for it here, *Quadratus* when firſt ſpoken of by *Euſebius*, not being then Biſhop of *Athens*, and ſo not proper to be taken notice of in that capacity. Nor is his other exception of greater weight,

[c] *H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.*

[d] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 17. p. 183.*

[e] *Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 81.*

weight, that the prophetic *Quadratus* did not ſurvive the times of *Adrian*, whereas ours was in the ſame time with *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, who lived under *M. Antoninus*, and ſpeaks of him as his contemporary, and lately ordained Biſhop of *Athens*. But whoever looks into that paſſage of * *Dionyſius*, will find no foundation for ſuch an aſſertion, but rather the quite contrary, that he ſpeaks of him as if dead before his time, as I believe any one that impartially conſiders the place, muſt needs confeſs. Not to ſay, that S. *Hierom* and all after him without any ſcruple make them to be the ſame. So that we may ſtill leave him his gift of prophecy, which procured him ſo much reverence while he lived, and ſo much honour to his memory ſince his death. To which may be added what the *Greeks* in their *Menæon* not improbably ſay of him, that he was furniſhed with a power of working miracles, and that by his prayers he ruined the idolatrous Temples of the Heathens, whereby he mightily confounded the Infidels, and brought in great numbers to the Faith.

* *Ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.*

Τῷ δὲ τὰ φοβερὰ, Κοδράτε, θαύματα, ἀπίστους εἰς πίστιν θείαν ἐνῆγες, ὡς Ἀποστόλῳ θεόληπτος, ὡς στηλὸς ἱεραρχίας, ἱερώτατος. Men. Græc. loc. ſupr. cit.

IV. BUT the fair weather and proſperity of the Church was not wont to laſt long in thoſe days. They had enjoyed a ſhort tranquillity about the latter end of *Trajans* reign, but now alas under *Adrian* his Succeſſor the weather changed, and there aroſe (as [a] S. *Hierom* calls it) a moſt grievous and heavy Perſecution, and which * *Sulpitius Severus* expreſly ſays was the fourth Perſecution. And indeed, how grievous it was, ſufficiently appears from thoſe many thouſands of Martyrs that then ſuffered, mentioned in the ancient Martyrologies of the Church: Yea, even at [b] *Rome* it ſelf *Euſtachius* and his Wife *Theopiſtis* with their two Sons, are ſaid by the Emperours command to have been thrown to the Lions, and when the mercy of the ſavage Beaſts had ſpared them, they were ordered to be burnt to death in the belly of a brazen Bull. 'Tis true [c] *Tertullian* ſays that *Adrian* publiſhed no Laws or Edicts againſt the Chriſtians; but the Laws enacted by *Trajan* being yet unrepealed, or not laid aſide, there would not want thoſe who would put them in execution. We find [d] that though *Trajan* commanded a ſtop to be put to the perſecution againſt Chriſtians, yet even then both People and Governours of Provinces went on with their accuſtomed cruelties, and though there was not a general, there were particular and provincial Perſecutions. And no doubt it was much more ſo after his death, when *Adrian* came to the Empire, whom they knew too well, to think he would be an enemy to ſuch proceedings. For whatever ſome have ſaid concerning the clemency and good nature of that Prince, there are [e] others that plainly affirm, that it was but perſonated and put on, that he really was in his nature cruel, and that (according to the true *genius* of ſuperſtition) whatever works of piety he did, it was for fear leſt the ſame evil fate ſhould happen to him, that fell upon *Domitian*; and of his cruelty inſtances enough may be met with in the Writers of his Life. In ſhort, there was in him a ſtrange mixture and contemperation of Vice and Vertue, it being a true character which the [f] Hiſtorian gives of him, that he was ſevere and chearful, grave and affable, deliberate and yet eagerly wanton, covetous and liberal, cruel and merciful, a great diſſembler, and perpetually inconſtant in all his actions.

[a] *Epiſt. ad Mag. ubi ſupr.*

* *Hiſt. ſacr. l. 2. p. 142.*

[b] *Vid. Rom. Martyr. ad Septemb. XX. p. 583.*

[c] *Apol. c. 6. p. 6.*

[d] *Euſeb. l. 3. c. 33. p. 105.*

[e] *Mar. Maxim. ap. Æl. Spart. in vit. Adrian. c. 20. p. 88. vid. Dion. l. 69. non long. ab init.*

[f] *Spartian. ib. c. 14. p. 69.*

V. FOR Religion he was a diligent and ſuperſtitious obſerver [g] of their own Rites of Worſhip, but hated and deſpiſed all ſtrange and foreign

[g] *Id ib. c. 22. p. 96.*

reign Religions, and especially the Christian. Indeed how well he thought of the Christians, appears sufficiently from his [a] Letter to *Servianus* the *Consul*, written a little after his return out of *Egypt*, wherein he gives the Christians there so lewd and base a character; not sticking to affirm that the People, yea their Priests, their Bishops and their very Patriarch himself would worship both *Christ* and *Serapis*, and that they were a most turbulent, vain, and injurious generation. From which Epistle it seems plain to me, that at his being there, he had severely persecuted the Christians, and compelled some light or false Professors to worship the Deities of the Country, which probably gave ground to his censure, and to charge the imputation upon all. And since he looked upon the Christians as such a vile sort of men, it's the less to be wondred, that he should connive at, or encourage their being persecuted in other parts of the Empire. He principally applied himself to the Studies of [b] *Greece*, whereof he was so strangely fond, that he was commonly stiled *Græculus*, the *Little Greek*: this made him delight much in those parts, and to converse with the Learning and Philosophy of those Countries. About the sixth or seventh year of his reign he came to *Athens*, where he took upon him the place and honour of an *Archon*, celebrated their solemn sports, and gave many particular Laws and Priviledges to that City, but especially was entered into their *Eleusinian* Mysteries, accounted the most sacred and venerable of the whole Gentile World, and which particularly carried the Title of *The Mysteries*. They were solemn and Religious Rites performed to *Ceres* in memory of great benefits received from her, the Candidates whereof were stiled μύσαι, and to the full participation whereof they were many times not admitted till after a five years preparatory trial, which had many several steps, and each its peculiar rites: first there were πάνδημοι καθάρσεις, the *common purgations*, then αἱ ἀπόῤῥητότεροι, those that were more *secret*, next the συστάσεις, or *stations*, then the μυήσεις, the *initiations*, and lastly, (which was the top of all) the ἐποπτεῖαι, or the *inspections*. Others reckon them thus; that first there were the τὰ καθάρσια, the *Purifications* and expiations; then followed the τὰ μικρὰ μυήσια, the *Lesser Mysteries*, when they were solemnly initiated and taken in; and lastly, after some time they arrived at the Greater Mysteries, the τὰ ἐποπτικά, which were the most hidden solemnities of all, when they were admitted to a full sight of the whole Mystic Scene, and thenceforth called Ἐπόπται or *Inspectors*, and were obliged under a solemn Oath, not to discover these mysterious Rites to any. We cannot well suppose that the Emperour *Adrian* was put to observe these tedious methods of Initiation, their mystic Laws were no doubt dispensed with for so extraordinary a person, and he at once became both a Candidate and an Ἐπόπτης, a thing which they sometimes granted in some extraordinary cases. And not content to do thus at *Athens*, [c] S. *Hierom* tells us, he was initiated into almost all the sacred Rites of *Greece*, whence [d] *Tertullian* justly stiles him, *The searcher into all curious and hidden Mysteries*, and [e] *Dion* himself tells us of him, that he was infinitely curious, and strangely addicted to all sorts of Divination and Magic Arts.

[a] *Extat ap. Fl. Vopisc. in vit. Saturn. p. 959.*

[b] *Spart. c. 1. p. 4.*

[c] *De Script. in Quadrat.*
[d] *Loc. supr. cit.*
[e] *Excerpt. ex Dion. à Vales. edit. p. 714.*

VI. AT *Athens Adrian* staid the whole Winter, where his busie and superstitious Zeal being taken notice of; was warrant enough without further order for active Zealots to pursue and oppress the Christians, the Persecution growing so fierce and hot, that the Christians were forced

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to remonſtrate and declare their caſe to the Emperour; among whom beſides * *Ariſtides* a Chriſtian Philoſopher at this time at *Athens*, who in an *Apology* addreſſed himſelf to *Adrian*, our *Quadratus* preſented an *Apologetic* to the Emperour, defending the Chriſtian Religion from the calumnies and exceptions of its Enemies, and vindicating it from thoſe pretences, upon which ill minded men ſought to ruine and undo the innocent Chriſtians, wherein alſo he particularly took notice of our Saviours miracles, his curing diſeaſes, and raiſing the dead, ſome inſtances whereof, he ſays, were alive in his time. Beſides this *Apology* (wherein, as *Euſebius* ſays, he gave large evidences both of his excellent part and true Apoſtolic Doctrine) 'tis probable he left no other Writings behind him, none being mentioned by any of the Ancients: Where I cannot but note the ſtrange heedleſsneſs of the *Compilers* of the [a] *Centuries*, where they tell us out of *Euſebius*, that beſides the *Apology*, he compoſed another excellent Book called *Syngramma*, when nothing can be more plain, then that by that *Writing Euſebius* means not a diſtinct Book, but that very *Apologetic* Oration, which he there ſpeaks of: and yet a modern *German* [b] Profeſſor (who frequently tranſcribes their errours as well as their labours) ſecurely ſwallows it, purely (I ſuppoſe upon their Authority;) though ſtrange it is, that he could read that paſſage in *Euſebius* himſelf, which he ſeems to have done, and not palpably feel the miſtake.

* *Euſeb. l. 4. c. 3. p. 116. Hieron. ubi ſupr. & in Epiſt. ad Magn. Orator.*

[a] *Cent. II. cap. 10. col. 152.*

[b] *Bebel. Antiq. Eccleſ. Secul. 2. Artic. 1. p. 183.*

VII. IT happened about this time that *Serenius Granianus* the *Proconſul* of *Aſia* wrote [c] Letters to the Emperour, repreſenting to him the injuſtice of the common proceedings againſt Chriſtians, how unfit it was that without any legal Trial, or crime laid to their charge, they ſhould be put to death meerly to gratifie the unreaſonable and tumultuary clamours of the People. With this Letter and the Apologies that had been offered him by the Chriſtians, the keenneſs of the Emperours fury was taken off, and care was taken that greater moderation ſhould be uſed towards them. To which purpoſe he diſpatched away [d] to *Fundanus*, *Granianus* his ſucceſſor in the Proconſulſhip of *Aſia* this following Reſcript.

[c] *J. Mart. Apol. II. p. 99. & ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 8. p. 122.*

[d] *Juſtin. ib. Euſeb. c. 9. p. 123*

ADRIAN Emperour, to MINUCIUS FUNDANUS.

I Received the Letters which were ſent me by the moſt excellent Serenius Granianus, *your Predeceſſor. Nor do I look upon it as a matter fit to be paſſed over without due enquiry, that the men may not be needleſly diſquieted, nor Informers have occaſion and encouragement of fraudulent accuſations miniſtred unto them. Wherefore if the Subjects of our Provinces be able openly to appear to their indictments againſt the Chriſtians, ſo as to anſwer to them before the public Tribunal, let them take that courſe, and not deal by Petition and meer noiſe and clamour: it being much fitter, if any accuſation be brought, that you ſhould have the cognizance of it. If any one ſhall prefer an indictment, and prove that they have tranſgreſſed the Laws, then give you ſentence againſt them according to the quality of the crime. But if it ſhall appear, that he brought it onely out of ſpight and malice, take care to puniſh that man according to the hainouſneſs of ſo miſchievous a deſign.*

The ſame Reſcripts (as [e] *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, who preſented an Apology to M. *Antoninus* informs us) *Adrian* ſent to ſeveral other

[e] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 148.*

other Governours of Provinces. Nay was so far wrought into a good mood, that if it be true what their own [a] Historian reports of him, he designed to build a Temple to Christ, and to receive him into the number of their gods, and that he commanded Temples to be built in all Cities without Images, which were for a long time after called *Adriani*; but was prohibited to go on by some, who having consulted the Oracle, had been told, that if this succeeded according to some mens desires, the Temples would be deserted and all men become Christians.

[a] *Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sever. c.* 43. *p.* 568.

VIII. WHAT became of S. *Quadratus* after *Adrians* departure from *Athens*, we find not more then what the [b] *Greeks* in their *Menæon* relate, that by the violence of Persecuters he was driven from his charge at *Athens*, and being first set upon by Stones, then tormented by Fire, and several other punishments, he at last under *Adrian* (probably about the latter end of his reign) received the Crown of Martyrdom. To what place he fled when he left *Athens*, and where he suffered martyrdom is uncertain, unless it were at *Magnesia*, a City of *Ionia* in *Asia Minor*, where the same *Menæon* tells us, he preached the Gospel, as he did at *Athens*, and that his body was there entombed, and his remains famous for Miracles done there. A place memorable for the death of *Themistocles*, that great Commander and Citizen of *Athens*, banished also by his own Fellow-Citizens, who after his brave and honourable atchievements, did here by a fatal draught put a period to his own life; where (as [c] *Plutarch* tells us) his posterity had certain honours and priviledges conferred upon them by the *Magnesians*, and which his friend *Themistocles* the *Athenian* enjoyed in his time.

[b] *Loc. supra cit.*

Λίθοις νέμειν θέλοντα μηδαμῶς σέβας τῷ Κοδεάτον, βάλλουσιν ἄφρονες λίθοις. Men. *ibid.*

[c] *In vit. Themist. p.* 128.

The End of S. QUADRATUS's *Life.*

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THE LIFE OF S. JUSTIN THE MARTYR.

S. IUSTINUS MARTYR.

His vicinity to the Apoſtolic times. His Birth-place and Kindred. His Studies. His Travels into Egypt. *To what Sect of Philoſophy he applied himſelf. The occaſion and manner of his ſtrange converſion to Chriſtianity*

ſtianity related by himſelf. Chriſtianity the onely ſafe and ſatisfactory Philoſophy. The great influence which the patience and fortitude of the Chriſtians had upon his converſion. The force of that argument to perſuade men. His vindication of himſelf from the charges of the Gentiles. *His continuance in his Philoſophic habit. The* Φιλόσοφον Σχῆμα *what, and by whom worn.* Ὁ χαυνὸς Θησεύς. *His coming to* Rome, *and oppoſing Hereticks.* Marcion *who, and what his Principles.* Juſtin's *firſt Apology to the Emperours, and the deſign of it.* Antoninus *his Letter to the Common-Council of* Aſia *in favour of the Chriſtians. This ſhewed not to be the Edict of* Marcus Antoninus. Juſtin's *journey into the* Eaſt, *and conference with* Trypho *the* Jew. Trypho *who. The malice of the Jews againſt the Chriſtians.* Juſtin's *return to* Rome. *His conteſts with* Creſcens *the Philoſopher.* Creſcens *his temper and principles.* Juſtin's *ſecond Apology. To whom preſented. The occaſion of it.* M. Antoninus *his temper.* Juſtin *fore-tells his own fate. The Acts of his Martyrdom. His arraignment before* Ruſticus *Præfect of* Rome. Ruſticus *who: the great honours done him by the Emperour.* Juſtin's *diſcourſe with the Præfect. His freedom and courage. His ſentence and execution. The time of his death. His great Piety, Charity, Impartiality, &c. His natural parts, and excellent learning. His unskilfulneſs in the* Hebrew *Language noted. A late Author cenſured. His Writings. The Epiſtle to* Diognetus. Diognetus *who. His ſtile and character. The unwarrantable opinions he is charged with. His indulgence to Heathens.* Κατὰ λόγον βιῶν, *what.* Λόγος *in what ſenſe uſed by the ancient Fathers. How applied to Chriſt, how to Reaſon. His opinion concerning* Chiliaſm. *The concurrence of the Ancients with him herein. This by whom firſt ſtarted; by whom corrupted. Concerning the ſtate of the Soul after this life. The doctrine of the Ancients in this matter. His aſſertion concerning Angels, maintained by moſt of the firſt Fathers. The original of it. Their opinion concerning Free-will ſhewed not to be oppoſed by them to the Grace of God. What influence* Juſtin's *Philoſophic education had upon his opinions. His Writings enumerated.*

I. JUSTIN the *Martyr* was one, as of the moſt learned, ſo of the moſt early Writers of the *Eaſtern* Church, not long after the Apoſtles, as [a] *Euſebius* ſays of him, near to them χρόνῳ καὶ ἀρετῇ ſays *Methodius* [b] Biſhop of *Tyre*, both in *time and vertue*. And near indeed, if we ſtrictly underſtand what he [c] ſays of himſelf, that he was a *Diſciple of the Apoſtles*; which ſurely is meant either of the Apoſtles at large, as comprehending their immediate ſucceſſors, or probably not of the Perſons, but Doctrine and Writings of the Apoſtles, by which he was inſtructed in the knowledge of Chriſtianity. He was [d] born at *Neapolis*, a noted City of *Paleſtine* within the Province of *Samaria*, anciently called *Sichem*, afterwards as [e] *Joſephus* tells us, by the inhabitants *Mabartha*, (corruptly by [f] *Pliny Mamortha*) by the *Romans Neapolis*, and from a Colony ſent thither by *Flavius Veſpaſian*, ſtiled *Flavia Cæſarea*. His Father was *Priſcus* the Son of *Bacchius* (for ſo the Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχέου, ΤΩΝ ἀπὸ Φλαυίας, as *Sylburgius* and *Valeſius* obſerve, muſt neceſſarily be underſtood, implying the one to have been his *Father*, the other his *Grandfather*,) a *Gentile*, and (as [g] *Scaliger* probably thinks) one of thoſe

[a] *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 13. p. 50.*
[b] *Ap. Phot. Cod. CCXXXIV. col. 921.*
[c] Ἀποστόλων γνώμῃ καὶ διδαχῇ ἐντυχών. *Epiſt. ad Diognet. p. 501.*
[d] *Apol. II. p. 53.*
[e] *De Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 4. p. 850.*
[f] *H. Nat. l. 5. c. 13 p. 79.*
[g] *Animadv. ad Euſ. Chron. n. MMCLVII. p. 219.*

thoſe *Greeks* which were in that Colony tranſplanted thither, who took care together with Religion to have him educated in all the Learning and Philoſophy of the Gentile World. And indeed how great and exact a Maſter he was in all their Arts and Learning, how thoroughly he had digeſted the beſt and moſt uſeful notions, which their Inſtitutions of Philoſophy could afford, his Writings at this day are an abundant evidence.

II. IN his younger years, and as is probable, before his converſion to Chriſtianity, he travelled into foreign parts for the accompliſhment of his Studies, and particularly into *Egypt*, the Staple-place of all the more myſterious and recondite parts of Learning and Religion, and therefore conſtantly viſited by all the more grave and ſage Philoſophers among the Heathens. That he was at [a] *Alexandria* himſelf aſſures us, where he tells us what account he received from the inhabitants of the *Seventy Tranſlators*, and was ſhewed the Cells wherein they performed that famous and elaborate work, which probably his inquiſitive curioſity as a Philoſopher, and the reports he had heard of it by living among the *Jews* had more particularly induced him to enquire after. Among the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers, after he had run through and ſurveyed all the Forms, he pitched his Tent among the *Platoniſts*, whoſe [b] notions were moſt agreeable to the natural ſentiments of his mind, and which no doubt particularly diſpoſed him for the entertainment of Chriſtianity, [c] himſelf telling us, that the principles of that Philoſophy, though not in all things alike, were yet not alien or contrary to the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Faith. But alas he found no ſatisfaction to his mind either in this, or any other, till he arrived at a full perſuaſion of the truth and divinity of that Religion which was ſo much deſpiſed by the Wiſe and the Learned, ſo much oppoſed and trampled on by the Grandees and Powers of the World. Whereof, and of the manner of his converſion to the Chriſtian Religion, he has given us a very large and punctual account in his Diſcourſe with *Trypho*. I know this account is ſuſpected by ſome to be onely a *Proſopopœia*, to repreſent the grounds of his becoming a Chriſtian after the *Platonic* mode by way of *Dialogue*, a way familiar with the Philoſophers of that Sect. But however it may be granted that ſome few circumſtances might be added to make up the *decorum* of the Conference, yet I ſee no reaſon (nor is any thing offered to the contrary beſides a bare conjecture) to queſtion the foundation of the Story, whereof the ſum is briefly this.

[a] *Parænet. ad Græc. p.* 14.

[b] *Apol.* I. (*vera* II.) *pag.* 50.

[c] *Ibid. pag.* 51.

III. BEING from his Youth acted by an inquiſitive Philoſophic genius, to make reſearches and enquiries after truth, he firſt betook himſelf to the *Stoics*, but not ſatisfied with his Maſter, he left him, and went to a *Peripatetic* Tutor, whoſe ſordid covetouſneſs ſoon made him conclude that truth could not dwell with him, accordingly he turned himſelf over to a *Pythagorean*, who requiring the preparatory knowledge of *Muſic*, *Aſtronomy*, and *Geometry*, him he quickly deſerted, and laſt of all delivered himſelf over to the Inſtitution of an eminent *Platoniſt*, lately come to reſide at *Neapolis*; with whoſe intellectual notions he was greatly taken, and reſolved for ſome time to give up himſelf to ſolitude and contemplation. Walking out therefore into a ſolitary place by the Sea ſide, there met him a grave ancient man, of a venerable aſpect, who fell into diſcourſe with him. The diſpute between them was concerning the excellency of Philoſophy in general, and of *Platoniſm*

Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 208. *&c.*

niſm in particular; which *Juſtin* aſſerted to be the onely true way to happineſs, and of knowing and ſeeing God. This the grave perſon refutes at large, and at laſt comes to ſhew him, who were the moſt likely perſons to ſet him in the right way. He tells him, that there were long before his reputed Philoſophers, certain bleſſed and holy men, lovers of God, and divinely inſpired, called *Prophets*, who foretold things which have ſince come to paſs; who alone underſtood the truth, and undeſignedly declared it to the World, whoſe Books yet extant would inſtruct a man in what moſt became a Philoſopher to know; the accompliſhment of whoſe predictions did ſufficiently atteſt their faithfulneſs and integrity, and the mighty miracles which they wrought, ſet the truth of what they ſaid beyond all exception; that they magnified God the great Creator of the World, and publiſhed his Son Chriſt to the World: Concluding his diſcourſe with this advice, *But as for thy ſelf, above all things pray that the Gates of Light may ſet open to thee; for theſe are not things diſcerned and underſtood by all, unleſs God and Chriſt grant to a man the knowledge of them.* Which diſcourſe being ended, he immediately departed from him.

Ibid. pag. 225. IV. THE wiſe diſcourſe of this venerable man made a deep impreſſion upon the Martyrs mind, kindled in his ſoul a divine flame, and begot in him a ſincere love of the Prophets, and thoſe excellent men that were friends to Chriſt: And now he began ſeriouſly to enquire into, and examine the Chriſtian Religion, which he confeſſes he found μόνῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀσφαλῆ τε & σύμφορον, the onely certain and profitable Philoſophy, and which he could not but commend as containing a certain majeſty and dread in it, and admirably adapted to terrifie and perſuade thoſe who were out of the right way, and to beget the ſweeteſt ſerenity and peace in the minds of thoſe who are converſant in it. Nor was it the leaſt inducement to turn the ſcale with him, when he beheld the innocency of the Chriſtians lives, and the conſtancy of their death, with what fearleſs and undaunted reſolutions they courted torments, and encountred Death in its blackeſt Shape. This very account he gives of it to

[a] *Apol. I. p.* 50. the *Roman* Emperour. "For my own part (ſays [a] he) being yet detained "under the Platonic Inſtitutions, when I heard the Chriſtians traduced "and reproached, and yet ſaw them fearleſly ruſhing upon Death, and "venturing upon all thoſe things that are accounted moſt dreadful and "amazing to humane nature, I concluded with my ſelf, 'twas impoſſi- "ble that thoſe men ſhould wallow in Vice, and be carried away with "the love of Luſt and Pleaſure. For what man that is a Slave to Plea- "ſure and Intemperance, that looks upon the eating humane Fleſh as a "delicacy, can chearfully bid Death welcom, which he knows muſt "put a period to all his pleaſures and delights; and would not rather "by all means endeavour to prolong his life as much as is poſſible, and "to delude his adverſaries, and conceal himſelf from the notice of "the Magiſtrate, rather then voluntarily betray and offer himſelf to a "preſent execution? And certainly the Martyrs reaſonings were unanſwerable; ſeeing there could not be a more effectual proof of their innocency, then their laying down their lives to atteſt it. *Zeno* was wont to ſay, he had rather ſee one *Indian* burnt alive, then hear a hun-

[b] *Stromat. l.* 2. *p.* 414. dred arguments about enduring labour and ſuffering. Whence [b] *Clemens Alexandrinus* infers the great advantages of Chriſtianity, wherein there were daily Fountains of Martyrs ſpringing up, who before

their

their eyes were roaſted, tormented, and beheaded, every day, whom regard to the Law of their Maſter had taught and obliged, τὸ εὐλαβὲς δι' αἱμάτων ἐνδείκνυσθαι, to demonſtrate the truth and excellency of their Religion, by ſealing it with their bloud.

V. WE cannot exactly fix the date of his converſion, yet may we, I think, make a very near conjecture. [a] *Euſebius* tells us, that at the time when *Hadrian* conſecrated *Antinous*, *Juſtin* did yet adhere to the Studies and Religion of the *Greeks*. Now for this we are to know that *Hadrian* coming into *Egypt* loſt there his beloved Catamit *Antinous*, whoſe death he ſo reſented, that he advanced him into the reputation of a Deity; whence in an ancient inſcription at [b] *Rome*, he is ſtiled, ΣΥΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩ ΘΕΩΝ, *the Aſſeſſor of the Gods in Egypt*. He built a City to him in the place where he died called *Antinoe*, erected a Temple, and appointed Prieſts and Prophets to attend it, inſtituted annual ſolemnities, and every five years Sacred Games, called Ἀντινόεια, held not in *Egypt* onely, but in other parts; whence an [c] Inſcription not long after thoſe times, ſet up by the Senate of *Smyrna*, mentions *Lerenius Septimius Heliodorus ANTINOEA*, who overcame in the Sports at *Smyrna*. But to return. 'Tis very evident that *Hadrian* had not been in *Egypt*, till about the time of *Servianus* or *Severianus* his being *Conſul* (as appears from that Emperours Letters [d] to him) whoſe Conſulſhip fell in with *Ann. Chr.* CXXXII. *Traj.* XVI. So that this of *Antinous* muſt be done either, that, or at moſt, the foregoing year; and accordingly about this time (as *Euſebius* intimates) *Juſtin* deſerted the *Greeks*, and came over to the Chriſtians. Whence in his firſt Apology preſented not many years after to *Antoninus Pius*, *Adrians* Succeſſor, he ſpeaks [e] of *Antinous* τῷ νῦν γεγονυίᾳ; who very lately lived and was conſecrated, and of the *Jewiſh* War, headed by *Barchachab*, as but lately paſt, which we know was concurrent with the death and *apotheoſis* of *Antinous*. For that *Juſtin's* ὁ νῦν γεγονυῖα in both paſſages, cannot be preciſely confined to the time of preſenting that *Apology*, is evident to all, and therefore (as the phraſe is ſometimes uſed) muſt be extended to what was lately done.

[a] *H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 8. p. 122.*

[b] *Ap. Caſau. not. in Æl. Spart. vit. Adr p. 66.*

[c] *Marm. Oxon. CXLIII. p. 277.*

[d] *Ext. ap. Voſſ. in v. t. Saturn. p. 959.*

[e] *Apol. II. (vera I.) p. 72.*

VI. THE wiſer and more conſiderate part of the *Gentiles* were not a little troubled at the loſs of ſo uſeful and eminent a perſon, and wondred what ſhould cauſe ſo ſudden a change. For whoſe ſatisfaction and converſion, as well as his own vindication, he thought good particularly to write a Diſcourſe to them, in the very firſt words whereof he thus beſpeaks them. [f] "Think not, O ye *Greeks*, that I have raſhly, and without any judgment or deliberation departed from the Rites of your "Religion. For I could find nothing in it really ſacred, and worthy of "the divine acceptance. The matters among you, as your Poets have "ordered them, are monuments of nothing but madneſs and intemperance: and a man can no ſooner apply himſelf even to the moſt learned among you for inſtruction, but he ſhall be intangled in a thouſand "difficulties, and become the moſt confuſed man in the World. And then proceeds with a great deal of wit and eloquence to expoſe the folly and abſurdneſs of the main foundations of the *Pagan* Creed, concluding his addreſs with theſe exhortations; "Come hither, O ye *Greeks*, "and partake of a moſt incomparable wiſdom, and be inſtructed in a "divine Religion, and acquaint your ſelves with an immortal King.---- "Become as I am, for I ſometimes was as you are. Theſe are the Argu-

[f] *Orat. ad Græc. p. 37.*

Ibid. p. 40.

"ments

"ments that prevailed with me, this the efficacy and divinity of the do-"ctrine, which like a skilful charm expels all corrupt and poisonous af-"fections out of the soul, and banishes that Lust that is the Fountain of "all evil, whence Enmities, Strifes, Envy, Æmulations, Anger, and such "like mischievous passions do proceed: which being once driven out, "the soul presently enjoys a pleasant calmness and tranquillity. And "being delivered from that yoke of evils, that before lay upon its neck, "it aspires and mounts up to its Creator; it being but suitable that it "should return to that place, from whence it borrowed its original.

VI. BUT though he laid aside his former Profession, he still retained his ancient Garb, ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, as [a] *Eusebius*, and after him *S. *Hierom* reports, preaching and defending the Christian Religion under his old *Philosophic* habit, which was the *Pallium* or *Cloak*, the usual badge of the *Greek* Philosophers, (different from that which was worn by the ordinary *Greeks*,) and which those Christians still kept to, who before their conversion had been professed Philosophers. So [b] S. *Hierom* tells us of *Aristides* the *Athenian* Philosopher, contemporary with *Quadratus*, that under his former habit he became Christs Disciple; and [c] *Origen* of *Heraclas*, afterwards Bishop of *Alexandria*, that giving up himself to the more strict study of Philosophy he put on φιλόσοφον σχῆμα the *Philosophic Habit*, which he constantly wore even after he became Presbyter of that Church. This custom continued long in the Christian Church, that those who did ἀκριβῶς φιλοσοφεῖν, (as [d] *Socrates* speaks) enter upon an *Ascetic* course of life, and a more severe profession of Religion, always wore the Philosophers Cloak, and he tells us of *Silvanus* the *Rhetorician*, that when he became Christian, and professed this *Ascetic* life, he was the first that laid aside the Cloak, and contrary to custom put on the common Garb. Indeed it was so common, that ὁ γραικὸς ἐπιθέτης became proverbial among the Heathens, when any Christian 'Ασκητὴς passed by, there goes a *Greek Impostor*, because of their being clad after the same manner, and professing a severer life then ordinary, like the Philosophers among the *Grecians*, many of whom notwithstanding were meer cheats and hypocrites: and [e] S. *Hierom* notes of his time, that if such a Christian were not so fine and spruce in his Garb as others, presently the common saying was clapt upon him, he is an *Impostor* and a *Greek*. This habit it seems was generally black, and sordid enough. Whence the Monks who succeeded in this strict and regular course of life, are severely noted by the *Gentile* Writers of those Times under this character. [*] *Libanius* calls them μελανειμονοῦντας, *black-coat Monks*, and says [f] of them, that the greatest demonstration of their vertue was τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἱματίοις πενθούντων, to walk about in mourning garments. Much at the same rate [g] *Eunapius* describes the Monks of *Egypt*, that they were clad in black, and were ambitious δημοσίᾳ ἀσχημονεῖν, to go abroad in the most slovenly and sordid Garb. But it is time to return to our S. *Justin*, who (as [h] *Photius* and [i] *Epiphanius* note) shewed himself in his words and actions, as well as in his habit to be a true Philosopher.

VII. HE came to *Rome* (upon what occasion is uncertain) probably about

[a] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 11. *p.* 125.

[*] *De script. in Justin.*

[b] *De Script. in Aristid.*

[c] *Ap. Euseb. l.* 6. *c.* 19. *p.* 221.

[d] *H. Eccl. l.* 7. *c.* 37.

Διατί ποτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μέν τινα ἴδωσιν αὐτοῦ μόνον χλαῖναν ἔχοντα, οὔτε προσέχουσι, οὔτε διαγελῶσι, λογιζόμενοι τυχὸν, ναύτης ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ καταγελᾶν τούτου ἕνεκα.---- ἐπειδὴ δέ τινα ἴδωσιν ἀχίτωνα ἐν ἱματίῳ, κομῶντα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ γένεια, οὐκ οἷοί τέ εἰσι πρὸς τούτους τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, οὐδὲ σιγὴ παρέρχονται· ἀλλ' ἐφίστανται καὶ ἐρεθίζουσι, καὶ ἤτοι κατεγέλασαν, ἢ ἐλοιδόρησαν· καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες, ὅτι τοῖς καλουμένοις φιλοσόφοις ξυνήθης ἐστὶν ἡ στολὴ αὕτη; καὶ ἴσως πού τινα ἀποδεδειγμένον. Dion Chrys. Orat. LXXI. περὶ τοῦ σχήμ. p. 627.

[e] *Epist. ad Marcel. p.* 115. *Tom.* 1.

[*] *Orat. de Templ. p.* 10.

[f] *Ibid. p.* 28.

[g] *In vit. Ædes. p.* 65.

[h] Φιλοσοφῶν καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῷ βίῳ, καὶ τῷ σχήματι. Cod. 125. col. 304.

[i] *Hæres.* 46. *p.* 171.

about the beginning of *Antoninus Pius* his reign, where he fixed his habitation, dwelling, as appears from the acts of his Martyrdom, about the *Timothine Baths*, which were upon the *Viminal* Mount. Here he ſtrenouſly imployed himſelf to defend and promote the cauſe of Chriſtianity, and particularly to confute and beat down the Hereſies that then mainly infeſted and diſturbed the Church, writing a Book [a] againſt all ſorts of Hereſies, 5 but more eſpecially oppoſed himſelf to *Marcion*, who was the ſon of a Biſhop, born in *Pontus*, and for his deflowering a Virgin had been caſt out of the Church, whereupon he fled to *Rome*, where he broached many damnable errours, and among the reſt, that there were two Gods, one the Creator of the World, whom he made to be the God of the *Old Teſtament*, and the Author of Evil; the other a more Sovereign and Supreme Being, Creator of more excellent things, the Father of Chriſt, whom he ſent into the World to diſſolve the Law and the Prophets, and to deſtroy the works of the other deity, whom he ſtiled the God of the *Jews*. Others, and among them eſpecially [b] *Epiphanius*, and a more ancient Author [c] of the *Dialogues againſt the Marcionites* under the name of *Origen* (for that it was *Origen* himſelf, I much queſtion) make him to have eſtabliſhed three differing Principles or Beings; an ἀρχὴ ἀγαθὴ, or *good* Principle, the Father of Chriſt, and this was the God of the *Chriſtians*; an ἀρχὴ δημιουργικὴ, or *Creating* Principle, that made the viſible frame of things, which preſided over the *Jews*, and an ἀρχὴ πονηρὰ, or *evil* Principle, which was the Devil, and ruled over the *Gentiles*. With him *Juſtin* encountered both by Word and Writing, particularly publiſhing a Book which he had compoſed againſt him and his pernicious principles.

[a] *Apol.* II. *p.* 70.

[b] *Hæreſ.* XLII. *p.* 135.

[c] *Dial. contr. Marcion. p.* 3, 4. *Baſil. edit.* 1674. 4.

VIII. ABOUT the Year of our Lord CXL. the Chriſtians ſeem to have been more ſeverely dealt with; for though *Antoninus* the Emperour was a mild and excellent Prince, and who put out no Edicts, that we know of, to the prejudice of Chriſtianity, yet the Chriſtians being generally traduced and defamed as a wicked and barbarous generation, had a hard hand born upon them in all places, and were perſecuted by virtue of the particular Edicts of former Emperours, and the general ſtanding Laws of the *Roman* Empire. To vindicate them from the aſperſions caſt upon them, and to mitigate the ſeverities uſed towards them, *Juſtin* about this time publiſhed his firſt Apology (for though in all Editions it be ſet in the ſecond place, it was unqueſtionably the firſt,) preſenting it (as appears from the Inſcription) to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperour, and to his two ſons *Verus* and *Lucius*, to the *Senate*, and by them to the whole People of *Rome*, wherein with great ſtrength and evidence of reaſon he defends the Chriſtians from the common objections of their enemies, proves the divinity of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſhews how unjuſt and unreaſonable it was to proceed againſt them without due conviction and form of Law, acquaints them with the innocent Rites and Uſages of the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, and laſtly puts the Emperour in mind of the courſe which *Adrian* his predeceſſor had taken in this matter; who had commanded that Chriſtians ſhould not be needleſly and unjuſtly vexed, but that their cauſe ſhould be traverſed and determined in open Judicatures; annexing to his Apology a Copy of the *Reſcript* which *Adrian* had ſent to *Minucius Fundanus* to that purpoſe.

Vid. Euſeb. l. 4. *c.* 18. *p.* 139.

IX. HIS addreſs wanted not it ſeems its deſired ſucceſs *. For the

* *Oroſ. Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 14. *fol.* 305.

Emperour in his own nature of a merciful and generous diſpoſition, being moved partly by this Apology, partly by the notices he had received from other parts of the Empire, gave order that Chriſtians henceforward ſhould be treated in more gentle and regular ways, as appears among others by his [a] Letter to the *Commonalty of Aſia*, yet extant, which I ſhall here inſert.

[a] *Ap. J. Mart. ad Calc. Apol.* II. *p.* 100. *& ap. Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 13. *p.* 126. *& Chron. Alex. Ann.* 2. *Olymp.* CCXXXVII. *Ind.* VII. *p.* 608.

EMPEROUR Cæſar Titus, Ælius Adrian, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Pius, High-prieſt, the XV. time Tribune, thrice Conſul, Father of the Countrey, to the Common Aſſembly of Aſia, *Greeting. I am very well aſſured, that the Gods themſelves will take care, that this kind of men ſhall not eſcape, it being much more their concern, then it can be yours, to puniſh thoſe that refuſe to worſhip them; whom you do but the ſtronglier confirm in their own ſentiments and opinions, while you vex and oppreſs them, accuſe them for* Atheiſts, *and charge other things upon them, which you are not able to make good: nor can a more acceptable kindneſs be done them, then that being accuſed they may ſeem to chuſe to die rather then live, for the ſake of that God whom they worſhip. By which means they get the better, being ready to lay down their lives, rather then be perſwaded to comply with your commands. As for the Earth-quakes that have been, or that do yet happen, it may not be amiſs to advertiſe you, whoſe minds are ready to deſpond under any ſuch accidents, to compare your caſe with theirs. They at ſuch a time are much more ſecure and confident in their God, whereas you ſeeming to diſown God all the while, neglect both the Rites of other Gods, and the Religion of that immortal deity, nay baniſh and perſecute to death the Chriſtians that worſhip him. Concerning theſe men ſeveral Governours of Provinces have heretofore written to my Father of ſacred memory: to whom he returned this anſwer, That they ſhould be no way moleſted, unleſs it appeared that they attempted ſomething againſt the ſtate of the* Roman *Empire. Yea, and I my ſelf have received many notices of this nature, to which I anſwered according to the tenor of my Fathers conſtitution. After all which if any ſhall ſtill go on to create them trouble, meerly becauſe they are Chriſtians, let him that is indicted be diſcharged, although it appear that he be a Chriſtian, and let the Informer himſelf undergo the puniſhment.*

Publiſhed at *Epheſus* in the place of the *Common Aſſembly* of *Aſia*.

X. THIS Letter was ſent (as appears from the year of his Conſulſhip) *Ann. Chr.* CXL. *Antonini* III. If it be objected, that this ſeems not conſiſtent with the year of his being Tribune, ſaid here to be the XV. I anſwer that the δημαρχικὴ ἐξουσία, or *Tribunitian Power* did not always commence with the beginning of their reign, but was ſometimes granted, and that more then once, to perſons in a private capacity, eſpecially thoſe who were Candidates for the Empire. Thus (as appears from the *Faſti Conſulares* [b]) *M. Agrippa* had the *Tribunitia poteſtas* ſeven, as after his death *Tiberius* had it fifteen times during the life of *Auguſtus*. So that *Antoninus* his fifteenth Tribuneſhip might well enough conſiſt with the third year of his Empire. Though I confeſs I am apt to ſuſpect an errour in the number, and the rather becauſe [c] *Sylburgius* tells us, that theſe XV. years were not in the Edict, as it is in *Juſtin Martyr*, but were ſupplied out of *Euſebius* his Copy, which I have ſome reaſon

[b] *Videſis Faſt. Conſul. à Sigon. Edit. ad Ann. V. C.* DCCXLI. *&* DCCLXVI.

[c] *Annot. in Juſtin. M. p.* 10. *c.* 2.

reaſon to think to be corrupted in other parts of this Epiſtle. I am not ignorant that ſome learned men would have this Imperial Edict to be the decree of *Marcus Aurelius*, ſon of *Antoninus*. Indeed in the inſcription of it, as it is extant in *Euſebius*, it is *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*: but then nothing can be more evident, then that that part of it is corrupted, as is plain, both becauſe *Euſebius* himſelf a few lines before expreſly aſcribes it to *Antoninus Pius*, and becauſe in the original inſcription in *Juſtins* own Apology (from whence *Euſebius* tranſcribed his) it is *Titus Ælius Antoninus Pius*. And beſides that nothing elſe of moment is offered to make good the conjecture, the whole conſent of Antiquity, and the tenor of the Epiſtle it ſelf clearly adjudge it to the elder *Antoninus*; and [a] *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, who preſented an Apology to his Son and Succeſſor, tells him of the Letters which his Father at the time when he was his Partner in the Empire, wrote to the Cities that they ſhould not raiſe any new troubles againſt the Chriſtians.

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 148. vid. c. 13. p. 127*

XI. NOT long after his firſt Apology, *Juſtin* ſeems to have reviſited the *Eaſtern* parts: for beſides what he ſays in the *Acts* of his Martyrdom, that he was twice at *Rome*, [b] *Euſebius* expreſly affirms, that he was at *Epheſus*, where he had his diſcourſe with *Tryphon*, which 'tis [c] plain was after the preſenting his firſt Apology to the Emperour. And 'tis no ways improbable but that he went to *Epheſus* in company with thoſe who carried the Emperours Edict to the Common-Council of *Aſia*, then aſſembled in that City, where he fell into acquaintance with *Tryphon* the *Jew*. This *Tryphon* was probably that Rabbi *Tarphon*, הכהן הגדול as they commonly call him, *the wealthy Prieſt*, the Maſter or aſſociate of *R. Aquiba*, of whom mention is often made in the *Jewiſh* Writings. A man of great note and eminency, who had fled his Countrey [d] in the late War, wherein *Barchochab* had excited and headed the *Jews* to a Rebellion againſt the *Romans*, ſince which time he had lived in *Greece*, and eſpecially at *Corinth*, and had mightily improved himſelf by converſe with the Philoſophers of thoſe Countries. With him *Juſtin* enters the liſts in a two-days diſpute, the account whereof he has given us in his Dialogue with that ſubtle man, wherein he ſo admirably defends and makes good the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, cuts the very ſinews of the *Jewiſh* cauſe, diſſolves all their pleas and pretences againſt Chriſtianity, and diſcovers their implacable ſpight and malice, who not barely content to reject Chriſtianity, ſent peculiar perſons [e] up and down the World to ſpread abroad, that *Jeſus* the *Galilæan* was a Deceiver and Seducer, and his whole Religion nothing but a Cheat and an Impoſture, that in their public [f] Synagogues they ſolemnly anathematized all that turned Chriſtians, hated them, as elſewhere [g] he tells us, with a mortal enmity, oppreſſed and murdered them when ever they got them in their power; *Barchochab* their late General making them the onely objects of his greateſt ſeverity and revenge, unleſs they would renounce and blaſpheme Chriſt. The iſſue of the conference was, that the *Jew* acknowledged himſelf highly pleaſed with his diſcourſe, profeſſing he found more in it, then he thought could have been expected from it, wiſhing he might enjoy it oftner, as what would greatly conduce to the true underſtanding of the Scripture, and begging his friendſhip in what part of the World ſoever he was.

[b] *Lib. 4. c. 17. p. 140.*

[c] *Vid. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 349.*

[d] *Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 217.*

[e] *Ibid. pag. 335. & ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 18. p. 140.*

[f] *Pag. 323.*

[g] *Apolog. II. pag. 72.*

XII. IN the concluſion of this diſcourſe with *Tryphon*, he tells us, he was ready to ſet ſail, and depart from *Epheſus*, but whether in order

to his return to *Rome*, or ſome other place, is not known. That he returned thither at laſt, is unqueſtionable, the thing being evident, though the time uncertain, whether it was while *Antoninus* was yet alive, or in the beginning of his ſucceſſors reign, I will not venture to determine. At his coming he had among others, frequent conteſts with *Creſcens* the Philoſopher, a man of ſome note at that time in *Rome*. He was a [a] *Cynic*, and according to the *genius* of that Sect, proud and conceited, ſurly and ill-natured, a Philoſopher in appearance, but a notorious Slave to all Vice and Wickedneſs. [b] *Tatian*, *Juſtin*'s Scholar, (who ſaw the man at *Rome*, admired and deſpiſed him for his childiſh and trifling, his wanton and effœminate manners) gives him this character, that he was the traducer of all their gods, the Epitome of Superſtition, the accuſer of generous and heroic actions, the ſubtle contriver of Murders, the prompter of Adultery, a purſuer of Wealth even to rage and madneſs, a Tutor of the vileſt ſort of Luſt, and the great Engine and Inſtigator of mens being condemned to execution: he tells us [c] of him, that when at *Rome*, he was above all others miſerably enſlaved to *Sodomy* and Covetouſneſs: and though he pretended to deſpiſe death, yet did he himſelf abhor it, and to which as the greateſt evil he ſought to betray *Juſtin* and *Tatian*, for their free reproving the vicious and degenerate lives of thoſe Philoſophical Impoſtors. This was his adverſary, Φιλόλογος ὁ Φιλόσοφος, as he calls him [d], a lover of Popular Applauſe, not of true Wiſdom and Philoſophy, and who by all the baſe Arts of inſinuation endeavoured to traduce the Chriſtians, and to repreſent their Religion under the moſt infamous Character. But in all his diſputes the Martyr found him wretchedly ignorant of the affairs of Chriſtians, and ſtrongly biaſſed by malice and envy, which he offered to make good (if it might be admitted) in a public diſputation with him before the Emperour and the Senate: aſſuring them, that either he had never conſidered the Chriſtian Doctrines, and then he was worſe then the meaneſt Ideots, who are not wont to bear witneſs and pronounce ſentence in matters whereof they have no knowledge; or if he had taken notice of them, it was plain that either he did not underſtand them, or if he did, out of a baſe compliance with his Auditors, diſſembled his knowledge and approbation, for fear of being accounted a Chriſtian, and leſt freely ſpeaking his mind, he ſhould fall under the ſentence and the fate of *Socrates*; ſo far was he from the excellent principle of that wiſe man, that *no man was to be regarded before the truth*. Which free and impartial cenſure did but more exaſperate the man, the ſooner to haſten and promote his ruine.

[a] *Vid. Hieron. de Script. in Juſtin.*

[b] *Orat. contr. Græc. p.* 160.

[c] *Ibid. p.* 157.

[d] *Apol.* I. (*verius* II.) *p.* 46.

XIII. IN the mean time *Juſtin* preſented his *ſecond* Apology to *M. Antoninus* (his Colleague *L. Verus* being then, probably, abſent from the City) and the Senate; for that it was not addreſſed to the Senate alone, is evident from ſeveral paſſages in the Apology it ſelf. There are, that will have this as well as the former to have been preſented to *Antoninus Pius*, but certainly without any juſt ground of evidence, beſides that *Euſebius* and the Ancients expreſly aſcribe it to *Marcus Aurelius*, his ſon and ſucceſſor. And were the inſcription and beginning of it, which are now wanting, extant, they would quickly determine and reſolve the doubt. The occaſion of it was this. [e] A Woman at *Rome* had together with her husband lived in all manner of wantonneſs and debauchery, but being converted to Chriſtianity, ſhe ſought by all Arguments and perſuaſions to reclaim him from his looſe and vicious courſe.

[e] *Apolog.* I. *p.* 41.

But

But the man was obstinate, and deaf to all reason and importunity; however by the advice of her friends, she still continued with him, hoping in time she might reduce him; till finding him to grow intolerable, she procured a Bill of divorce from him. The man was so far from being cured, that he was more enraged by his Wifes departure, and accused her to the Emperour for being a Christian; she also put in her Petition, to obtain leave to answer for her self. Whereupon he deserted the prosecution of his Wife, and fell upon one *Ptolomeus*, by whom she had been converted to the Christian Faith, whom he procured to be cast into prison, and there a long time tortured meerly upon his confessing himself a Christian. At last being brought before *Urbicius* Prefect to the City, he was condemned to death. Whereat *Lucius*, a Christian that stood by, could not forbear to tell the Judge, it was very hard that an innocent and vertuous man, charged with no crime, should be adjudged to die meerly for bearing the name of a Christian, a thing no way creditable to the Government of such Emperours as they had, and of the August Senate of *Rome*. Which he had no sooner said, but he was together with a third person sentenced to the same fate. The severity of these proceedings awakened *Justin*'s solicitude and care for the rest of his brethren, who immediately drew up an Apology for them, wherein he lays down a true and naked relation of the case, complains of the injustice and cruelty of such procedures, to punish men meerly for the name of Christians, without ever accusing them of any material crimes, answers the objections usually urged against them, and desires no more favour, then that what determination soever they should make of it, his Apology might be put before it, that so the whole World might judge of them, when they had been once truly acquainted with their case.

XIV. THE *Martyrs* activity and zeal in the cause of Christianity did but set the keener edge upon *Crescens* his malice and rage against him. The Philosopher could not confute him by force of Argument, and therefore resolved to attaque him by clancular and ignoble Arts, and could think of no surer way to oppress him, then by engaging the secular Powers against him. *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperour was a great Philosopher, but withall zealous of *Pagan* Rites to the highest degree of superstition; he had from his youth been educated in the [a] *Salian Colledge*, all the Offices whereof he had gone through in his own person, affecting an imitation of *Numa Pompilius*, the first Master of Religious Ceremonies among the *Romans*, from whom he pretended to derive his pedigree and original: nay so very strict in his way of Religion (says [b] *Dion*) that even upon the *Dies Nefasti*, the unlucky and inauspicious days, when all public Sacrifices were prohibited, he would then privately offer Sacrifices at home. What apprehensions he had of the Christians is evident from hence, that he ascribes [c] their ready and resolute undergoing death, not to a judicious and deliberate consideration, but to a ψιλὴ παράταξις, a *meer stubborness* and obstinacy; which he being so eminent and professed a *Stoic*, had of all men in the world the least reason to charge them with. With him it was no hard matter for *Crescens* to insinuate himself, and to procure his particular dis-favour towards *Justin*, a man so able, and so active to promote the interest of the Christian Religion. Indeed [d] *Justin* himself had publicly told the Emperour what he expected should be his own fate, that he looked that *Crescens* or some

[a] *J. Capitol. in Vit. M. Anton. c.4.p.156.*

[b] *Excerpt. Dion. p.721.*

[c] Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτ'. *l.11.§.3 p.106*

[d] *Apolog.I.p.46*

of

of their titular Philoſophers, ſhould lay ſnares to undermine, torment, or crucifie him. Nor was he at all miſtaken, the envious man procuring him to be caſt in Priſon, where if the [a] *Greeks* ſay true, he was exerciſed with many preparatory tortures in order to his martyrdom. I confeſs *Euſebius* gives us no particular account of his death, but the *Acts* of his Martyrdom are ſtill [b] extant, and (as there is reaſon to believe) genuine and uncorrupt, the ſhortneſs of them being not the leaſt Argument that they are the ſincere Tranſcripts of the Primitive Records, and that they have for the main eſcaped the interpolations of later Ages, which moſt others have been obnoxious to. I know 'tis doubted by [c] one, whether theſe *Acts* contain the Martyrdom of ours, or another *Juſtin:* but whoever conſiders the particulars of them, moſt agreeable to our *Juſtin*, and eſpecially their fixing his death under the *Prefecture* of *Ruſticus*, which *Epiphanius* expreſly affirms of our S. *Juſtin*, will ſee little reaſon to queſtion, whether they belong to him. In them then we have this following account.

[a] *Men. Græc.* Τῇ α'. τοῦ Ἰουν.

[b] *Apud Sur. ad* XII *Jun. p.* 382 *& Baron. ad Ann.* 165. *n.* 2. *& ſeq.*

[c] *Sur. loc. citat.*

XV. *JUSTIN* and ſix of his companions having been apprehended, were brought before *Ruſticus*, Prefect of the City. This *Ruſticus* was [d] *Q. Junius Ruſticus*, a man famous both for Court and Camp, a wiſe Stateſman, and great Philoſopher, peculiarly addicted to the Sect of the *Stoics*. He was Tutor to the preſent Emperour *M. Aurelius*, and what remarkable rules and inſtructions he had given him, *Antoninus* himſelf ſets down at large. Above all his Maſters he had a particular reverence and regard to him, communicated to him all his public and private Counſels, ſhewed him reſpect before all the great Officers of the Empire, and after his death required of the Senate that he might be honoured with a public Statue. He had been *Conſul* in the ſecond year of *Hadrian*, and again in the ſecond of the preſent Emperours, and was now *Præfect* of *Rome:* before whom theſe good men being brought, he perſuaded *Juſtin* to obey the gods, and comply with the Emperours Edicts. The *Martyr* told him, that no man could be juſtly found fault with, or condemned, that obeyed the commands of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*. Then the Governour enquired in what kind of learning and diſcipline he had been brought up: he told him, that he had endeavoured to underſtand all kinds of Diſcipline, and tried all methods of Learning, but had finally taken up his reſt in the Chriſtian Diſcipline, how little ſoever it was eſteemed by thoſe who were led by errour and falſe opinions. Wretch that thou art (ſaid the Governour) art thou then taken with that Diſcipline? I am, replied the *Martyr*, for with right doctrine do I follow the Chriſtians. And when asked what that Doctrine was; he anſwered, the right Doctrine which we Chriſtians piouſly profeſs, is this, We believe the one onely God to be the Creator of all things viſible and inviſible, and confeſs our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to be the Son of God, foretold by the Prophets of old, and who ſhall hereafter come to be the Judge of Mankind, a Saviour, Preacher, and Maſter to all thoſe, who are duly inſtructed by him: that as for himſelf, he thought himſelf too mean to be able to ſay any thing becoming his infinite deity; that this was the buſineſs of the Prophets, who had many Ages before foretold the coming of this Son of God into the World.

[d] *J. Capit. ubi ubi ſupr. c.* 9. *p.* 154.

[e] Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτ. *l.* 1. §. 7. *p.* 1.

XVI. THE *Præfect* next enquired where the Chriſtians were wont to aſſemble, and being told, that the God of the Chriſtians was not confined to a particular place, he asked in what place *Juſtin* was wont to inſtruct

instruct his Disciples, who gave him an account of the place where he dwelt, and told him that there he preached the Christian Doctrine to all that resorted to him. Then having severally examined his companions, he again addressed himself to *Justin* in this manner. Hear thou that art noted for thy eloquence, and thinkest thou art in the truth; if I cause thee to be scourged from head to foot, thinkest thou thou shalt go to Heaven? He answered, that although he should suffer what the other had threatned, yet he hoped he should enjoy the portion of all true Christians, well knowing that the divine grace and favour was laid up for all such, and should be as long as the World endured. And when again asked, whether he thought he should go to Heaven, and receive a reward; he replied, that he did not think it onely, but knew, and was so certain of it, that there was no cause to doubt it. The Governour seeing it was to no purpose to argue, came closer to the matter in hand, and bad them go together, and unanimously sacrifice to the gods. No man (replied the *Martyr*) that is in his right mind, will desert true Religion to fall into errour and impiety. And when threatned that unless they complied, they should be tormented without mercy; There is nothing (said *Justin*) which we more earnestly desire, then to endure torments for the sake of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and be saved. For this is that which will promote our happiness, and procure us confidence before that dreadful Tribunal of our Lord and Saviour, before which by the divine appointment, the whole World must appear. To which the rest assented, adding, Dispatch quickly what thou hast a mind to, for we are Christians, and cannot sacrifice to Idols. Whereupon the Governour pronounced this sentence; *They who refuse to do sacrifice to the gods, and to obey the Imperial Edict, let them be first scourged, and then beheaded according to the Laws.* The holy Martyrs rejoiced and blessed God for the sentence passed upon them, and being led back to prison, were accordingly whipped, and afterwards beheaded. The [a] *Greeks* in their *Rituals*, though very briefly, give the same account, onely they differ in the manner of the *Martyrs* death, which they tell us was by a draught of poyson, while the rest of his companions lost their heads. Though there are that by that fatal potion understand no more then the poysonous malice and envy of *Crescens* the Philosopher, by which *Justin*'s death was procured. And indeed if literally taken, the account of the *Greeks* in that place will not be very consistent with it self. Their dead bodies the Christians took up and decently interred. This was done, as *Baronius* conjectures, *Ann. Chr.* CLXV. with whom seems to concur the [b] *Alexandrine Chronicle*, which says, that *Justin* having presented his second Apology to the Emperours, was not long after crowned with Martyrdom. This is all the certainty that can be recovered concerning the time of his death, the date of it not being consigned by any other ancient Writer. 'Tis a vast mistake (or rather errour of Transcribers) of [c] *Epiphanius*, who makes him suffer under *Adrian*, when yet he could not be ignorant that he dedicated his first Apology to *Antoninus Pius* his successor, in the close whereof he makes mention of *Adrian*, his illustrious Parent and predecessor, and annexes the Letter which he had written to *Minucius Fundanus* in favour of the Christians; and no less his mistake (if it was not an errour in the number) concerning his age, making him but thirty years

[a] Ἰουστινὸν κώνειον ἦρεν ἐκ βίου.
Ὡς εἴθε πρῶτον τοῦ πεῖν δεδωκότας.
Πρώτη Ἰουνίου Ἰουστινὸν ἐλλεβορίζει.
Men. Græcor. Τῇ α'. τοῦ Ἰουν.

[b] *Ad ann.* 2. *Olymp.* 236. *M. Aurel. & L. Ver. Imp.* 6. *Indict.* 3. *p* 606.

[c] *Hæres.* XLVI. *p.* 171.

years old at the time of his death, a thing no ways consistent with the course of his life: and for what he adds of ἐν καθεστώσῃ ἡλικίᾳ, that he died in a firm and consistent age, it may be very well applied to many years after that period of his life.

XVII. THUS have we traced the *Martyr* through the several stages of his life, and brought him to his last fatal period. And now let us view him a little nearer. He was a man of a pious mind, and a very vertuous life; tenderly sensible of the honour of God, and the great interests of Religion. He was not elated, nor valued himself upon the account of his great abilities, but upon every occasion intirely resolved the glory of all into the divine grace and goodness. He had a true love to all men, and a mighty concern for the good of souls, whose happiness he continually prayed for and promoted, yea, that of their fiercest Enemies. From none did he and his Religion receive more bitter affronts and oppositions then from the *Jews*, yet he tells [a] *Tryphon* that they heartily prayed for them, and all other Persecutors, that they might repent, and ceasing to blaspheme Christ, might believe in him, and be saved from eternal vengeance at his glorious appearing; [b] that though they were wont solemnly to curse them in their *Synagogues*, and to join with any that would persecute them to death, yet they returned no other answer then that, You are our Brethren, we beseech you own and embrace the truth of God. And in his [c] Apology to the Emperour and the Senate, he thus concludes, I have no more to say, but that we shall endeavour what in us lies, and heartily pray, that all men in the World may be blessed with the knowledge and entertainment of the truth. In the pursuit of this noble and generous design he feared no dangers, but delivered himself with the greatest freedom and impartiality; he acquaints the [d] Emperours, how much 'twas their duty to honour and esteem the truth, that he came not to smooth and flatter them, but to desire them to pass sentence according to the exactest rules of Justice; [e] that it was their place and infinitely reasonable when they had heard the cause, to discharge the duty of righteous Judges, which if they did not, they would at length be found inexcusable before God; [f] nay that if they went on to punish and persecute such innocent persons, he tells them before hand, 'twas impossible they should escape the future judgment of God, while they persisted in this evil and unrighteous course. In this case he regarded not the persons of men, nor was scared with the dangers that attended it, and therefore in his conference with the *Jew*, tells [g] him, that he regarded nothing but to speak the truth, not caring whom in this matter he disobliged, yea, though they should presently tear him all in pieces; neither fearing nor favouring his own Countrymen the *Samaritans*, whom he had accused in his Apology to the Emperour, for being so much bewitched and seduced with the impostures of *Simon Magus*, whom they cried up as a supreme deity, above all principality and power.

[a] *Dial. cum Tryph. p.254.*
[b] *Ibid. pag. 323*
[c] *Apolog. I. p. 52*
[d] *Apol. II. p. 53.*
[e] *Ibid. p. 54.*
[f] *Ibid. p. 99.*
[g] *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 349.*

XVIII. FOR his natural endowments, he was a man of acute parts, a smart and pleasant wit, a judgment able to weigh the differences of things, and to adapt and accommodate them to the most useful purposes; all which were mightily improved and accomplished by the advantages of Foreign Studies, being both in the Christian and Ethnic Philosophy, εἰς ἄκρον ἀνηγμένος, πολυμαθείᾳ τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν περιῤῥεόμενος πλούτῳ, says [h] *Photius*, arrived at the very heighth, flowing with abundance of History,

[h] *Cod. CXXV. col. 304.*

ſtory, and all ſorts of Learning. In one thing indeed he ſeems to have come ſhort, and wherein the firſt Fathers were generally defective, skill in the *Hebrew*, and other *Eaſtern* Languages, as appears (to omit others) by one inſtance, his derivation of the word *Satanas*; *Sata* (as he tells *us) in the *Hebrew* and the *Syriac* ſignifying an *Apoſtate*, and *Nas* the ſame with the Hebrew *Sata*, out of the compoſition of both which ariſes this one word *Satanas*. A trifling conceit, and the leſs to be pardoned in one that was born and lived among the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*; every one that has but converſed with thoſe Languages at a diſtance, knowing it to ſpring from שטן to *be an adverſary*, which being formed according to the mode of the *Greeks*, (as [a] *Origen* long ſince obſerved in this very inſtance) who were wont to add *as* to the termination of words borrowed from a Foreign Language, becomes *Satanas*, an *adverſary*. And therefore a late [b] Author (who has weeded the Writings of the Ancients, and whoſe quotations ſavour of infinitly greater oſtentation, then either judgment or fidelity) ſufficiently betrays his ignorance in thoſe vety Fathers, with which he pretends ſo much acquaintance, when to prove the *Quæſt. & Reſp. ad Orthodoxos*, not to be the genuin work of our *Juſtin*, he urges the odd and ridiculous interpretation of the word *Oſanna*, there rendred [c] by μεγαλοσωὴ ὑπερκειμένη, *ſuper-excellent magnificence*: of the true ſignification whereof (ſays he) *Juſtin* himſelf being a *Samaritan* could not be ignorant. When as his unqueſtionable Tracts afford ſuch evident footſteps of his lamentable unskilfulneſs in that Language. But the man muſt be excuſed, ſeeing in this (as in many other things) he traded purely upon truſt, ſecurely ſtealing the whole paſſage word for word out of another Author: ſo little skill had he to diſtinguiſh between true and falſe, and to know when to follow his Guides, and where to leave them. As for *Juſtin* himſelf his ignorance herein is the leſs to be wondered at, if we conſider that his Religion, as a *Gentile* born, his early and almoſt ſole converſe with the *Greeks*, his conſtant ſtudy of the Writings of the *Gentile* Philoſophers, might well make him a ſtranger to that Language, which had not much in it to tempt a meer Philoſopher to learn it. In all other parts of Learning how great his abilities were, may be ſeen in his Writings yet extant, (to ſay nothing of them that are loſt) πεπαιδευμένης διάνοιας & περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακυίας ὑπομνήματα, πίστις ὠφελείας ἔμπλεα, as [d] *Euſebius* ſays of them, the Monuments of his ſingular Parts, and of a mind ſtudiouſly converſant about divine things, richly fraught with excellent and uſeful knowledge. They are all deſigned either in defence of the Chriſtian Religion both againſt *Jews* and *Gentiles*, or in beating down that common Religion, and thoſe prophane and ridiculous Rites of Worſhip which then governed the World, or in preſcribing Rules for the ordinary conduct of the Chriſtian Life, all which he has managed with an admirable acuteneſs and dexterity. Some Books indeed have obtruded themſelves under his name, as the *Expoſitio Fidei*, *Quæſtiones & Reſponſa ad Orthodoxos*, *Quæſtiones Græcanicæ ad Chriſtianos*, *Quæſtiones V. ad Græcos*, *&c.* all which are undoubtedly of a later Age, compoſed after Chriſtianity was fully ſetled in the World, and the *Arrian* controverſies had begun to diſturb the Chriſtian Church. Or if any of them were originally his, they have been ſo miſerably interpolated and defaced by after-ages, that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcern true from falſe.

XIX. AS for the Epiſtle to *Diognetus*, though excepted againſt by

* *Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 331.*

[a] *Contr. Celſ. l. 6. p. 306.*

[b] *Sand. Tract. de Vet. Script. Eccl. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. Præfix. p. 44.*

[c] *Vid. Quæſt. L. p. 421.*

Vid. Rivet. Crit. Sacr. l. 2. c. 5. p. 198.

[d] *H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 18. p. 155.*

ſome, yet is it fairly able to maintain its title, without any juſt cauſe alledged againſt it. Nor is it improbable but that this might be that very *Diognetus* who was Tutour to the Emperour *M. Aurelius*, who (as himſelf confeſſes [a]) perſuaded him to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and gave him wiſe counſels and directions to that purpoſe, and being a perſon of note and eminency, is accordingly ſaluted by the Martyr with ἀκράκτε Διόγνητε, *moſt excellent Diognetus.* His temper and courſe of life had made him infinitely curious (as is evident from the firſt part of that Epiſtle) to know particularly what was the Religion, what the Manners and Rites of Chriſtians, what it was that inſpired them with ſo brave and generous a courage, as to contemn the world, and to deſpiſe death; upon what grounds they rejected the Religion, and diſowned the deities of the *Gentiles*, and yet ſeparated themſelves from the *Jewiſh* Diſcipline and way of worſhip; what was that admirable love and friendſhip by which they were ſo faſt knit together, and why this novel Inſtitution came ſo late into the World. To all which enquiries (ſuitable enough to a man of a Philoſophic *genius*) *Juſtin* (to whom probably he had addreſſed himſelf as the moſt noted Champion of the Chriſtian *cauſe*) returns a very particular and rational ſatisfaction in this Epiſtle, though what effect it had upon the Philoſopher is unknown. That this Epiſtle is not mentioned by *Euſebius*, is no juſt exception, ſeeing he confeſſes [b] there were many other Books of *Juſtins* beſides thoſe which he there reckons up: that it is a little more then ordinary polite and philoſophical, is yet leſs; for who can wonder if ſo great a Scholar as *Juſtin* writing to a perſon ſo eminent for Learning and Philoſophy, endeavoured to give it all the advantages of a florid and eloquent diſcourſe. It muſt be confeſſed that his ordinary ſtile does not reach this; for which let us take *Photius* [c] his cenſure, a man able to paſs a judgment in this caſe: *he ſtudied not* (ſays he) *to ſet off the native beauty of Philoſophy with the paint and varniſh of Rhetorical Arts. For which cauſe his Diſcourſes, though otherwiſe very weighty and powerful, and obſerving a compoſure agreeable enough to Art and Science, have not yet thoſe ſweet and luſcious inſinuations, thoſe attractives and allurements that are wont to prevail upon vulgar Auditors, and to draw them after them.*

[a] *M. Aurel.* ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτ. *l.* 1. §. 6. *p.* 1.

[b] *H. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 18. *p.* 140.

[c] *Loc. ſupr. citat.*

XX. THAT which may ſeem moſt to impair the credit of this ancient and venerable man, is that he is commonly ſaid to be guilty of ſome unorthodox ſentiments and opinions, diſagreeing with the received Doctrines of the Church. True it is, that he has ſome notions not warranted by general entertainment or the ſenſe of the Church, eſpecially in later Ages, but yet ſcarce any but what were held by moſt of the Fathers in thoſe early times, and which for the main are ſpeculative and have no ill influence upon a good life; the moſt conſiderable whereof we ſhall here remark. Firſt he is charged with too much kindneſs and indulgence to the more eminent ſort of Heathens, and particularly toward *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and ſuch like: ſuch indeed he ſeems to allow to have been in ſome ſenſe *Chriſtians*, and of *Socrates* particularly [d] affirms, that *Chriſt was* ἀπὸ μέρους *in part known to him*, and the like elſewhere more then once. The ground of all which was this, that ſuch perſons did μετὰ λόγου βιοῦν, *live according to the* λόγος *the word, or reaſon*, and that this naturally is in every man, and manifeſt to him

Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε. Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες, Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν· οἷς ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς. Apol. II. pag. 83.

[d] *Apol.* I. *p.* 48.

him, if he but govern himself according to it. For the clearer understanding whereof it may not be amiss briefly to enquire in what sense the Primitive Fathers, and especially our *Justin* use this word λόγος. And their notion was plainly this, that Christ was the eternal λόγος or Word of the Father, the sum and center of all reason and wisdom, as the Sun is the Fountain of Light, and that from him there was a λόγος or reason naturally derived into every man, as a beam and emanation of Light from that Sun; to which purpose they usually bring that of S. *John*, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: that was the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the World.* God (says *Justin*) [a] first and before the production of any Creatures begot of himself δύναμιν τίνα λογικὴν, a certain rational power, sometimes stiled in Scripture the glory of God, the Son, Wisdom, an Angel, God, Lord, and Word; by all which names he is described both according to the Oeconomy of his Fathers Will, and according to his voluntary generation of him. And elsewhere [b], We love and worship the Word of the unbegotten and ineffable God, which (Word) for our sakes became Man, that by partaking of our sufferings he might work out our cure. Hence Christ is called [c] τοῦ πάντος λόγος, the universal Word, and with respect to him reason is stiled σπερματικὸς λόγος, the seminal Word that is sown in our natures, τοῦ σπερματικοῦ θείου λόγου τὸ συγγενὲς [d], and ἡ ἐνουσὰ ἐμφύτου τοῦ λόγου σπορὴ, the internal semination of the implanted Word, which he there distinguishes from the αὐτὸ τὸ σπέρμα, the primary and original seed it self, from which according to the measure of grace given by it, all participation and imitation does proceed. This is that which he means by the σπέρματα ἀληθείας, the seeds of truth, which he [e] tells us seem to be in all men in the World; they are a derivation from Christ, who is the root, a kind of participation of a divine nature from him. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* thus deduces the pedigree. The image of God (says [f] he) is his *Word* (for the divine Word is the genuine off-spring of the mind, the Archetypal light of light) and the image of the Word is Man. The true mind that is in man (said therefore to be made after the image and likeness of God) as to the frame of the heart is conformed to the divine Word, and by that means partakes of the Word or Reason.

Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ἐκλάμπων τοῖς λογικοῖς καὶ ἡγεμονικοῖς, ἵνα αὐτῶν ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἴδια ὅρατα βλέπῃ, τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶ φῶς· λέγω δὲ τῶν λογικῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ αἰσθητερίῳ κόσμῳ, &c. Orig. Com. in Joan. p. 25. vid. etiam p. 40.

[a] *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234. p. 285. D.*

[b] *Apol. I. p. 51.*

[c] *Ibid. p. 46.*

[d] *Ibid. p. 51.*

[e] *Apol. l. 2. p. 82.*

[f] *Admonit. ad Gent. p. 62.*

XXI. *ORIGEN*, *Clemens* his Scholar treads exactly in his Masters steps. He tells us, that as God the Father is αὐτόθεος, the Fountain of Deity to the Son, so God the Son, ὁ λόγος, the Word, or the supreme and eternal Reason, is the Fountain and Original that communicates reason to all rational Beings, who as such are εἰκόνες τῆς εἰκόνος, the image of the image, that is, some kind of shadow of the Word, who is the brightness of his Fathers glory, and the express image of his person. And he further adds, that λόγος with an article is meant of Christ, but without it of that Word or Reason that is derived from him. The case then in short is this, every man naturally is endued with principles of Reason, and lively notices of good and evil, as a light kindled

Ὁ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῳ λόγος τῶν λογικῶν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἔχει πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγον πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὄντα λόγον θεὸν, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς λόγος πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Ὡς γὰρ αὐτόθεος, καὶ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς εἰκόνα, καὶ εἰκόνας τῆς εἰκόνος (διὰ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα λέγονται εἰ) οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐχ εἰκόνες) οὕτως ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἑκάστῳ λόγον· ἀμφότερα γὰρ πηγῆς ἔχει χώραν, ὁ πατὴρ θεότητος, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς, λόγου. Tom. 1. Comment. in Joan. p. 47. Edit Huet. Tom. 2. ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς Θεὸς, οὕτως ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν λογικῶν λόγου, ὁ λόγος, τοῦ ἐν ἑκάστῳ λόγου οὐχ ἂν κυρίως ὁμοίως τῷ πρώτῳ ὀνομασθέντος καὶ λεχθέντος, ὁ λόγος. Ibid. p. 46.

from him, who is the Word and Wiſdom of the Father, and may ſo far be ſaid to partake of Chriſt, the primitive and original Word, and that more or leſs according to their improvement of them; ſo that whatever wiſe and excellent things either Philoſophers or Poets have ſpoken, ſays *Juſtin* the *Martyr*[a], it was διὰ ἔμφυτον πανσπερμίαν γένει ἀνθρώπων σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου, from that ſeed of the λόγος, the Word, or Reaſon that implanted in all mankind: thus he ſays that *Socrates*[b] exhorted the *Greeks* to the knowledge of the *Unknown God* by the inquiſition of the *Word*. To conclude this, he no where affirms, that *Gentiles* might be ſaved without the entertainment of Chriſtianity, nor that their knowledge was of it ſelf ſufficient to that end (no man more ſtrongly proves Reaſon and Natural Philoſophy to be of themſelves inſufficient to ſalvation) but that ſo far as they improved their Reaſon and internal Word to the great and excellent purpoſes of Religion, ſo far they were Chriſtians, and akin to the eternal and original Word, and that whatever was rightly dictated or reformed by this inward Word, either by *Socrates* among the *Greeks*, or by others among the *Barbarians*, was in effect done by Chriſt himſelf, *the Word made Fleſh*.

[a] *Apolog.* I. p. 46. *vid.* p. 48. C.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 48.

Οὐ μόνον Ἕλλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὁ τοῦ λόγου ἐλέγχθη παῦται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου μορφωθεὶς καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κληθείς. Just. Apol. II. p. 56.

XXII. ANOTHER opinion with which he was charged is *Chiliaſm*, or the reign of a thouſand years. This indeed he expreſly aſſerts, that after the Reſurrection of the dead is over, *Jeruſalem* ſhould be rebuilt, beautified and enlarged, where our Saviour with all the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, the Saints and Martyrs ſhould viſibly reign a thouſand years. He confeſſes indeed that there are many ſincere and devout Chriſtians that would not ſubſcribe to this opinion; but withall affirms that there were abundance of the ſame mind with him. As indeed there were, [d] *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, [e] *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lions*, [f] *Nepos*, [g] *Apollinaris*, [h] *Tertullian*, [i] *Victorinus*, [k] *Lactantius*, [l] *Severus Gallus*, and many more. The firſt that ſtarted this notion among the Orthodox Chriſtians of thoſe early Times ſeems to have been the fore-mentioned *Papias*, who (as [m] *Euſebius* tells us) pretended it to be an *Apoſtolical* Tradition, miſunderſtanding the Apoſtles diſcourſes, and too lightly running away with what they meant in a myſtical and hidden ſenſe. For he was, though a good man, yet of no great depth of underſtanding, and ſo eaſily miſtaken; and yet as he obſerves, his miſtake impoſed upon ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical perſons, the venerable antiquity of the man recommending the errour to them with great advantage. Among which eſpecially were our S. *Juſtin* and *Irenæus*, who held it in an innocent and harmleſs ſenſe. 'Tis true [n] *Cerinthus* and his followers, mixing it with *Jewiſh* Dreams and Fables, and pretending divine Revelations to patronize and countenance it, improved it to brutiſh and ſenſual purpoſes, placing it in a ſtate of eating and drinking, and all manner of bodily pleaſures and delights. And what uſe Heretics of later times have made of it, and how much they have improved and enlarged it, is not my preſent buſineſs to enquire.

[c] *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 306, 307. *vid.* p. 369.

[d] *Apud Iren.* l. 5. c. 33. p. 498. *vid. Euſeb.* l. 3. c. ult. p. 112. [e] *Loc. cit. & ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupr.* [f] *Ap. Euſeb.* l. 7. c. 24. p. 270. [g] *Ap. Hieron. Comment. in Ezech.* c. 36. *Tom.* 5. p. 507. [h] *Adv. Marcion.* l. 3. c. 23. p. 411. *de Reſur. Carn.* c. 25. p. 340. [i] *Apud Hieron. loc. ſupr. cit.* [k] *De vit. beat.* l. 7. c. 24. p. 722. c. 26. p. 727. *& ſeq.* [l] *Ap. Hieron. ubi ſupr. vid. etiam de ſcript. Eccleſ. in Papia.* [m] *Lib.* 3. c. 39. p. 112.

[n] *Caius ap. Euſeb.* l. 3. c. 28. p. 100. *Dionyſ. Corinth. ibid. & l.* 7. c. 25. p. 273.

XXIII. CONCERNING the ſtate of the ſoul after this life, he affirms [o] that the ſouls even of the Prophets and righteous men fell under the power of *Dæmons*, though how far that power ſhould extend, he tells us not, grounding his aſſertion upon no other *baſis* then the ſingle inſtance

[o] *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 333.

inſtance of *Samuels* being ſummoned up by the inchantments of the *Pythoneſs*. Nor does he aſſert it to be neceſſarily ſo, ſeeing he grants that by our hearty endeavours and prayers to God, our ſouls at the hour of their departure may eſcape the ſeizure of thoſe evil powers. To this we may add, what he ſeems [a] to maintain, That the ſouls of good men are not received into Heaven till the Reſurrection; that when they depart the body, they remain ἐν κρείττονί ποι χώρῳ, [b] in a better ſtate, where being gathered within it ſelf, the ſoul perpetually enjoys what it loved; but that the ſouls of the unrighteous and the wicked are thruſt into a worſe condition, where they expect the judgment of the great day: and he reckons [c] it among the errours of ſome pretended Chriſtians, who denied the Reſurrection, and affirmed that their ſouls immediately after death were taken into Heaven. Nor herein did he ſtand alone, but had the almoſt unanimous ſuffrage of primitive Writers voting with him, [d] *Irenæus*, [e] *Tertullian*, [f] *Origen*, [g] *Hilary*, [h] *Prudentius*, [i] *Ambroſe*, [k] *Auguſtin*, [l] *Anaſtaſius Sinaita*, and indeed who not, there being a general concurrence in this matter, that the ſouls of the righteous were not upon the diſſolution preſently tranſlated into Heaven, that is, not admitted to a full and perfect fruition of the divine preſence, but determined to certain ſecret and unknown Repoſitories, where they enjoyed a ſtate of imperfect bleſſedneſs, waiting for the accompliſhment of it at the general Reſurrection, which intermediate ſtate they will have deſcribed under the notion of *Paradiſe* and *Abrahams Boſom*, and which ſome of them make to be a ſubterranean Region within the bowels of the Earth.

[a] *Ibid. p.* 223. [b] *Ib. p.* 222. C. [c] *Ibid. p.* 307.

[d] *Adv. Hæreſ. l.* 5. *c.* 31. *p.* 491. [e] *Apol. c.* 47. *p.* 37. [f] Περὶ ἀρχ. *l.* 2. *c.* 12. *fol.* 136. *l.* 4. *c.* 2. *fol.* 154. *conſer. Philoc. c.* 1. *p.* 18. & *Homil.* 7. *in Levit. fol.* 71. [g] *Enarrat. in Pſal.* CXX *p.* 532. [h] *Cathemer. Hymn.* X. *p.* 485. [i] *Ambroſ. de Cain & Ab. lib.* 2. *pag.* 131. *T.* 4. *de bon. Mort. c.* 10. *p.* 240. [k] *Enchirid. c.* 109. *col.* 190. *Tom.* 3. *in Pſalm.* 36. *Conc.* 1. *col.* 281. *T.* 8. [l] *Quæſt.* XCI.

XXIV. THE like concurrence, though not altogether ſo uncontrolably entertained of the Ancients with our *Juſtin*, we may obſerve in his opinion concerning the [a] *Angels*, that God having committed to them the care and ſuperintendency of this ſublunary World, they abuſed the power intruſted with them, mixing themſelves with Women in wanton and ſenſual embraces, of whom they begat a race and poſterity of *Dæmons*. An aſſertion not onely intimated by [b] *Philo* and [c] *Joſephus*, but expreſly owned by [d] *Papias*, [e] *Athenagoras*, [f] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, [g] *Tertullian*, [h] *Cyprian*, [i] *Lactantius*, [k] *Sulpitius Severus*, [l] S. *Ambroſe*, and many more. That which firſt gave birth to this opinion (eaſily embraced by thoſe who held Angels to be corporeal) was a miſunderſtanding that place, *the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them to wife, and they bare children to them, the ſame became mighty men, men of renown.* And it more particularly furthered the miſtake, that many ancient Copies of the *Septuagint* (as is evident from *Philo* and S. *Auguſtin*, and the Kings ancient *Alexandrian* Manuſcript at this day) in ſtead of *the Sons* read the *Angels of God*, which the Fathers who generally underſtood no *Hebrew*, were not able to correct. And I doubt not what gave further patronage to this errour, was the Authority of the *Book of Enoch* (highly valued by many in thoſe days) wherein this Story was related, as appears from the fragments of it ſtill extant.

[a] *Apol. I. p.* 44.

[b] *De Gigant. l.* 1. *p.* 221. [c] *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *p.* 8. [d] *Apud Andr. Cæſar. Comment. in Apoc. Serm.* 12. [e] *Legat. pro Chriſt. pag.* 27. [f] *Stromat. l.* 5. *p.* 550. [g] *De Hab. mul. ſeu de Cult. fœmin. l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 150. [h] *De Diſcipl. & hab. Virg. p.* 166. [i] *De Orig. error. l.* 2. *c.* 14. *p.* 216. [k] *Sacr. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *pag.* 8. [l] *De Noe & Arc. c.* 4. *p.* 144. *T.* 4.

XXV. I might here alſo inſiſt upon, what ſome find ſo much fault with

with in our *Martyr*, his magnifying the power of mans will, which is notoriously known to have been the current doctrin of the Fathers through all the first Ages till the rise of the *Pelagian* Controversies, though still they generally own χάριν ἐξαίρετον, a mighty assistance of divine grace to raise up and enable the soul for divine and spiritual things. [a] *Justin* tells his adversary that 'tis in vain for a man to think rightly to understand the mind of the ancient Prophets, unless he be assisted μετὰ μεγάλης Χάριτος τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ, by a mighty grace derived from God. As well may the dry ground (says [b] *Irenæus*) produce fruit without rain to moisten it, as we who at first are like dried sticks, be fruitful unto a good life, without voluntary showrs from above, that is, (as he adds) the laver of the Spirit. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* affirms expresly, that as there is a free choice in us, so all is not placed in our own power, but that *by grace we are saved*, though not without good works; and that to the doing of what is good μάλιστα τῆς θείας χρῄζομεν Χάριτος, we especially need the grace of God, a right institution, an honest temper of mind, and that the Father draws us to him: and that the τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτεξούσιον, the powers of the will are never able to wing the soul for a due flight for Heaven, without a mighty portion of grace to assist it. The mysteries of Christianity (as [c] *Origen* discourses against *Celsus*) cannot be duly contemplated without a better *afflatus* and a more divine power; for *as no man knows the things of a man save the spirit of a man that is in him, so no man knows the things of God, but the Spirit of God*: it being all to no purpose (as he elsewhere observes) unless God by his grace does φωτίζειν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, enlighten the understanding. I add no more but that of *Tertullian*, who asserts, that there is a power of divine grace, stronger then nature, which has in subjection the power of our Free Will. So evident it is, that when the Fathers talk highest of the αὐτεξούσιον, and the powers of nature, they never intended to exclude and banish the grace of God. Some other disputable or disallowed opinions may be probably met with in this good mans Writings, but which are mostly nice and philosophical. And indeed having been brought up under so many several Institutions of Philosophy, and coming (as most of the first Fathers did) fresh out of the Schools of *Plato*, 'tis the less to be wondred at, if the notions which he had there imbibed stuck to him, and he endeavoured, as much as might be, to reconcile the *Platonic* principles with the dictates of Christianity.

[a] *Dialog. cum Tryph. p.* 319.

[b] *Adv. Hæres. l.* 3. *c.* 19. *p.* 280.

Τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτεξούσιον εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφικόμενον τἀγαθοῦ, σκιρτᾷ τε καὶ πηδᾷ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκάμματα, ἥ φασιν οἱ γυμνασταὶ, πλὴν οὐ Χάριτος ἄνευ τῆς ἐξαιρέτου πτεροῦταί τε καὶ ἀνίσταται, καὶ ἄνω τῶν ὑποκειμένων αἴρεται ἡ ψυχὴ, πᾶν τὸ βρῖθον ἀποτιθεμένη καὶ ἀποδιδοῦσα τῷ συγγενεῖ. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 5. p. 588. Οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ προαιρέσεως τυχεῖν οἷόν τε· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κεῖται· οἷον τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. Χάριτι γὰρ σωζόμεθα, οὐκ ἄνευ μέν τοι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων.--- δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὑγιῆ κεκτῆσθαι, τὴν ἀμετανόητον πρὸς τὴν θήραν τοῦ καλοῦ· πρὸς ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τῆς θείας χρῄζομεν Χάριτος, διδασκαλίας τε ὀρθῆς, καὶ εὐπαθείας ἁγνῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁλκῆς. Id. ibid. p. 547.

[c] *Lib.* 4. *p.* 181. *vid. etiam ib. p.* 227.

Hæc erit vis divinæ gratiæ, potentior utique natura, habens in nobis subjacentem sibi liberam arbitrii potestatem, quod αὐτεξούσιον *dicitur.* Tertul. de Anim. c. 21. p. 279.

His Writings.

Genuine.

Paræneſis ad Græcos.
Elenchus, ſeu Oratio ad Græcos.
Apologia pro Chriſtianis prima.
Apologia pro Chriſtianis ſecunda.
Liber de Monarchia Dei, forſan in fine mutilus.
Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo.
Epiſtola ad Diognetum.

Not extant.

Liber de Anima.
Liber Pſaltes dictus.
Contra omnes Hæreſes.
Contra Marcionem.
Commentarius in Hexameron (cujus meminit Anaſtaſius Sinaita.)
De Reſurrectione Carnis teſte Damaſceno.

Doubtful.

Ariſtotelicorum quorundam Dogmatum everſio.
Epiſtola ad Zenam & Serenum.

Suppoſititious.

Quæſtiones & Reſponſ. ad Græcos.
Quæſtiones Græcanicæ, de incorporeo, &c. & ad eaſdem Chriſtianæ Reſponſiones.
Quæſtionum CXLVI. *Reſponſio ad Orthodoxos.*
Vid. an hic liber ſit idem (ſed interpolatus) de quo *Photius* hoc titulo.
Dubitationum adverſus Religionem ſummariæ ſolutiones.
Expoſitio Fidei de S. Trinitate.

The End of S. JUSTIN *Martyrs Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. IRENÆUS BISHOP of *LYONS.*

Michael Burghers. delineavit et sculpsit.

S. IRENÆUS.

His Countrey enquired into. His Philosophical Studies His institution by Papias. Papias *who. His education under S.* Polycarp. *His coming into* France, *and being made Presbyter of* Lyons. Pothinus *who; how*

and by whom ſent into France. *The grievous Perſecution there under* M. Aurelius. *The Letters of the Martyrs to the Biſhop of* Rome. *Pope* Eleutherius *guilty of* Montaniſm. Irenæus *ſent to* Rome. *His writing againſt* Florinus *and* Blaſtus. *The martyrdom of* Pothinus *Biſhop of* Lyons, *and the cruelty exerciſed towards him.* Irenæus *ſucceeds. His great diligence in his charge. His oppoſition of Heretics. The Synods ſaid to have been held under him to that purpoſe. The* Gnoſtic *Hereſies ſpread in* France. *Their monſtrous Villanies. His confutation of them by word and writing. Variety of Sects and Diviſions objected by the Heathens againſt Chriſtianity. This largely anſwered by* Clemens *of* Alexandria. *Pope* Victor's *reviving the controverſie about* Eaſter. *The conteſts between him and the* Aſiatics. *Several Synods to determine this matter.* Irenæus *his moderate interpoſal. His Synodical Epiſtle to* Victor. *The Perſecution under* Severus. *Its rage about* Lyons. Irenæus *his Martyrdom, and place of Burial. His Vertues. His induſtrious and elaborate confutation of the* Gnoſtics. *His ſtile and phraſe.* Photius *his cenſure of his Works. His errour concerning Chriſts Age. Miraculous gifts and powers common in his time. His Writings.*

[a] *De Spirit. S. c. 29. p. 358. Tom. 2.*
[b] *Epiſt. ad Theodor. p. 156. T. 1.*

I *IRENÆUS* may juſtly challenge to go next the *Martyr*, ὁ ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀποστόλων γενόμενος, as [b] S. *Basil* ſtiles him, one near to the *Apoſtles*, which [b] S. *Hierom* expreſſes by being a man of the Apoſtolic times. His Originals are ſo obſcure, that ſome diſpute has been to what part of the World he belonged, whether *Eaſt* or *Weſt*, though that he was a *Greek*, there can be no juſt cauſe to doubt. The Ancients having not particularly fixed the place of his Nativity, he is generally ſuppoſed to have been born at *Smyrna*, or thereabouts. In his youth he wanted not an ingenuous education in the Studies of Philoſophy and Humane Learning, whereby he was prepared to be afterwards an uſeful Inſtrument in the Church. His firſt inſtitution in the Doctrine of Chriſtianity was laid under ſome of the moſt eminent perſons that then were in the Chriſtian Church. S. *Hierom* [c] makes him Scholar to *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, who had himſelf converſed with the Apoſtles and their Followers. This *Papias* (as [d] *Irenæus* and others inform us) was one of S. *Johns* Diſciples; by whom though *Euſebius* underſtands not the Apoſtle, but one ſirnamed the Elder, which he ſeems to collect from a paſſage of [e] *Papias* himſelf, yet evident it is, that though *Papias* in that place affirms, that he diligently picked up what *Memoirs* he could meet with concerning the Apoſtles from thoſe that had attended and followed them, yet he no where denies that he himſelf converſed with them. He was (as [f] *Euſebius* characters him) a man very learned and eloquent, and knowing in the Scriptures; though as [g] elſewhere he adds, σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, of a very weak and undiſcerning judgment, eſpecially in the more abſtruſe and myſterious parts of the Chriſtian Doctrine, which eaſily betrayed him, and others that followed him into great errours and miſtakes. He wrote five Books entituled, Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις, *the explanation of our Lords Diſcourſes*, and, as he in [h] *Photius* intimates, and the [i] *Alexandrine Chronicon* expreſly affirms, died a Martyr, being put to death at *Pergamus* in the Perſecution under *M. Aurelius*. He is ſaid to have trained up many Scholars in the

[c] *Loc. citat.*
[d] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 5. c. 33. p. 498. & Euſeb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 110.*
[e] *Euſeb. loc. cit.*
[f] *Ibid. c. 36. p. 106.*
[g] *Ibid. c. 39. p. 113.*
[h] *Steph. Gob. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXXXII col. 901.*
[i] *An. III Olymp. 235. Ind. I. M. Aurel. 4.*

the Chriſtian Inſtitution, and among the reſt our *Irenæus*. Which though not improbable, yet we are ſure not onely from the teſtimonies of *Euſebius* and [b] *Theodoret*, but what is more, from his [c] own, that he was trained up under the tutorage and inſtructions of S. *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, and S. *Johns* Diſciple, from whom he received the ſeeds of the true Apoſtolic Doctrine, and for whom he had ſo great a reverence and regard, that he took a moſt exact and particular notice of whatever was memorable in him, even to the minuteſt circumſtances of his converſation, the memory whereof he preſerved freſh and lively to his dying day.

[a] *H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 5. p. 170.*
[b] *Adv. Hæreſ. dial. 1.*
[c] *Epiſt. ad Flor. apud Euſeb. lib. c. 20. p. 188. & Hieron. de Script. in Iren.*

II. BY whoſe hands he was conſecrated to the Miniſteries of Religion, as alſo when, and upon what occaſion he came into *France* is not known. Probable it is that he accompanied S. *Polycarp* in his journey to *Rome* about the *Paſchal* controverſie, where by his and *Anicetus* his perſuaſions he might be prevailed with to go for *France*, (in ſome parts whereof, and eſpecially about *Marſeilles*, great numbers of *Greeks* did reſide) then beginning to be over-run with thoſe pernicious Hereſies which at that time invaded and diſturbed the Church, that ſo he might be helpful and aſſiſting to *Pothinus* the aged Biſhop of *Lyons* in quelling and ſubduing of them. This *Pothinus* (if we may believe *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, who reſided ſome time in this City with his Uncle *Nicetius* Biſhop of it) came out of the *Eaſt*, and had been diſpatched hither alſo by S. *Polycarp* to govern and ſuperintend this Church. If it ſeem ſtrange to any how S. *Polycarps* care came to extend ſo far, as to ſend a Biſhop into ſo remote and diſtant parts of the World; it ſeems not improbable to ſuppoſe, that *Lyons* being a City famous for Commerce and Traffique, ſome of its Merchants might trade to *Smyrna*, where being converted by *Polycarp*, they might deſire of him to ſend ſome grave and able perſon along with them to plant and propagate the Chriſtian Faith in their own Country, which accordingly fell to *Pothinus* his ſhare. But then that this muſt needs be done by the Authority, and ratified by the Decree of the Biſhop of *Rome*, a learned man will never be able to convince us, though he offers at three Arguments to make it good: weak I muſt needs ſay, and inconcluding, and which rather ſhew that he deſigned thereby to reconcile himſelf to the Court of *Rome* (whoſe favour at the time of his writing that Tract, he ſtood in need of, in order to his admiſſion to the Biſhoprick of *S. Leiger de Conſerans*, to which he was nominated, and wherein he was delayed by that Court, offended with his late Book *De Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii*) then argue the truth of what he aſſerts, ſo unſuitable are they to the learning and judgment of that great man. But I return to *Irenæus*. He came to *Lyons*, the Metropolis of *Gallia Celtica*, ſituate upon the confluence of the two famous Rivers the *Roan* and *La Saona*, or the ancient *Arar*, famous among other things for its Temple and Altars, erected to the honour of *Auguſtus* at the common charge of all *France*, where they held an annual ſolemnity from all parts of the Countrey upon the firſt of *Auguſt*: and upon [d] this day it was that moſt of the Martyrs ſuffered in the following Perſecution. Theſe Feſtival ſolemnities were uſually celebrated not onely with great contentions for Learning and Eloquence, but with Sports and Shews, and eſpecially with the bloody conflicts of *Gladiators*, with barbarous uſages, and throwing Malefactors to wild Beaſts in the *Amphitheatre*; wherein the Martyrs mentioned by *Euſebius* bore a

Hiſt. Franc. lib. 1. c. 29.

P. de Marc. diſſert. de Primat. n. 111. p. 227.

[d] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1. p. 162.*

ſad and miſerable part. *Irenæus* being arrived at *Lyons*, continued ſeveral years in the ſtation of a Presbyter, under the care and Government of *Pothinus*, till a heavy ſtorm aroſe upon them. For in the reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, *Ann. Chr.* CLXXVII. began a violent Perſecution [a] againſt the Chriſtians, which broke out in all places, but more peculiarly raged in *France*, whereof the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vien* in a [b] Letter to them of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, give them an account; where they tell them, 'twas impoſſible for them exactly to deſcribe the brutiſh fierceneſs and cruelty of their Enemies, and the ſeverity of thoſe torments which the Martyrs ſuffered, baniſhed from their houſes, and forbid ſo much as to ſhew their heads, reproached, beaten, hurried from place to place, plundered, ſtoned, impriſoned, and there treated with all the expreſſions of an ungovernable rage and fury, as they particularly relate at large. The occaſion [c] of writing this account, was a controverſie lately raiſed in the *Aſian* Churches by *Montanus* and his followers, concerning the Prophetic Spirit, to which they pretended: for the compoſing whereof theſe Churches thought good to ſend their judgment and opinion in the caſe, adjoyning the Epiſtles which ſeveral of the Martyrs (while in Priſon) had written to thoſe Churches about that very matter, all which they annexed to their Commentary about the Martyrs ſufferings, penned, no doubt, by the hand of *Irenæus*.

[a] *Euſeb. l. 5. Præf. p. 153.*

[b] *Apud Euſeb. ibid. p. 154, 155, &c.*

[c] *Euſeb. ibid. c. 3. p. 168.*

III. NOR did the Martyrs write onely to the *Aſian* Churches, but to *Eleutherus* Biſhop of *Rome* about theſe controverſies. And juſt occaſion there was for it, if (which is moſt probable) this very *Eleutherus* was infected with the errours of *Montanus*: for [d] *Tertullian* tells us, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did then own and embrace the Propheſies of *Montanus* and his two Propheteſſes, and upon that account had given Letters of Peace to the Churches of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, though by the perſuaſions of one *Praxeas* he was afterwards prevailed with to revoke them. Where by the way may be obſerved, that the infallibility of the Pope was then from home, or ſo faſt aſleep, that the envious man could ſowe Tares in the very Pontifical Chair it ſelf. This Biſhop [e] *Baronius* will have to be *Anicetus*, but in all likelihood was our *Eleutherius*, who in his after-commendation of the *Montaniſts* followed the example of his [f] Predeceſſors, (no doubt *Soter* and *Anicetus*) who had diſowned and rejected *Montanus* his Propheſie; nor can it well be otherwiſe conceived why the Martyrs ſhould ſo particularly write to him about it. And whereas [g] *Baronius* would have Pope *Eleutherius* dead long before *Tertullian* became a *Montaniſt*, becauſe in his Book againſt Hereſies he ſtiles [h] him the bleſſed *Eleutherius*, as if it were tantamount with *cujus memoria eſt in benedictione*, nothing was more common then to give that title to eminent perſons while alive, as *Alexander* of *Jeruſalem* calls [i] *Clemens Alexandrinus* who carried the Letter, the *bleſſed Clemens*, in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Antioch*, and the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* ſtiles [k] S. *Cyprian* (then in his retirement) the *Bleſſed Pope Cyprian*, in their Letter to them of *Carthage*. To this *Eleutherius* then theſe Martyrs directed their Epiſtle: For the Martyrs in thoſe times had a mighty honour and reverence paid to them, and their ſentence in any weighty caſe was always entertained with a juſt eſteem and veneration. Theſe Letters they ſent to *Rome* by [l] *Irenæus*, whom they perſuaded to undertake the journey, and whom they particularly recommended to *Eleutherius* by a very honourable teſtimony, deſiring him to receive him not onely as their

[d] *Adv. Prax. c. 1. p. 501.*

[e] *Ad Ann. 173. n. IV.*

[f] *Tertull. ibid.*

[g] *Ad Ann. 201. n. IX.*

[h] *De Præſcript. Hæret. c. 30. p. 212.*

[i] *Euſeb. l. 6. c. 11 p. 113.*

[k] *Ad Cler. Carthag. Epiſt. II. p. 8.*

[l] *Euſeb. ib. c. 4.*

their Brother and Companion, but as a zealous professor and defender of that Religion which Christ had ratified with his blood. I know [a] *Mons. Valois* will not allow that *Irenæus* actually went this journey, that the Martyrs indeed had desired him, and he had promised to undertake it, but that the heat of the Persecution coming on, and he being fixed in the Government and Presidency over that Church, could not be spared personally to undergo it. But since *Eusebius* clearly intimates and [b] S. *Hierom* expresly affirms, that the Martyrs sent him upon this errand, 'tis safest to grant his journey thither, though it must be while he was yet Presbyter, for so they particularly say he was in their Epistle to the Bishop of *Rome*. And there probably it was that he took more particular notice of *Florinus* and *Blastus* [c], who being Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, were about this time fallen into the *Valentinian* Heresie, the first of whom he had formerly known [d] with S. *Polycarp* in *Asia*, and noted him for his soft and delicate manners, and to whom after his return home, as also to *Blastus*, he wrote Epistles to convince them of those novel and dangerous sentiments which they had espoused.

[a] *Annot. in Euseb. p. 91, & 92.*

[b] *De Script. in Iren.*

[c] *Euseb. ibid. c. 15. p. 178.*

[d] *Id. ibid. c. 20.*

IV. AND now the Persecution at *Lyons* was daily carried on with a fiercer violence. Vast numbers had already gone to Heaven through infinite and inexpressible racks and torments, and to crown all, [e] *Pothinus* their reverend and aged Bishop, above ninety years old, was seized in order to his being sent the same way. Age and sickness had rendred him so infirm and weak, that he was hardly able to crawl to his execution. But he had a vigorous and sprightly soul in a decaied and ruinous body, and his great desire to give the highest testimony to his Religion, and that Christ might triumph in his Martyrdom, added new life and spirit to him. Being apprehended by the Officers, he was brought before the Public Tribunal, the Magistrates of the City following after, and the common People giving such loud and joyful acclamations, as if our Lord himself had been leading to execution. The Governour presently asked him, Who the God of the Christians was? Which he knowing to be a captious and sarcastic question, returned no other answer then *Wert thou worthy, thou shouldst know.* Instruction takes hold onely of the humble and obedient ear. Truth is usually lost by being exposed to the vitious and the scornful: 'tis in vain to hold a Candle either to the Blind that cannot, or to them that shut their eyes, and will not see: there is a reverence due to the Principles of Religion that obliges us *not to cast Pearls before Swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend us.* Hereupon without any reverence to his age, or so much as respect to humanity it self, he was rudely dragged away, and unmercifully beaten, they that were near, kicking him with their feet, and striking him with their fists; they that were farther off, throwing at him what they could meet with, making whatsoever came next to hand the instruments of their fury: every man looking upon it as impious and piacular, not to do something that might testifie his petulant scorn and rage against him. For by this means they thought to revenge the quarrel of their gods. But their savage cruelty thought it too much kindness to dispatch him at once, it is like they intended him a second Tragœdy, which if so, Heaven disappointed their designs. For being taken up with scarce so much breath as would entitle him to live, he was thrown into

[e] *Epist. Eccles. Lugd. & Vien. ap. Euseb. ubi supr. c. 1. p. 159.*

Καλὴ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς λόγους κώφωσις, ἐπὰν ἀπογινώσκωμεν τὴν τῶν τὰ χείρονα τῶν γόντων ἐπανόρθωσιν. Origen. de Martyr. p. 169.

into the Priſon, where two days after he reſigned up his ſoul to God.

V. THE Church of *Lyons* being thus deprived of its venerable Guide, none could ſtand fairer for the Chair then *Irenæus*, a perſon honoured and admired by all, who ſucceeded accordingly about the year CLXXIX. in a troubleſom and tempeſtuous time. But he was a wiſe and skilful Pilot, and ſteered the Ship with a prudent Conduct. And need enough there was both of his courage and his conduct; for the Church at this time was not onely aſſaulted by Enemies from without, but undermined and betrayed by Hereſies within. The attempts of the one he endured with meekneſs and patience, while he endeavoured to prevent the infection and poiſon of the other by a diligent and vigilant circumſpection, diſcovering their perſons, laying open their deſigns, confuting and condemning their errours, ſo that *their folly was made manifeſt unto all.* The Author of the ancient [a] *Synodicon* publiſhed by *Pappus*, tells us of a Provincial Synod held at *Lyons* by *Irenæus*, where with the aſſiſtance and ſuffrage of twelve other Biſhops he condemned the Hereſies of *Valentinus*, *Marcion*, *Baſilides*, and the reſt of that Anti-chriſtian crew. Whence he derived this intelligence, I know not, it not being mentioned by any other of the Ancients. However the thing it ſelf is not improbable, *Irenæus* his zeal againſt that ſort of men engaging him to oppoſe them both by word and writing, and eſpecially when 'tis remembred what himſelf informs us of, that they had invaded his own Province, and were come home to his very door. For having given us an account of *Marcus*, one of thoſe *Gnoſtic* Hereſiarchs, and his followers, their beaſtly and licentious practices, and by what ludicrous and ſenſleſs Arts, what Magic and helliſh Rites they were wont to enſnare and initiate their ſeduced Proſelytes, he tells us [b], they were come into the Countries round him, all along the *Roan*, where they generally prevailed (which ſeems to have been obſerved as a Maxim and firſt principle by all Authors of Sects) upon the weaker Sex, corrupting their minds, and debauching their bodies, whoſe cauterized conſciences being afterwards awakened, ſome of them made public confeſſion of their crimes, others though deſerting their Party, were aſhamed to return to the Church, while others made a deſperate and total Apoſtaſie from any pretences to the Faith. With ſome of theſe Ring-leaders [c] *Irenæus* had perſonally encountred, and read the Books of others, which gave him occaſion (what the deſires of many had importuned him to undertake) to ſet upon that elaborate Work *againſt Hereſies*, wherein he has fully diſplayed their wild and phantaſtic principles, their brutiſh and abominable practiſes, and with ſuch infinite pains endeavoured to refute them: though indeed ſo prodigiouſly extravagant, ſo utterly irreconcileable were they to any principles of ſober reaſon, that as he himſelf [d] obſerves, it was Victory enough over them, onely to diſcover and detect them. This Work he compoſed in the time of *Eleutherus* Biſhop of *Rome*, as is evident from his Catalogue [e] of the Biſhops of that See, ending in *Eleutherus*, the twelfth ſucceſſive Biſhop, who did *then* poſſeſs the place.

[a] *Edit. Argent. 1601. 4. pag. 2.*

[b] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 1. c. 9. p. 72. vid. Hieron. Epiſt. ad Theodor. p. 196.*

[c] *Præf. ad lib. 1. p. 2.*

[d] *Lib. 1. c. ult. p. 139.*

[e] *Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 233. & ap. Euſ. l. 5. c. 6. p. 171.*

VI. AND indeed it was but time for *Irenæus* and the reſt of the wiſe and holy Biſhops of thoſe days to beſtir themſelves, *grievous Wolves having entered in, and made havock of the flock.* The field of the Church was miſerably over-run with tares, which did not onely endanger the choaking

choaking of Religion within the Church, but obſtruct the planting and propagating the Faith among them that were without. Nothing being more commonly objected againſt the truth and divinity of the Chriſtian Religion, then that they were rent and torn into ſo many Schiſms and Hereſies. [a] S. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* particularly encounters this exception, ſome of whoſe excellent reaſonings are to this effect. The firſt thing (ſays he) they charge upon us, and pretend why they cannot embrace the Faith, is the diverſity of Sects that are among us, truth being delayed and neglected, while ſome aſſert one thing and ſome another. To which he anſwers, that there were various Sects and Parties both among the *Jews*, and the Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, and yet no man thought this a ſufficient reaſon why they ſhould ceaſe to ſtudy Philoſophy, or adhere to the *Jewiſh* Rites and Diſcipline: that our Lord had foretold, that Errours would ſpring up with Truth, like Tares growing up with the Wheat, and that therefore 'twas no wonder if it accordingly came to paſs, and that we ought not to be wanting to our duty, becauſe others caſt off theirs, but rather ſtick cloſer to them who continue conſtant in the profeſſion of the Truth: that a mind diſeaſed and diſtempered with Errour and Idolatry, ought no more to be diſcouraged from complying with an Inſtitution that will cure it, by reaſon of ſome differences and diviſions that are in it, then a ſick man would refuſe to take any Medicines, becauſe of the different opinions that are among Phyſitians, and that they do not all uſe the ſame Preſcriptions: that the Apoſtle hath told us, that *there muſt be hereſies, that they that are approved may be made manifeſt*, that they heartily entertain the Chriſtian Doctrin, improve and perſevere in Faith and a holy Life: that if Truth be difficult to be diſcerned, yet the finding it out will abundantly recompence the trouble and the labour: that a wiſe man would not refuſe to eat of fruit, becauſe he muſt take a little pains to diſcover what is ripe and real, from that which is only painted and counterfeit: Shall the Traveller reſolve not to go his journey becauſe there are a great many ways that croſs and thwart the common Road, and not rather enquire which is the plain and Kings High-way? or the Husbandman refuſe to till his ground, becauſe Weeds grow up together with the Plants? We ought rather to make theſe differences an argument and incentive the more accurately to examine Truth from Falſhood, and Realities from Pretences, that eſcaping the ſnares that are plauſibly laid, we may attain εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆ ὄντως ἕξης ἀληθείας, to the knowledge of that which is really truth indeed, and which is not hard to find, of them that ſincerely ſeek it. But to return back to *Irenæus*.

[a] *Stromat. l. 7. p. 753.*

VII. HAVING paſſed over the times of the Emperour *Commodus* (the onely honour of whoſe Reign was, that he created no great diſturbance to the Chriſtians, being otherwiſe a moſt debauched and diſſolute Prince, in whom the Vices of all his Predeceſſors ſeemed to meet as in one Common-Sewer) *Eleutherus* died, and *Victor* ſucceeded in the See of *Rome*. A man furious and intemperate, impatient of contradiction, and who let looſe the Reins to an impotent and ungovernable Paſſion. He revived the Controverſie about the celebration of *Eaſter*, and endeavoured imperiouſly to impoſe the *Roman* Cuſtom, of keeping it on the next Lords day after the *Jewiſh* Paſsover, upon the Churches of the Leſſer *Aſia*, and thoſe who obſerved the contrary uſage; and becauſe they would not yield, raſhly thundred out an Excommunication againſt them,

[a] *Lib.5. c.24. p.192.* them, not onely endeavouring, but as [a] *Euſebius* explains it in the following words, actually proſcribing and pronouncing them cut off from the Communion of the Church. The *Aſiatics* little regarding the fierce threatnings from *Rome*, under the conduct of *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus* ſtood their ground, juſtifying their obſerving it upon the fourteenth day after the appearance of the Moon, let it fall upon what day of the Week it would, after the rule of the *Jewiſh* Paſsover, and this by conſtant Tradition, and uninterrupted uſage derived from S. *John* and S. *Philip* the Apoſtles, S. *Polycarp* and ſeveral others to that very day. All which he told Pope *Victor*, but prevailed nothing (as what will ſatisfie a wilful and paſſionate mind?) to prevent his rending the Church in ſunder.

[b] *Euſeb. ibid. c. 23. p.190.* For the compoſure of this unhappy Schiſm [b] Synods were called in ſeveral places, as beſides one at *Rome*, one in *Paleſtine* under *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea Paleſtina*, and *Narciſſus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, another in *Pontus* under *Palmas*, and many more in other places, who were willing

[c] *Ibid. c. 24. p. 192.* to lend their hands toward the quenching of the common Flame, [c] who all wrote to *Victor* ſharply reproving him, and adviſing him rather to mind what concerned the Peace of the Church, and the love and unity of Chriſtians among one another. And among the reſt our *Irenæus* (who as *Euſebius* obſerves, truly anſwered his name in his *peaceable* and peace-

[d] *Ibid. c.23. p. 191.* making temper) convened a [d] Synod of the Churches of *France* under his juriſdiction, where with thirteen Biſhops beſides himſelf (ſays the fore-

[e] *ubi ſupr. p.7.* [f] *Ibid. c.24. p. 192.* mentioned [e] *Synodicon*) he conſidered and determined of this matter. In whoſe name he wrote a Synodical Epiſtle to Pope [f] *Victor*, wherein he told him that they agreed with him in the main of the Controverſie, but withall duly and gravely adviſed him to take heed how he excommunicated whole Churches for obſerving the ancient Cuſtoms derived down to them from their Anceſtors: that there was as little agreement in the manner of the *Preparatory* Faſt before *Eaſter*, as in the day it ſelf, ſome thinking that they were to faſt but one day, (probably he means of the great or ſolemn week) others two, others more, and ſome meaſuring the time by a continued faſt of forty hours (whether in memory of Chriſts lying ſo long in the Grave, or in imitation of his forty days Faſt in the Wilderneſs, I know not) and that this variety was of long ſtanding, and had crept into ſeveral places, while the Governours of the Church took leſs care about theſe different Cuſtoms, who yet maintained a ſincere and mutual love and peace towards one another, a thing practiſed by all his own pious Predeceſſors, putting him in mind of *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*, who though they could not ſo far convince each other as to lay aſide their different uſages, did yet mutually embrace, orderly receive the Communion together and peaceably part from one another. And Letters to the ſame effect he wrote to ſeveral other Biſhops for allaying the difference thus unhappily ſtarted in the Church.

VIII. THE calm and quiet days which the Church had for ſome years of late enjoyed, now expired, and the wind changed into a more ſtormy quarter, *Severus* the Emperour hitherto favourable, began a bitter and bloody Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, proſecuted with great ſeverity in all parts of the Empire. Himſelf had heretofore go-

[g] *Ælſ. Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 3. p.335.* verned [g] this very Province of *Lyons*, and probably had taken peculiar notice of *Irenæus*, and the flouriſhing ſtate of the Church in that City, and might therefore give more particular Orders for the proceeding

againſt

againſt them in this place. The Perſecution, that in other parts picked out ſome few to make them exemplary here ſerved all alike, and went through with the Work. For ſo [a] *Gregory* of *Tours*, and the ancient [b] *Martyrologies* inform us, that *Irenæus* having been prepared by ſeveral torments, was at length put to death (beheaded ſay the *Greeks* [c], likely enough) and together with him almoſt all the Chriſtians of that vaſt populous City, whoſe numbers could not be reckoned up, ſo that the Streets of the City flowed with the bloud of Chriſtians. His Body was taken up by *Zacharias* his Presbyter, and buried in a Vault, laid between *Epipodius* and *Alexander*, who had ſuffered in the Perſecution under *Antoninus*. It is not eaſie to aſſign the certain date of his Martyrdom, which may with almoſt equal probability be referred to a double period, either to the time of that bloudy Edict which *Severus* publiſhed againſt the Chriſtians about the tenth year of his reign, *Ann. Chr.* CCII. or to his expedition into *Britain*, *Ann. Chr.* CCVIII. when he took *Lyons* in his way, and might ſee execution done with his own eyes. And indeed the vaſt numbers that are there ſaid to have ſuffered, agree well enough with the temper of that fierce and cruel Prince, who had conceived before a particular diſpleaſure againſt the Citizens of *Lyons*, and a worſe againſt the Chriſtians there.

[a] *Hiſt. Franc. l. 1. c. 29.*
[b] *Martyr. Rom. ad Jun.* XXVIII. *Adon. Martyr.* IV. *Kalend. Jul.*
[c] *Men. Græc.* Τῇ κγ'. τοῦ Αὐγούς.

IX. HE was a true lover of God, and of the ſouls of men, for the promoting whoſe happineſs he thought no dangers or difficulties to be great; he ſcrupled not to leave his own Countrey, to take ſo troubleſom and tedious a journey, and in ſtead of the ſmooth and polite manners of the *Eaſtern* Nations to fix his dwelling among a People of a wild and ſavage temper, and whom he muſt convert to civility, before he gained them to Religion. Nor was it the leaſt part of his trouble (as himſelf [c] plainly intimates) that he was forced to learn the Language of the Countrey, a rugged and (as he calls it) barbarous Dialect before he could do any good upon them. All which and a great deal more, he chearfully underwent, that he might be ſerviceable to the great intereſts of men. And becauſe he knew that nothing uſually more hinders the progreſs of Piety, then to have mens minds vitiated and depraved with falſe and corrupt Notions and Principles, and that nothing could more expoſe the Chriſtian Religion to the ſcorn and contempt of wiſe and diſcerning men, then the wild *Schemes* of thoſe abſurd and ridiculous opinions that were then ſet on foot, therefore he ſet himſelf with all imaginable induſtry to oppoſe them, reading over all their Writings, conſidering and unravelling all their principles with incomparable patience as well as diligence, whence he is deſervedly ſtiled by [f] *Tertullian*, *Omnium doctrinarum curioſiſſimus explorator*, the moſt curious ſearcher into all kinds of Doctrines. In the ſucceſsful managery whereof he was greatly advantaged by the natural *acumen* and ſubtlety of his parts, and thoſe Studies of Philoſophy and Humane Literature, of which he had made himſelf Maſter in his younger days, ſufficient foot-ſteps whereof appear in the Writings which he left behind him. For beſides his Epiſtles, he wrote many Volums, (though he [g] that tells us that he compoſed an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which *Euſebius* made uſe of, reckons up one more then ever he wrote, and doubtleſs miſtook it for his Work *Adverſus Hæreſes*) which are all loſt, except his five Books *againſt Hereſies*, intituled anciently Περὶ ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, *The Confutation and Subverſion of Knowledge falſly ſo called*, i.e. of *Gnoſticiſm*,

[c] *Præf. ad l. 1. p. 4.*
[f] *Adv. Valent. c. 5. p. 252.*
[g] *Volaterr. Comment. urban. l. 16. col. 590.*

ciſm, thoſe abſtruſe and myſtical Heretics pretending that all ſublime and excellent knowledge dwelt with them. What his proper ſtile and phraſe was in theſe Books is not eaſily gueſſed, the far greateſt part of the Original *Greek* being wanting (the conjecture of thoſe who will have them originally penned in *Latine* is not worth the mentioning) probably it was ſimple and unaffected, vulgar and ordinary, embaſed, it is like and he ſeems to confeſs as much, with the natural Language of the Countrey where he lived, nor had he ſtudied the Arts of Rhetoric, the ornaments of Speech, or had any skill in the elaborate methods and artifices of perſuaſion, as he modeſtly [a] apologizes for himſelf. However his Diſcourſes are grave and well digeſted, and (as far as the Argument he manages would admit) clear and perſpicuous, in all which he betrays a mighty zeal, and a ſpirit prepared for Martyrdom. For the Martyrs (as [b] *Eraſmus* truly notes) have a certain ſerious, ſtrenuous, and maſculine way of writing beyond other men.

Loc. citat.

[a] *Præfat. ut ſupr.*

[b] *Præf. in Iren.*

X. AS for his Works themſelves [c] *Photius* thus cenſures them, that in ſome of them the accuracy of truth in Eccleſiaſtic Doctrines is ſophiſticated νόθοις λογισμοῖς, with falſe and ſpurious reaſonings, which ought to be taken notice of. In the Books yet extant there are ſome aſſertions, that will not bear a ſtrict rigorous examination, the principal whereof are ſuch as we have already remarked in the life of *Juſtin Martyr*, the reſt are of an inferiour and more inconſiderable notice. As for his affirming that our Lord was near [d] *fifty years* of age at the time of his public Miniſtry, it was an errour into which he was betrayed partly from a falſe ſuppoſition, that our Lord muſt be of a more mature and elderly Age, that ſo he might deliver his doctrine with the greater authority; partly from a miſtaken report (which he had ſomewhere picked up, and it may be from his Maſter *Papias*) that S. *John* and the reſt of the Apoſtles had ſo affirmed and taught it; and partly out of oppoſition to his adverſaries, who maintained that our Saviour ſtaid no longer upon earth then till the thirty firſt year of his age; againſt whom the eagerneſs of diſputation tempted him to make good his aſſertion from any plauſible pretence, and to take the hint (though his *impetus*, and the deſire of proſecuting his Argument would not give his thoughts leave to cool, and take the place into ſober conſideration) from that queſtion of the *Jews* to Chriſt, *thou art not yet fifty years old, and haſt thou ſeen Abraham?* whence *in tranſitu* he took it for granted that the *Jews* had ſome ground for what they ſaid, and that he muſt be near that age.

[c] *Cod CXX. col. 301.*

[d] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 2. c. 39. p. 192. & c. 40. ibid.*

XI. HIS care to have his Writings derived pure and uncorrupted to poſterity was great and admirable, adding to his Book Περὶ ὑποθέσεως, this ſolemn and religious obteſtation; [e] *I adjure thee, whoever thou art that ſhalt tranſcribe this Book, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by his glorious coming, wherein he ſhall judge the quick and the dead, that thou compare what thou tranſcribeſt, and diligently correct it by the Copy from whence thou tranſcribeſt it, and that thou likewiſe tranſcribe this adjuration, and annex it to thy Copy.* And well had it been with the ancient Writers of the Church, had their Books been treated with this care and reverence: more of them had been conveyed down to us; at leaſt thoſe few that are, had arrived more ſound and unpolluted. I note no more (and it is what *Euſebius* long ſince thought worth taking notice of) then that in his time miraculous gifts and powers were very common in the Church. For ſo he [f] tells us, that ſome expelled and caſt out Devils, the

[e] *Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 20. p. 187.*

[f] *Adv. Hæreſ. l. 2. c. 57. p. 218. & ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 7. p. 172.*

the perſons often embracing Chriſtianity upon it; others had Viſions and Revelations, and foretold things to come; ſome ſpake all manner of Languages, and as occaſion was, diſcovered mens thoughts and ſecret purpoſes, and expounded the myſteries and deep things of God; others miraculouſly healed the ſick, and by laying their hands upon them reſtored their health, and many who raiſed the dead, the perſons ſo raiſed living among them many years after. The Gifts (as he ſpeaks) which God in the name of our crucified Lord then beſtowed upon the Church being innumerable, all which they ſincerely and freely improved to the great advantage and benefit of the World. Whence with juſt reaſon he urges the truth of our Religion in general, and how much advantage true Chriſtians had to triumph over all thoſe Impoſtors and Seducers, who ſheltered themſelves under the venerable Title of being Chriſtians.

His Writings.

Extant.

Adverſus Hæreſes,
ſeu
De refutatione & everſione falſæ ſcientiæ, Libri V.

Not extant.

Libellus de Scientia adverſus Gentes.
Demonſtratio Apoſtolicæ prædicationis, ad Marcianum fratrem.
Liber de Ogdoade.
Epiſtola ad Blaſtum de Schiſmate.
Ad Florinum de Monarchia,
ſeu,
Quod Deus non ſit conditor mali, *Epiſtola.*
Ad Victorem Epiſcopum Romanum de Paſchate, Epiſtola.
Ad varios Epiſcopos de eadem re, Epiſtolæ plures.
Variorum Tractatuum Liber.

The End of S. IRENÆUS's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. THEOPHILUS BISHOP of *ANTIOCH.*

S. THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS.

The great obſcurity of his Originals. His learned and ingenuous Education, and natural parts. An account of his Converſion to Chriſtianity, and the reaſons inducing him thereunto, collected out of his own Writings. His

ſcrupling

ſcrupling the Doctrine of the Reſurrection. The great difficulty of entertaining that Principle. Syneſius *his caſe.* Theophilus *his conquering this objection. His great ſatisfaction in the Chriſtian Religion. His election to the Biſhoprick of* Antioch. *His deſire to convert* Autolycus. Autolycus *who. His mighty prejudice againſt Chriſtianity.* Theophilus *his undertaking him, and his free and impartial debating the caſe with him. His excellent menage of the controverſie. His vigorous oppoſing the Hereſies of thoſe times. His Books againſt* Marcion *and* Hermogenes. *His death, and the time of it.* S. Hieroms *Character of his Works. His Writings.*

I. THOUGH the Ancients furniſh us with very few notices concerning this venerable Biſhop, yet perhaps it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to pick up that little which may be found. The miſtake is not worth confuting and ſcarce deſerves mentioning, that makes him the ſame with that *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, to whom *S. Luke* dedicates his Evangelical Writings, ſo great the diſtance of time (if there were nothing more) between them. Whether he was born at *Antioch* is uncertain: but where-ever he was born, his Parents were *Gentiles*, by whom he was brought up in the common Rites of that Religion that then governed the World. They gave him all the accompliſhments of a learned and liberal Education, and vaſt improvements he made in the progreſs of his Studies, ſo that he was throughly verſed in the Writings of all the great Maſters of Learning and Philoſophy in the Heathen World: which being ſet off with a quick and a pleaſant wit (as appears from his Diſputes againſt the *Gentiles*) rendred him a man of no inconſiderable note and account among them.

II. WHEN or by what means converted to Chriſtianity, is impoſſible particularly to determine: thus much onely may be gathered from the Diſcourſes which he left behind him. Being a man of an inquiſitive temper, and doubtleſs of a very honeſt mind, he gave up himſelf to a more free and impartial ſearch into the nature and ſtate of things. He found that the account of things which that Religion gave, wherein he was then engaged, was altogether unſatisfactory, that the ſtories of their gods were abſurd and frivolous, and ſome of them prophane and impious, that their Rites of Worſhip were trifling and ridiculous; he conſidered the ſeveral parts of the Creation, and that excellent providence that governed the World, wherein he eaſily diſcerned the plain notices of a wiſe and omnipotent Being, and that God had purpoſely diſpoſed things thus, that his *Grandeur* and Majeſty might appear to all. Accordingly he directs his friend to this method of conviction, as that which doubtleſs he had found moſt ſucceſsful and ſatisfactory to himſelf. He bids him ſurvey and conſider the Works of God, the viciſſitude and alteration of times according to their proper ſeaſons, the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the wiſely eſtabliſhed courſe of the Elements, the beautiful order and diſpoſition of Nights and Days, and Months and Years, the pleaſant and admirable variety of Seeds, Plants, and Fruits, the manifold generations of Beaſts, Birds, Creeping things, Fiſhes, and the Inhabitants of the Watery Regions; the prudent inſtinct

[a] *Ad Autolyc. l.1.p.72.*

by

by which all theſe Creatures are excited to preſerve their kind, and nouriſh their young, and that not for their own advantage, but for the neceſſity and pleaſure of mankind, God by a wiſe and ſecret Providence having ſo ordained, that all things ſhould be in ſubjection unto man. And indeed ſo ſtrangely was he raviſhed with the conſideration of this Argument, that he profeſſes *, that no man is able duly to deſcribe the ſingular Order and Oeconomy of the Creation, no though he had a thouſand mouths, and as many tongues, and were to live in the World a thouſand years, διὰ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος, καὶ πλῆτον τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ſo incomprehenſibly great and unfathomable is that Divine Wiſdom that ſhines in the Works of the Creation. Thus prepared he ſeems to have betaken himſelf (and to this alſo he adviſes *Autolycus* [a]) to the conſideration of other Volums, the Books that contained the Religion of the Chriſtians, eſpecially the writings of the Prophets, and to have weighed the importance of their Revelations, the variety of the perſons, the meanneſs and obſcurity of their education, their exact harmony and agreement, the certainty of their predictions, and how accurately the prophecy and the event met together; ſo that (as he adds [b]) whoever would but ſeriouſly apply himſelf to the ſtudy of them, had a way ready open to come to the exact knowledge of the truth.

* *Ibid. l. 2. p. 55.*

[a] *Ibid. p. 110, 111.*

[b] *Ibid. p. 112.*

III. ONE thing there was, which he himſelf [c] ſeems to intimate, did more eſpecially obſtruct his full compliance with the Chriſtian Doctrin, the belief of the Reſurrection. He had been brought up in the Schools of Philoſophy, where he had been taught that from a privation of life there can be no return to the poſſeſſion of it; it is like he could not conceive how mens ſcattered duſt after ſo many Ages could be recollected, and built up again into the ſame bodies. Indeed there is ſcarce any Principle of the Chriſtian Faith, that generally met with more oppoſition from the wiſe and the learned, and which was more difficultly admitted into their Creed. When S. *Paul* preached to the Philoſophers at *Athens*, while he told them of a judgment to come, they made no ſcruple to give it entertainment, it being a principle evident by natural light, till he diſcourſed of a future Reſurrection; and this they rejected with contempt and ſcorn, *and when they heard of the reſurrection of the dead, ſome mocked*; and the moſt grave and ſober took time to conſider of it; *others ſaid, we will hear thee again of this matter.* And *Syneſius* himſelf, that great Philoſopher, after his being baptized into the Chriſtian Religion, when courted by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* to take upon him the Biſhoprick of *Ptolemais*, would not yield [d] till he had publicly entered his diſſent to the doctrine of the Reſurrection, at leaſt as to the common explication of the Article: he looked upon it as ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον, as containing a kind of ſacred and ineffable myſtery in it, but could not comply with the vulgar and received opinions; being willing probably to admit it, if he might explain it according to the principles of Philoſophy, and after the *Platonic* mode. Though why the credibility of this Article ſhould ſtick with any, that own a Being of Infinite Power, I ſee not: it being equally eaſie to Omnipotence (as [e] *Athenagoras* and others diſcourſe upon this Argument) to reſtore our ſcattered parts, and combine them again into the ſame Maſs, as it was at firſt to create them out of nothing. But to return to our *Theophilus*. By a frequent reflection [f] upon thoſe many ſhadows of a Reſurrection which God hath impreſſed upon the courſe of Nature, and the

[c] *Lib. 1. p. 78.*

Acts 17. 32.

[d] *Syneſ. Epiſt. CV. p. 249. Euagr. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 15. p. 273.*

[e] *De Reſurr. mort. p. 43.*

[f] *Loc. ſupr. citat.*

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ſtanding *Phænomena* of Divine Providence, he conquered this objection, eſpecially after he had converſed with, and embraced the holy Volume, wherein theſe things were ſo poſitively declared and publiſhed. And thus he became a Chriſtian, being baffled and diſappointed in all other refuges, he took ſanctuary in the Church, which (as himſelf expreſſes it *) God has ſet in the World, like an Iſland in the midſt of the Sea, into whoſe ſafe and convenient Harbours the lovers of truth might fly, and all thoſe who deſired to be ſaved, and to eſcape the judgment and the wrath to come. And glad he was that he ∴ was got thither, rejoycing that he bore the name of a Chriſtian, Ὁ Θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα, that name that was ſo dear to God, how much ſoever otherwiſe deſpiſed and ſcorned by an ignorant and evil Age.

* *Lib.* 2. *p.* 93.

∴ *Vid. l.* 1. *p.* 69.

IV. ABOUT the year [a] CLXIX. ([b] *Eutychius* refers it to the ſixteenth year of *Antoninus* his reign) or rather the year before, his Predeceſſor *Eros* being dead, he was made Biſhop of *Antioch*, accounted by ſome the ſixth, by the others the ſeventh Biſhop of that See. And neither of them miſtaken, both being true according to different computations, ſome reckoning S. *Peter* the firſt, while others beholding him as an Apoſtle, and as acting in a larger and more Oecumenical ſphere then a private Biſhop, begin the account from *Euodius* as the firſt Biſhop of it. S. *Theophilus* thus fixed in his charge, ſet himſelf to promote the true intereſt and happineſs of men, and as goodneſs always delights to communicate and diffuſe it ſelf, he ſtudied to bring over others to that Faith, which he had entertained himſelf. Among the reſt he attempted a perſon of note, his great friend *Autolycus*. Who this *Autolycus* was we have no account, more then what is given us by *Theophilus* himſelf [c]. He was a perſon learned and eloquent, curious in all Arts and Sciences, the acquiſt whereof he purſued with ſo indefatigable a diligence, that he would bury himſelf among Books, and ſteal hours for ſtudy from his neceſſary reſt, ſpending whole nights in Libraries, and in converſing with the monuments of the dead. But withall a *Gentile* [d], infinitely zealous for his Religion, and unreaſonably prejudiced againſt Chriſtianity, which he cried out of as the higheſt folly and madneſs, and loaded with all the common charges and calumnies which either the wit or malice of thoſe times had invented to make it odious, and for the defence and vindication whereof he had bitterly quarrelled with *Theophilus*. This notwithſtanding, he is not affrighted from undertaking him, but treats him with all the freedom and ingenuity that became a Friend and a Philoſopher, tells [e] him that the cauſe was in himſelf, why he did not diſcern and embrace the truth, that his wickedneſs and impieties had depraved his mind, and darkned his underſtanding, and that men were not to blame the Sun for want of light, when themſelves were blind and wanted eyes to ſee it; that the ruſt and ſoil muſt be wiped off from the Glaſs before 'twould make a true and clear repreſentation of the object; and that God would not diſcover himſelf, but to purged and prepared minds, and ſuch who by innocency and a divine life were become fit and diſpoſed to receive and entertain him. Then he explains to him the nature of God, and gives him an account of the Origin of the World according to the Chriſtian doctrin, diſproves and derides the ridiculous deities of the Heathens, and particularly anſwers thoſe black imputations uſually laid upon the Chriſtians; and becauſe *Autolycus* had mainly urged the lateneſs and novelty of the Chriſtian Faith, he ſhews

[a] *Euſeb. Chron. eod. anno.*

[b] *Annal. p.* 359.

[c] *Theoph. l.* 3. *p.* 119.

[d] *Ibid. l.* 2. *p.* 80.

[e] *Ibid. l.* 1. *p.* 70.

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ſhews at large how much ſuperiour it was in many parts of it in point of Seniority, and that by many Ages, to any thing which the Heathen Religion could pretend to: preſſing him at every turn to comply with ſo excellent a Religion, and aſſuring him the * People whom he invited him to, were ſo far from being ſuch as he repreſented them, that they lived under the Conduct of Modeſty and Sobriety, Temperance and Chaſtity, baniſhed Injuſtice, and rooted up all Vice and Wickedneſs, loved Righteouſneſs, lived under Law and Rule, exerciſed a Divine Religion, acknowledged God, ſerved the Truth, were under the preſervation of Grace and Peace, directed by a ſacred Word, taught by Wiſdom, rewarded by a life immortal, and governed by God himſelf. What the iſſue of his Diſcourſes was, we cannot tell, but may probably hope they had a deſired ſucceſs, eſpecially ſince we find ∴ *Autolycus* after the firſt conference a little more favourable to the cauſe, abating of his conceived diſpleaſure againſt *Theophilus*, and deſiring of him a further account of his Religion. And certainly if Wiſdom and Eloquence, if ſtrength of Reaſon, and a prudent managing the Controverſie were able to do it, he could not well fail of reclaiming the man from his Errour and Idolatry.

* *Lib.* 3. *p.* 127.

∴ *Lib.* 2. *p.* 80.

V. NOR was he more ſollicitous to gain others to the Faith, then he was to keep thoſe who already had embraced it from being infected and depraved with Errour. For which cauſe he continually ſtood upon his guard, faithfully gave warning of the approach of Hereſie, and vigorouſly ſet himſelf againſt it. For notwithſtanding the care and vigilance of the good and pious men of thoſe days (as [a] *Euſebius* obſerves) envious men crept in, and ſowed Tares among the ſincere Apoſtolic Doctrine: ſo that the Paſtors of the Church were forced to riſe up in every place, and to ſet themſelves to drive away theſe wild Beaſts from Chriſts Sheep-fold, partly by exhorting and warning the Brethren, partly by entering the liſts with the Heretics themſelves, ſome perſonally diſputing with, and confuting them, others accurately convincing and refuting their Opinions by the Books which they wrote againſt them. Among whom he tells us was our *Theophilus*, who conflicted with theſe Heretics, and particularly wrote againſt *Marcion*, who aſſerted two Deities, and that the Soul onely, as being the divine and better part, and not the Body, was capable of the happineſs of the other World, and this too granted to none but his Followers, with many ſuch impious and fond Opinions. Another Book he wrote againſt *Hermogenes*, one better skilled in Painting, then drawing Schemes of new Divinity, he forſook the Church, and fled to the *Stoics*, and being tinctured with their Principles maintained matter to be eternal, out of which God created all things, and that all evils proceeded out of Matter, aſſerting moreover (as *Clemens* of *Alexandria* [b] informs us) that our Lords Body was lodged in the Sun, ridiculouſly interpreting that place, *in them hath he ſet a Tabernacle for the Sun.* Nor did our *Theophilus* neglect the weak and younger part of the charge, he had not onely Phyſic for the Sick, and *ſtrong meat for them of full age, but milk for Babes, and ſuch as were yet unskilful in the word of righteouſneſs*, compoſing many Catechetic Diſcourſes, that contained the firſt rudiments of the Faith.

[a] *H. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 24. *p.* 146.

[b] *In excerpt. Græc. Theod. ap. Cl. Alex. p.* 808. D.

VI. HE ſate thirteen years in his Biſhoprick, (XXI. ſays the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria* [d]) and died about the ſecond or third year of the Emperour *Commodus*, for that he out-lived *M. Antoninus*, is evident from his

[c] *Niceph. C. P. Chronograph. ap. Scalig. p.* 311.

[d] *Eutych. Annal. p.* 359.

[a] *Ad Autol. l. 3. p. 138.*

his mentioning [a] his death and the time of his reign in his Diſcourſes with *Autolycus*, after which he compoſed thoſe Diſcourſes, but what kind of death it was, whether natural or violent, is to me unknown. From the calmneſs and tranquillity of *Commodus* his reign, as to any Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, we may probably gueſs it to have been a peaceable and quiet death. Books he wrote many, whereof [b] S. *Hierom* gives this Character, that they were elegant Tracts, and greatly conducive to the edification of the Church. And further adds, that he had met with Commentaries upon the Goſpel and the Proverbs of *Solomon*, bearing his name, but which ſeemed not to anſwer his other Writings in the elegancy and politeneſs of the ſtile.

[b] *Hieron. de de Script. in Theoph.*

His Writings.

Extant.
Ad Autolycum Libri III.
Not Extant.
Contra Hæreſin Hermogenis.
Adverſus Marcionem.
Libri aliquot Catechetici.
Doubtful.
Commentarii in Evangelium.
Commentarii in Proverbia Solomonis.

The End of S. THEOPHILUS's *Life.*

THE

ROYAL ASIATIC

THE LIFE OF S. MELITO BISHOP of SARDIS.

S. MELITO.

His Countrey and Birth-place. His excellent Parts and Learning. His being made Biſhop of Sardis. *His cœlibacy. His Prophetic gifts. The Perſecution under* Marcus Aurelius. Melito *his Apology for the Chriſtians.*

ſtians. A fragment of it cited out of Euſebius. *The great advantages of Chriſtianity to the Empire. His endeavour to compoſe the* Paſchal *Controverſie. His Book concerning that Subject. His journey to* Jeruſalem *to ſearch what Books of the* Old Teſtament *were received by that Church. The Copy of his Letter to his Brother* Oneſimus *concerning the Canon of the Old Teſtament. What Books admitted by the ancient Church.* Solomons Proverbs *ſtiled by the Ancients the* Book of Wiſdom. *His death and burial. The great variety of his works. Unjuſtly ſuſpected of dangerous notions. An account given of the titles of two of his Books moſt liable to ſuſpicion. His Writings enumerated.*

S. *MELITO* was born in *Aſia*, and probably at *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*, a great and ancient City, the Seat of the *Lydian* Kings; it was one of the Seven Churches to which S. *John* wrote Epiſtles, and wherein he takes notice of ſome that durſt own and ſtand up for God and Religion in that great degeneracy that was come upon it. He was a man of admirable parts, enriched with the furniture of all uſeful Learning, acute and eloquent, but eſpecially converſant in the paths of Divine Knowledge, having made deep enquiries into all the more uncommon parts and ſpeculations of the Chriſtian Doctrine. He was for his ſingular eminency and uſefulneſs choſen Biſhop of *Sardis*, though we cannot exactly define the time, which were I to conjecture, I ſhould gueſs it about the latter end of *Antoninus Pius* his reign, or the begining of his Succeſſors. He filled up all the parts of a very excellent Governour and Guide of Souls, whoſe good he was careful to advance both by Word and Writing. Which that he might attend with leſs ſolicitude and diſtraction, he not onely kept himſelf within the compaſs of a ſingle life, but was more then ordinarily exemplary for his Chaſtity and Sobriety, his ſelf-denial and contempt of the World; upon which account he is by *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus* [a] ſtiled an *Eunuch*, that is, in our Saviours explication, one of thoſe, *who make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake*; who for the ſervice of Religion, and the hopes of a better life, are content to deny themſelves the comforts of a married ſtate, and to renounce even the lawful pleaſures of this World. And God who delights to multiply his Grace upon pious and holy ſouls, crowned his other Vertues with the gift of Propheſie, for ſo [b] *Tertullian* tells us, that he was accounted by the Orthodox Chriſtians as a Prophet, and *Polycrates* ſays [c] of him, that he did ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολιτεύεσθαι, was in all things governed and directed by the *afflatus* and ſuggeſtion of the Holy Ghoſt. Accordingly in the Catalogue [d] of his Writings we find one περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ προφητῶν, of the right way of living, and concerning Prophets, and another concerning Propheſie.

II. IT was about the year CLXX. and the tenth [e] of *M. Antoninus*, (his Brother *L. Verus*, having died the year before of an Apoplexy, as he ſate in his Chariot) when the Perſecution grew high againſt the Chriſtians, greedy and malicious men taking occaſion from the Imperial Edicts lately publiſhed by all the methods of cruelty and rapine to oppreſs and ſpoil innocent Chriſtians. Whereupon as others, ſo eſpecially S. *Melito* [f] preſents an Apology and humble Supplication in their behalf to

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 24. p. 191.*

[b] *Ap. Hieron. de Script. in Melit.*

[c] *Loc. ſupr. citat.*

[d] *Ap Euſeb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.*

[e] *Euſeb. Chron. ad Ann.* CLXXI.

[f] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. loc. ſupr. citat.*

to the Emperour, wherein among other things he thus beſpeaks him, "If theſe things, Sir, be done by your Order, let them be thought well "done. For a righteous Prince will not at any time command what is "unjuſt; and we ſhall not think much to undergo the award of ſuch a "death. This onely requeſt we beg, that your ſelf would pleaſe firſt "to examine the caſe of theſe reſolute perſons, and then impartially de- "termine, whether they deſerve puniſhment and death, or ſafety and "protection. But if this new Edict and Decree, which ought not to "have been proclaimed againſt the moſt barbarous Enemies, did not "come out with your cognizance and conſent, we humbly pray, and that "with the greater importunity, that you would not ſuffer us to be any "longer expoſed to this public rapine.

III. AFTER this he put him in mind how much the Empire had proſpered ſince the riſe of Chriſtianity, and that none but the worſt of his Predeceſſors had entertained an implacable ſpight againſt the Chriſtians. "This new Sect of Philoſophy (ſays he) which we profeſs, here- "tofore flouriſhed among the *Barbarians* (by which probably he means "the *Jews.*) Afterwards under the reign of *Auguſtus* your Predeceſſor, "it ſpread it ſelf over the Provinces of your Empire, commencing with "a happy *omen* to it: ſince which time the Majeſty and Greatneſs of "the *Roman* Empire hath mightily increaſed, whereof you are the "wiſhed-for Heir and Succeſſor, and together with your Son ſhall ſo "continue, eſpecially while you protect that Religion, which begun "with *Auguſtus*, and grew up together with the Empire, and for which "your Predeceſſors had together with other Rites of Worſhip, ſome "kind of reverence and regard. And that our Religion, which was bred "up with the proſperity of the Empire, was born for public good, there "is this great Argument to convince you, that ſince the reign of *Auguſtus* "there has no conſiderable miſchief happened; but on the contrary all "things according to every ones deſire have fallen out glorious and "ſucceſsful. None but *Nero* and *Domitian* inſtigated by cruel and ill- "minded men, have attempted to reproach and calumniate our Religion; "whence ſprang the common ſlanders concerning us, the injudicious Vul- "gar greedily entertaining ſuch reports without any ſtrict examination. "But your Parents of Religious Memory gave a check to this Ignorance "and injuſtice, by frequent Reſcripts reproving thoſe who made any "new attempts in this matter. Among whom was your Grandfather "*Adrian*, who wrote, as to ſeveral others, ſo to *Fundanus* the *Procon-* "*ſul* of *Aſia*; and your Father, at what time your ſelf was Colleague "with him in the Empire, wrote to ſeveral Cities (particularly to *La-* "*riſſæa*, *Theſſalonica*, *Athens*, and all the Cities of *Greece*) that they "ſhould not create any new diſturbance about this affair. And for "your ſelf, who have the ſame opinion of us which they had, and a "great deal better, more becoming a good man and a Philoſopher, we "promiſe our ſelves that you will grant all our Petitions and Requeſts. An Addreſs managed with great prudence and ingenuous freedom, and which ſtriking in with other Apologies preſented about the ſame time, did not a little contribute to the general quiet and proſperity of Chriſtians.

IV. NOR was he ſo wholly ſwallowed up with care for the general Peace of Chriſtians, as to neglect the particular good of his own, or neighbour Churches. During the Government of *Servilius Paulus*

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Proconſul of *Aſia*, *Sagaris* Biſhop of *Laodicea* had ſuffered Martyrdom in the late perſecution; [a] at what time the controverſie about the *Paſchal* ſolemnity was hotly ventilated in that Church, ſome, ſtrangers probably, urging the obſervation of the Feſtival according to the *Roman* uſage celebrating it upon the Lords-day, contrary to the cuſtom of thoſe Churches, who had ever kept it upon the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the manner of the *Jews*. For the quieting of which contention *Melito* preſently wrote two Books περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα, *concerning the Paſſover*, wherein no doubt he treated at large of the celebration of *Eaſter* according to the obſervation of the *Aſian* Churches, and therefore *Polycrates* in his Letter to Pope *Victor* particularly reckons [b] *Sagaris* and *Melito*, among the chief Champions of the Cauſe. This *Paſchal* Book of S. *Melito* was mentioned alſo by [c] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* in a Tract concerning the ſame ſubject, wherein he confeſſes that he was moved to that undertaking by the diſcourſe which *Melito* had publiſhed upon that ſubject.

[a] *Ipſe Milet. ap. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.*

[b] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 24. p. 191.*

[c] *Ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupr. p. 147.*

V. HOW unwearied is true goodneſs and a love to ſouls! how willing to digeſt any difficulties, by which anothers happineſs may be advanced! his brother *Oneſimus* had deſired of him to remark ſuch paſſages of the Old Teſtament as principally made for the confirmation of the Chriſtian Religion, and to let him know how many of thoſe Books were admitted into the holy Canon. Wherein that he might at once throughly ſatisfie both his brother and himſelf, he took a journey on purpoſe into the *Eaſt*, that is, I ſuppoſe, to *Jeruſalem*, where he was likelieſt to receive full ſatisfaction in this matter, and where having informed himſelf, he gave his Brother at his return an account of it. The Letter it ſelf, becauſe but ſhort, and containing ſo authentic an evidence what Books of the Old Teſtament were received by the ancient Church, we ſhall here ſubjoin.

Melito to his Brother *Oneſimus*, greeting.

FOR *AS MUCH as out of your great love to and delight in the Holy Scriptures, you have oft deſired me to collect ſuch paſſages out of the Law and the Prophets as relate to our Saviour and the ſeveral parts of our Chriſtian Faith, and to be certainly informed of the Books of the Old Teſtament, how many in number, and in what order they were written, I have endeavoured to comply with your deſires in this affair. For I know your great zeal and care concerning the Faith, and how much you deſire to be inſtructed in matters of Religion, and eſpecially out of your love to God how infinitely you prefer theſe above all other things, and are ſolicitous about your eternal ſalvation. In order hereunto I travelled into the* Eaſt, *and being arrived at the place where theſe things were done and publiſhed, and having accurately informed my ſelf of the Books of the Old Teſtament, I have ſent you the following account.* The five Books of Moſes, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jeſus *or* Joſhua *the ſon of* Nun; Judges, Ruth; the four Books of Kings. Two Books of Chronicles. The Pſalms of David. The Proverbs of Solomon, *which is* Wiſdom; Eccleſiaſtes, the Song of Songs, Job. The Prophets, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, the twelve [*minor*] Prophets in one Book. Daniel, Ezekiel: Eſdras *or* Ezra. *Out of all which I have made Collections, which I have digeſted into ſix Books.*

VI. IN

VI. IN which Catalogue we may observe the Book of *Esther* is omitted, as it is also by [b] S. *Athanasius*, [c] *Gregory Nazianzen*, and [d] *Leontius*, in their enumeration of the Books of the holy Canon: though for what reason is uncertain, unless (as [e] *Sixtus Senensis*, not improbably conjectures) because it was not in those times looked upon as of such unquestionable credit and authority as the rest; the spurious additions at the end of it causing the whole Book to be called in question. Nor is here any particular mention made of *Nehemiah*, probably because it was anciently comprehended under that of *Esdras*. And by that of *Wisdom* we see is not meant the *Apocryphal* Book, called the *Wisdom of Solomon* (as [f] *Bellarmine* and most Writers of that Church confidently enough assert) but his *Proverbs*, of which [g] *Eusebius* expresly tells us, that not onely *Hegesippus* but *Irenæus*, and all the Ancients were wont to call the *Proverbs* of *Solomon* by the name of *Wisdom*, πανάρετον Σοφίαν, a wisdom containing a *System* of all kind of vertues. And indeed that *Melito* in this place could mean no other, the words of his Letter as restored by *Valesius* (Σολόμωνος παροιμίαι, ἢ καὶ Σοφία) according to *Nicephorus* his quotation, and the faith of all the best and most ancient Manuscrips, puts the case beyond all peradventure.

[b] *Synops. S. Script. p.* 471.
[c] *Carm.* XXXIII *p.* 98. *Tom.* 2.
[d] *Sect. Act.* II. *p.* 408.
[e] *Biblioth. S. l.* 1. *p.* 5.
[f] *De Script. Eccl. in Melit. ad Ann.* 150.
[g] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 22. *p.* 143.

VII. AT last this good man broken with infinite pains and labours, and wearied with the inquietudes of a troublesome World, retreated to the place of rest. The time and manner of his death is unknown; this onely we find [h] that he died, and lies buried at *Sardis*, waiting τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπήν, the Episcopal Visitation from Heaven, when our Lord shall come and raise him up from the dead. He was a man, besides the piety of his mind, and the strictness and innocency of his life, of great parts and learning, he had *elegans & declamatorium ingenium*, as [i] *Tertullian* said of him, a smart elegant Wit, able to represent things with their most proper aggravations. He wrote Books almost in all kinds of Subjects, Divine, Moral, and Philosophical, the Monuments of no less Industry then Learning, which are all long since lost, some very few fragments onely excepted. I know there are that suspected him to have had notions less Orthodox about some of the great principles of Religion: which I confess seems to me a most uncharitable and unjust reflection upon so holy and so good a man, especially seeing the conjecture is founded upon the meer titles of some of his Books, none of the Books themselves being extant, and of those titles a fair account might be given to satisfie any sober and impartial man; there being but two that can be liable to exception, the one Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ, *de Deo*, not *Corporeo*, (however [k] *Theodoret*, and as it seems from *Origen*, understands it) but *Corporato* (as *Tertullian* would express it) *de Deo corpore induto*, as *Rufinus* of old translated it, concerning God clothed with a body, or *the Word made flesh*; the other Περὶ κτίσεως (most Copies read πίστεως) καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ, of the *Creation* and *Generation* of Christ. Where admit it to have been κτίσεως, *Creation*, he alluded I doubt not to that of *Solomon*, *the Lord possessed*, ἔκτισε, *created me in the beginning of his way*. And evident it is, that before the rise of the *Arrian* Controversies the [l] Fathers

[h] *Polycrat. Ep. ap. Euseb. ubi p.* 191.
[i] *Apud Hieron. de Script. in Melit.*
[k] Ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Μελίτων συγγράμματα κατελελειπώς, περὶ τοῦ ἐνσώματον εἶναι τὸν Θεόν. Theod. Quest. XX. in Genes. Tom. 1. pag. 21.
[l] Περὶ αὐτοῦ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] καὶ ὁ Σολομὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Constit. Apost. l. 5. c. 19. col. 370. *Cæterum ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum, quem habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet: hanc Græci* λόγον *dicunt.—Itaque Sophiam quoq; exaudi, ut secundam personam conditam. Primo, Dominus creavit me initium viarum in opera sua, &c. nam ut primum Deus voluit ea quæ cum Sophiæ ratione & sermone disposuerat intra se, ipsum primum protulit sermonem.---Hæc est nativitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex deo procedit: conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine Sophiæ, Dominus condidit me initium viarum.* Tertul adv. Prax. *c.* 5, 6, 7. *p.* 503. ubi plura.

used

uſed the word for any manner of production, and uſually underſtand that place of *Solomon* of the ineffable Generation of the Son of God.

His Writings.

None whereof are now extant.

De Paſchate, Libri II.
De recta vivendi ratione, & de Prophetis, liber unus.
De Eccleſia.
De die Dominica.
De Natura Hominis.
De Creatione.
De obedientia ſenſuum fidei.
De Anima, & corpore, & mente.
De Lavacro.
De Veritate.
De fide [Creatione] & Generatione Chriſti.
De Prophetia.
De Hoſpitalitate.
Liber Clavis dictus.
De Diabolo.
De Joannis Apocalypſi.
De Incarnatione Dei.
Apologia ad Imp. Antoninum.
Excerptorum ex libris Veteris Teſtamenti, Libri VI.

The End of S. MELITO *'s Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. PANTÆNUS CATECHIST OF ALEXANDRIA.

S. PANTÆNUS.

The various conjectures concerning his Original. The probabilities of his Jewiſh *deſcent, what. Whether born in* Sicily *or at* Alexandria. *His firſt inſtitution. The famous* Platonic *School erected by* Ammonius *at*

Alexandria. *The renown of that place for other parts of Learning.* Pantænus *addicted to the Sect of the* Stoics. *The Principles of that Sect ſhewed to agree beſt with the dictates of Chriſtianity. His great improvements in the Chriſtian Doctrine. The* Catechetic *School at* Alexandria, *with its antiquity.* Pantænus *made Regent of it. When he firſt entered upon this Office. An Embaſſy from* India *to the Biſhop of* Alexandria *for ſome to preach the Chriſtian Faith.* Pantænus *ſent upon this errand. This Countrey where ſituate. His arrival in* India, *and converſe with the* Brachmans. *Their temper, principles, and way of life. Their agreement with the* Stoics. *Foot-ſteps of Chriſtianity formerly planted there.* S. Matthews Hebrew *Goſpel found among them and brought by* Pantænus *to* Alexandria. *How far and by whom Chriſtianity was propagated in* India *afterwards.* Pantænus *his return to* Alexandria, *and reſuming his* Catechetic *Office. His Death. His great Piety and Learning.*

I. THE ſilence of Antiquity as to the Countrey and Kindred of this excellent perſon has adminiſtred to variety of conjectures concerning his original. Some conceive him to have been born of *Jewiſh* Parents, and they of note and quality. For [a] *Clemens Alexandrinus* reckoning up his Tutors, tells us that one, (whom he names laſt) was of *Paleſtine*, an *Hebrew* of very long deſcent; and then adds, that having found the laſt, (meaning, ſay ſome, the laſt of thoſe whom he had reckoned up) though he juſtly deſerved to be placed firſt, after he had with infinite diligence and curioſity hunted him out in *Egypt*, where he lay obſcure, he ſate down under his Diſcipline and Inſtitution. This perſon [b] *Euſebius* plainly ſuppoſes to have been our *Pantænus*; and that he intended him in the latter clauſe there is no cauſe to doubt, the former onely is ambiguous, it not being clear, whether the latter ſentence be neceſſarily connected and joined to the former, or that he deſigned any more, then to intimate the laſt Maſter he addreſſed to, as diſtinct from thoſe he had named before. And this I am the rather inclined to think, becauſe whoever conſiderately weighs *Clemens* his period, will find that by his *Hebrew* or *Paleſtine* Maſter, he means one of the two whom he heard in the *Eaſt*, whereas *Pantænus* was his Maſter in *Egypt*, whom he both found and heard there. [c] Others make him born in *Sicily*, becauſe *Clemens* in the following words ſtiles him, *a truly Sicilian Bee:* but whether there may not be ſomething proverbial in that expreſſion even as it relates to *Sicily*, I ſhall not now enquire. However it is certain that the Inhabitants of that Iſland were generally *Greeks*, that many eminent Philoſophers were born, or reſided there, and particularly the famous *Porphyry*, who had retired hither for ſome years, and here wrote his virulent Books againſt the Chriſtians. Let this then ſtand for his Countrey, till ſomething more probable offer it ſelf, unleſs we will ſay, that being deſcended of *Sicilian* anceſtors, he was born at *Alexandria*, the place of his education.

[a] *Stromat. l. 1. p. 274.*

[b] *H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 11. p. 175, 176.*

[c] *Valeſ. Annot. in Euſeb. p. 96.*

II. HIS younger years were ſeaſoned with all learned and philoſophical ſtudies, under the beſt Maſters which *Alexandria* (for there I preſume to place his education) afforded, at that time a noted ſtaple place of Learning. As *Egypt* had in all Ages been famous for the choiceſt

parts

parts of literature, and the more uncommon ſpeculations of Theology, ſo more eſpecially *Alexandria*, where there were Profeſſors in all Arts and Sciences, and public Schools of inſtitution, not a little advantaged by that noble Library, placed here by *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and ſo much celebrated by the Ancients. In after-times here was a fixed and ſetled ſucceſſion of Philoſophers in the *Platonic* School, begun by *Ammonius Saccas*, and carried on by *Photinus* and *Origen*, and their ſucceſſors for ſeveral Ages. [a] *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us that in his time, though not ſo famous as formerly, yet in ſome good degree it ſtill maintained its reputation, and that all ingenuous Arts and Methods of recondite Learning, and celebrated Profeſſors of all ſorts flouriſhed here, and that it was enough to recommend a Phyſician to public notice, if he had ſtudied at *Alexandria*. Nay many Ages after him, *Benjamin* the *Jew* * at his being there, found near twenty ſeveral Schools of *Ariſtotelians* (the onely men that then ruled the Chair) whither men flocked from all parts of the World to learn the Peripatetic Philoſophy.

[a] *Lib.* 22. *non longe à fin. p.* 1638.

* *Itiner. p.* 121.

[c] III. AMONG all the Sects of Philoſophy he principally applied himſelf [b] to the *Stoics*, with whoſe notions and rules of life he was moſt enamoured; and no wonder, ſeeing (as S. *Hierom* obſerves) their *dogmata* in many things come neareſt to the doctrines of Chriſtianity. As indeed they do, eſpecially as to the moral and practic part of their Principles. They held that nothing was good but what was juſt and pious, nothing evil but what was vicious and diſhoneſt; that a bad man could never be happy, nor a good man miſerable, who was always free, generous, and dear to Heaven; that the deity was perpetually concerned for humane affairs, and that there was a wiſe and powerful providence that particularly ſuperintended the happineſs of mankind, and was ready to aſſiſt men in all lawful and vertuous undertakings; that therefore this God was above all things to be admired, adored, and worſhipped, prayed to, acknowledged, obeyed, praiſed, and that it is the moſt comely and reaſonable thing in the World, that we ſhould univerſally ſubmit to his will, and ἀσπαζόμενος ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ συμβαίνοντα πάντα, chearfully embrace with all our ſouls all the iſſues and determinations of his providence; that we ought not to think it enough to be happy alone, but that 'tis our duty ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖν, to love men from the very heart, to relieve and help them, adviſe and aſſiſt them, and contribute what is in our power to their welfare and ſafety, and this not once or twice, but throughout the whole life, and that unbiaſſedly, without any little deſigns of applauſe, or advantage to our ſelves; that nothing ſhould be equally dear to a man as honeſty and vertue, and that this is the firſt thing he ſhould look at, whether the thing he is going about be good or bad, and the part of a good or a wicked man, and if excellent and vertuous, that he ought not to let any loſs or damage, torment, or death it ſelf deter him from it. And whoever runs over the Writings of *Seneca*, *Antoninus*, *Epictetus*, *Arrian*, &c. will find theſe, and a great many more claiming a very near kindred with the main rules of life preſcribed in the Chriſtian Faith. And what wonder if *Pantænus* was in love with ſuch generous and manly principles, which he liked ſo well, that as he always retained the title of the *Stoic Philoſopher*, ſo for the main he owned the profeſſion of that Sect, even after his being admitted to eminent Offices and Imployments in the Chriſtian Church.

[b] *Euſeb. l.* 5. *c.* 10. *p.* 175.

[c] *Com. in Eſa. c.* 11. *p.* 49. *Tom.* 5.

IV. BY whom he was inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, I find not; [a] *Photius* tells us that he was Scholar to thoſe who had ſeen the Apoſtles, though I cannot allow of what he adds, that he had been an Auditor of ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves, his great diſtance from their times rendring it next door to impoſſible. But whoever were his Tutors, he made ſuch vaſt proficiences in his Learning, that his ſingular eminency quickly recommended him to a place of great truſt and honour in the Church, to be Maſter of the *Catechetic* School at *Alexandria*. For there were not onely *Academies* and Schools of Humane Literature, but an *Eccleſiaſtical* School for the training perſons up in divine knowledge and the firſt principles of Chriſtianity: and this ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους, ſays [b] *Euſebius*, *of very ancient cuſtom*, from the very times of S. *Mark* (ſays [c] S. *Hierom*) the firſt Planter of Chriſtianity and Biſhop of that place. From whoſe time there had been a conſtant ſucceſſion of *Catechiſts* in that School, which *Euſebius* tells us, continued in his time, and was managed by men famous for eloquence and the ſtudy of divine things. The fame and glory of *Pantænus* did above all others at that time deſign him for this place, in which he accordingly ſucceeded, and that (as [d] *Euſebius* intimates) about the beginning of *Commodus* his reign, when *Julian* entered upon the See of *Alexandria*, for about that time (ſays he) he became Governour of the School of the Faithful there. And whereas others before him had diſcharged the place in a more private way, he made the School more open and public, freely teaching all that addreſſed themſelves to him. In this imployment he continued without intermiſſion the whole time of *Julian* (who ſate ten years) till under his Succeſſor he was diſpatched upon a long and dangerous journey, whereof this the occaſion.

V. *ALEXANDRIA* was πολυανθρωποτάτη πασῶν πόλις (as the Orator [e] ſtiles it) one of the moſt populous and frequented Cities in the World, whither there was a conſtant reſort not onely of neighbour Nations, but of the moſt remote and diſtant Countries, *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, *Bactrians*, *Scythians*, *Perſians*, and even *Indians* themſelves. It happened that ſome *Indian* Embaſſadors (whether ſent for this particular purpoſe is not certain) intreated [f] *Demetrius* then Biſhop of *Alexandria* to ſend ſome worthy and excellent perſon along with them to preach the Faith in thoſe Countries. None appeared qualified for this errand like *Pantænus*, a grave man, and a great Philoſopher, incomparably furniſhed both with divine and ſecular Learning. Him *Demetrius* perſuades to undertake the Embaſſy; and though he could not but be ſufficiently apprehenſive, that he quitted a pleaſant and delightful Country, a place where he was beloved and honoured by all with a juſt eſteem and reverence, and that he ventured upon a journey where he muſt expect to encounter with dangers and hardſhips, and the greateſt difficulties and oppoſitions, yet were all theſe eaſily conquered by his inſatiable deſire to propagate the Chriſtian Religion, even to the remoteſt corners of the World. For there were many Evangelical Preachers even at that time (as [g] *Euſebius* adds upon this occaſion) who inflamed with a divine and holy zeal, in imitation of the Apoſtles were willing to travel up and down the World for enlarging the bounds of Chriſtianity, and building men up on the moſt holy Faith. What *India* this was to which *Pantænus*, and after him *Frumentius* (for that they both went to the ſame Countrey, is highly probable) was diſpatched, is not eaſie

to

[a] *Cod.* CXVIII. *col.* 297.

[b] *Loc. ſupr. citat.*

[c] *De ſcript. in Pantæn.*

[d] *Cap.* 9, & 10. *ut ſupr.*

[e] *Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat.* XXXII. *p.* 375. *vid. p.* 373.

[f] *Hieron. de Script. ubi ſupr.*

[g] *Loc. citat.*

determine. There are, and they men of no inconsiderable note, that conceive it was not the *Oriental*, but *African India*, conterminous to *Æthiopia*, or rather a part of it. These *Indians* were a Colony and Plantation derived at first out of the *East*. For so [a] *Eusebius* tells us, that in the more early Ages the *Æthiopians* quitting the parts about the River *Indus*, sate down near *Egypt*. Whence [b] *Philostratus* expresly stiles the *Æthiopians* a Colony of *Indians*, as [c] elsewhere he calls them γένος Ἰνδικὸν, an *Indian* generation. The *Metropolis* of this Countrey was *Axumis*, of which *Frumentius* is afterwards said to be ordained Bishop by *Athanasius*. An opinion, which I confess my self very inclinable to embrace, and should without any scruple comply with, did not [d] *Eusebius* expresly say, that *Pantænus* preached the Gospel to the *Eastern* Nations, and came as far as to *India* it self. A passage, which how it can suit with the *African India*, and the Countries that lie so directly *South* of *Egypt*, I am not able to imagine. For which reason we have elsewhere fixed it in the *East*. Nor is there any need to send them as far as *India intra Gangem*, there are places in *Asia* nearer hand, and particularly some parts of *Arabia* that anciently passed under that name, whence the *Persian* Gulf is sometimes called the *Indian* Sea. But let the judicious Reader determine as he please in this matter.

[a] *Chron. ad An. Abrah.* CCCCIV.
[b] *Vit. Apollon. l.6.c.8.p.287.*
[c] *Ibid. l.3.c.6. p.125.*
[d] *Hist. Eccl. ubi supr.*

VI. BEING arrived in *India*, he set himself to plant the Christian Faith in those parts, especially conversing with the [e] *Brachmans*, the Sages and Philosophers of those Countries, whose Principles and way of life seemed more immediately to dispose them for the entertainment of Christianity. Their children as soon as born they committed to Nurses, and then to Guardians according to their different ages, who instructed them in principles according to their capacities and improvements: they were educated with all imaginable severity of Discipline, not suffered so much as to speak or spit, or cough, while their Masters were discoursing to them, and this till they were seven and thirty years of Age. They were infinitely strict and abstemious in their diet, eat no flesh, drunk no wine or strong drink, feeding onely upon wild Acorns, and such Roots as nature furnished them withall, and quenching their thirst at the next Spring or River, and as sparing of all other lawful pleasures and delights. They adored no Images, but sincerely worshiped God, to whom they continually prayed, and in stead of the custom of those *Eastern* Nations of turning to the *East*, they devoutly lift up their eyes to Heaven, and while they drew near to God, took a peculiar care to keep themselves from being defiled with any vice or wickedness, spending a great part both of night and day in Hymns and Prayers to God. They accounted themselves the most free and victorious people, having hardned their bodies against all external accidents, and subdued in their minds all irregular passions and desires. Gold and Silver they despised, as that which could neither quench their thirst nor allay their hunger, nor heal their wounds, nor cure their distempers, nor serve any real and necessary ends of nature, but onely minister to Vice and Luxury, to trouble and inquietude, and set the mind upon Racks and Tenters. They looked upon none of the little accidents of this World to be either good or evil, frequently discoursed concerning Death, which they maintained to be γένεσιν εἰς ὄντως

[e] *Hieron. Epist. ad Magn. Orat. p.327. Tom.2.*

De Brachman. morib. & instit. vid. inter alios Alexand Polyh. de reb. Indic. ap. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.3. p.451. Strab. Geogr. l.15 p.712. Bardesan. Syr. l. de fat. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l.6.c.10. p 275. Plutarch de vit. Alexand. p.701. Porphyr. Πρ. ἀποχῆς, l.4. § 17,18. p.167. &c. Pallad. de Bragman. p.8,9, 15,16, 17. Tract. de Orig. & Morib. Brachman. inter Ambrosii oper. ad Calc. Tom 5. Suid. in voc. Βραχμᾶνες, p.578.

ὄντως βίον, a being born into a real and happy life, and in order whereunto they made uſe of the preſent time onely as a ſtate of preparation for a better life. In ſhort, they ſeemed in moſt things to conſpire and agree with the *Stoics*, whom therefore of all other Sects they eſteemed to be λογίους Φιλοσόφους[a], the moſt excellent Philoſophers: and upon that account could not but be ſomewhat the more acceptable to *Pantænus*, who had ſo thoroughly imbibed all the wiſe and rational principles of that Inſtitution.

[a] *Pallad. de Brachman. p. 52.*

VII. WHAT ſucceſs he had in theſe parts, we are not particularly told. Certainly his preaching could not want ſome conſiderable effect, eſpecially where perſons were by the rules of their order, and the courſe of their life ſo well qualified to receive it, and that too where Chriſtianity had been heretofore planted, though now overgrown with Weeds and Rubbiſh for want of due care and culture. For he met with ſeveral[b] that retained the knowledge of Chriſt, preached here long ſince by S. *Bartholomew* the *Apoſtle* (as we have elſewhere ſhewed in his life) whereof not the leaſt evidence was his finding S. *Matthews* Goſpel written in *Hebrew*, which S. *Bartholomew* had left at his being there, and which *Pantænus* (as S. *Hierom* informs us, though I queſtion whether it be any more then his own conjecture) brought back with him to *Alexandria*, and there no doubt laid it up as an ineſtimable treaſure. And as our Philoſopher ſucceeded in the labours of S. *Bartholomew* in theſe *Indian* Plantations, ſo another afterwards ſucceeded in his, an account whereof, to make the ſtory more intire, the Reader I preſume, will not think it impertinent, if I here inſert. [c] *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius*, two Youths of *Tyre*, accompanied *Meropius* the Philoſopher into *India*, where being taken by the Natives, they were preſented to the King of the Countrey, who pleaſed with their perſons and their parts, made one of them his Butler, the other (*Frumentius*) the Keeper of his Records, or as *Sozomen* will have it, his Treaſurer and *Major-domo*, committing to his care the Government of his houſe. For their great diligence and fidelity the King at his death gave them their liberty, who thereupon determined to return to their own Countrey, but were prevailed with by the Queen to ſtay, and ſuperintend affairs during the Minority of her Son. Which they did, the main of the Government being in the hands of *Frumentius*, who aſſiſted by ſome Chriſtian Merchants that traffiqued there, built an Oratory, where they aſſembled to worſhip God according to the Rites of Chriſtianity, and inſtructed ſeveral of the Natives, who joined themſelves to their Aſſembly. The young King now of age, *Frumentius* reſigned his truſt, and begged leave to return; which being with ſome difficulty obtained, they preſently departed, *Ædeſius* going for *Tyre*, while *Frumentius* went to *Alexandria*, where he gave *Athanaſius*, then Biſhop of that place, an account of the whole affair, ſhewing him what hopes there were that the *Indians* would come over to the Faith of Chriſt, withall begging of him, to ſend a Biſhop and ſome Clergy-men among them, and not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of advancing their ſalvation. *Athanaſius* having adviſed with his Clergy, perſuaded *Frumentius* to accept the office, aſſuring him he had none fitter for it then himſelf. Which was done accordingly, and *Frumentius* being made Biſhop, returned back into *India*, where he preached the Chriſtian Faith, erected many Churches, and being aſſiſted by the Divine Grace wrought innumerable miracles, healing both

[b] *Euſeb. l. 5. c. 10. p. 175. Hier. de Script. in Pantæn.*

[c] *Socrat. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 19. p. 50. Sozom. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 477. Theod. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 23. p. 54.*

both the souls and bodies of many at the same time. An account of all which *Rufinus* professes to have received from *Ædesius* his own mouth, then Presbyter of the Church of *Tyre*. But it's time to look back to *Pantænus*.

VIII. BEING returned to *Alexandria*, he resumed his *Catechetic* office, which I gather partly from [a] *Eusebius*, who again mentions it just after his *Indian* expedition, and adds τελευτῶν ἡγεῖται, that after all, or when he drew near to his latter end, he governed the School of *Alexandria*; partly from S. *Hierom* [b], who says expresly, that he taught in the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, his first regency being under *Commodus*. He died in the time of *Antoninus Caracalla*, who began his reign *Ann.* CCXI. though the exact date and manner of his death be lost; his memory is preserved in the *Roman Calendar* on the seventh of *July*. And certainly a just tribute of honour is due to his memory for his admirable zeal and piety, his indefatigable pains and industry, his exquisit abilities, τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, as *Eusebius* truly characters him, a man singularly eminent in all kinds of Learning; and [c] *Origen*, who lived nearer to him, and was one of his Successors, commends him for his great usefulness and ability both in Philosophical speculations, and Theological Studies, in the one able to deal with Philosophers, in the other to refute Heretics and Seducers. In his School he displayed (as *Eusebius* tells us) both by word and writing the Treasures of the Sacred Doctrines; though he taught (says S. *Hierom*) rather *viva voce*, then by Books, who mentions onely his Commentaries upon the holy Scripture, and of them not the least fragment is remaining at this day.

[a] *Ubi supra.*

[b] *Loc. citat.*

[c] *Apud Euseb. l. 6. c. 19. p. 221.*

The End of S. PANTÆNUS's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA.

S. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINVS.

His Countrey. The progress of his Studies. His instruction in the Christian doctrin. His several Masters. His impartial enquiry after truth. The elective Sect, what. Its excellent genius. Clemens *of this Sect.*

His ſucceeding Pantænus *in the* Catechetic *School. He is made Preſbyter of* Alexandria. *His* Stromata *publiſhed, when. Lawfulneſs of flying in time of perſecution. His journey into the* Eaſt. *What Tracts he wrote there. His going from* Jeruſalem *to* Antioch, *and return to* Alexandria. *His death. The* Elogia *given of him by the Ancients. His admirable learning. His Writings. His* Hypotypoſes: Photius *his account of them; corrupted by the* Arrians. *His Books yet extant, and the orderly gradation of them. His* Stromata, *what the deſign of it. His ſtile, what in this, what in his other Books. A ſhort Apology for ſome unwary aſſertions in his Writings. His Writings enumerated.*

I. TITUS *Flavius Clemens* was, probably, born at *Athens*. For when [a] *Epiphanius* tells us, that ſome affirmed him to be an *Alexandrian*, others an *Athenian*, he might well be both; the one being the place of his nativity, as the other was of his conſtant reſidence and imployment. Nor can I imagine any other account, upon which the title of *Athenian* ſhould be given to him. And the conjecture is further countenanced from the courſe and progreſs of his Studies, the foundations whereof were laid in *Greece*, improved in the *Eaſt*, and perfected in *Egypt*. And indeed his incomparable abilities in all parts of Science render it a little more probable, that his early years commenced in that great School of Arts and Learning. But he ſtaid not here, his inſatiable thirſt after Knowledge made him traverſe almoſt all parts of the World, and converſe with the Learned of all Nations, that he might furniſh himſelf with the knowledge of whatever was uſeful and excellent, eſpecially a thorough acquaintance with the myſteries of the Chriſtian Doctrine. He tells us [b] of thoſe lively and powerful Diſcourſes, which he had the happineſs to hear from bleſſed and truly worthy and memorable perſons, who preſerving that ſincere and excellent doctrine, which like children from the hands of their Parents, they had immediately received from *Peter*, *James*, *John*, and *Paul*, the holy Apoſtles, were by Gods bleſſing come down to his time, ſowing thoſe ancient and Apoſtolic ſeeds of Truth. A paſſage, which I doubt not [c] *Euſebius* intended, when he ſays, that *Clemens* ſpeaking concerning himſelf in the firſt Book of his *Stromata*, affirms himſelf to have been of the next ſucceſſion to the Apoſtles.

II. OF theſe venerable men to whoſe tuition he committed himſelf, he himſelf has given [d] us ſome, though but obſcure account. The firſt was *Ionicus*, a *Cœlo-Syrian*, whom he heard in *Greece*, and whom [e] *Baronius* conjectures to have been *Caius*, or *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*; a ſecond an *Egyptian*, under whoſe Diſcipline he was, in that part of *Italy* called *Magna Græcia*, and ſince *Calabria*. Hence he travelled into the *Eaſt*, where the firſt of his Maſters was an *Aſſyrian*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been *Bardeſanes*, by others *Tatian*, the Scholar of *Juſtin Martyr*: the next originally a *Jew*, of a very ancient ſtock, whom he heard in *Paleſtine*, whom *Baronius* will have to have been *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* (though for his *Hebrew* deſcent there be no evidence among the Ancients) others [f] more probably *Theodotus*, whence the *excerpta* out of his *Hypotypoſes* ſtill extant, are ſtiled, ἐκ τῆς Θεοδότου ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας,

[a] *Hæreſ.* XXXII. *p.* 96.

[b] *Stromat. l.* I. *p.* 274. *& ap. Euſeb. l.* 5. *c.* 11. *p.* 176.

[c] *Lib.* 6. *c.* 13. *p.* 215.

[d] *Loc. citat.*

[e] *Ad Ann.* 185. *n.* IV.

[f] *Valeſ. Annot. in Euſeb. p.* 95.

the Epitome of Theodotus his Oriental Doctrin, that is, the Doctrin which he learnt from *Theodotus* in the *East*. The laſt of the Maſters whom he met with, δυνάμει ὃ ἄρα πρῶτος, as he ſays of him, but the firſt and chief in power and vertue, was one whom he inquiſitively ſought out, and found in *Egypt*, and in whoſe inſtitution he fully acquieſced, and ſought no further. This perſon is generally ſuppoſed to have been *Pantænus*, whom *Clemens* elſewhere [a] expreſly affirms to have been his Maſter, and whom in the forementioned *Epitome* he ſtiles [b] *our Pantænus*.

[a] *In lib. Hypot. ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 11. p. 175.*
[b] *Ad Calc. Clem. p. 808.*

III. BUT though he put himſelf under the diſcipline of ſo many ſeveral Maſters, yet was it not out of any vain deſultory lightneſs, or phantaſtic curioſity, but to make reſearches after truth with an honeſt and inquiſitive mind. He loved what was manly and generous, wherever he met it: and therefore tells us [c], he did not ſimply approve all Philoſophy, but that of which *Socrates* in *Plato* ſpeaks concerning their myſterious Rites,

[c] *Stromat. l. 1. p. 315.*

—ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί· βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι;

intimating as he expreſſes it in the ſtile of the Scripture, that *many are called, but few elect*, or who make the right choice. And ſuch (adds *Socrates*) and ſuch onely, in my opinion, are thoſe who embrace the true Philoſophy. Of which ſort (ſays *Clemens*) through my whole life I have to my power approved my ſelf, deſiring and endeavouring by all means to become one of that number. For this purpoſe he never tied himſelf to any particular inſtitution of Philoſophy, but took up in the αἵρεσις ἐκλεκτική, the *Elective Sect*, who obliged not themſelves to the dictates and ſentiments of any one Philoſopher, but freely made choice of the moſt excellent principles out of all. This Sect (as the Philoſophic Hiſtorian [d] informs us) was begun by *Potamon*, an *Alexandrian* too, who out of every Sect of Philoſophy ſelected what he judged beſt. He gave himſelf liberty impartially to enquire into the natures of things, and what was the true ſtandard and meaſure of truth; he conſidered, that no man knows every thing, that ſome things are obvious to one, that are overſeen or neglected by another, that there are wholſom herbs and flowers in every Field, and that if the thing be well ſaid, 'tis no matter who 'tis that ſays it; that reaſon is to be ſubmitted to, before authority, and though a fair regard be due to the opinions and principles of our Friends, yet that it is ὅσιον πρὸ φίλων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, (as [e] *Ariſtotle* himſelf confeſſes) more pious and reaſonable to honour and eſteem the truth. And thus he picked up a *Syſtem* of noble principles, like ſo many Flowers out of ſeveral Gardens, profeſſing [f] this to be the great end of all his diſquiſitions, ζωὴν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τελείαν, a life perfected according to all the rules of Vertue. Of this incomparable Order was our divine Philoſopher: *I eſpouſed not* (ſays he [g]) *this or that Philoſophy, not the Stoic, nor the Platonic, not the Epicurean, or that of Ariſtotle, but whatever any of theſe Sects had ſaid, that was fit and juſt, that taught righteouſneſs with a divine and religious knowledge, τοῦτο σύμπαν ὃ ἐκλεκτὸν, all that being ſelected, I call Philoſophy.* Though it cannot be denied, but that of any Sect, he came neareſt to the *Stoics*, as appears from his diſcourſing by way of *Paradoxes*, and his affected novelty of words, two things peculiar to the men of that way, as a very learned and ingenious perſon [h] has obſer-

[d] *D. Laert. proœm. ad vit. Philoſ. p. 14.*
[e] *Ethic. l. 1. c. 4. p. 3. Tom. 2.*
[f] *Laert. loc. cit.*
[g] *Strom. l. 1. p. 288.*
[h] *H. Dodwel. Prolegom. Apol. ad lib. D. Stearn. de Obſtin. p. 115.*

obſerved. And I doubt not but he was more peculiarly qualified towards this Sect by the inſtructions of his Maſter *Pantænus*, ſo great and profeſſed an admirer of the *Stoical* Philoſophy.

IV. *PANTÆNUS* being dead, he ſucceeded him in the *Schola* Κατηχήσεων, the *Catechetic* School at *Alexandria*, though quodammodo he taught in it long before that, and probably during *Pantænus* his abſence in *India*, ſupplying his place till his return, and ſucceeding in it after his death, for that he was *Pantænus* his Succeſſor, the Ancients * are all agreed. Here he taught with great induſtry and fidelity, and with no leſs ſucceſs, ſome of the moſt eminent men of thoſe times, *Origen*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, and others being bred under him. And now (as [a] himſelf confeſſes) he found his Philoſophy and *Gentile*-Learning very uſeful to him: for as the Husbandman firſt waters the ſoil, and then caſts in the Seed, ſo the notions he derived out of the Writings of the *Gentiles*, ſerved firſt to water and ſoften ὁ γεώδης ἀνθρ, the groſs and terreſtrial parts of the ſoul, that the ſpiritual ſeed might be the better caſt in, and take vital root in the minds of men. Beſides the Office of a *Catechiſt*, he was made Presbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*, and that at leaſt about the beginning of *Severus* his reign, for under that capacity *Euſebius* takes notice of him, *Ann.* CXCV. About which time prompted by his own zeal, and obliged by the iniquity of the times, he ſet himſelf to vindicate the cauſe of Chriſtianity both againſt Heathens and Heretics, which he has done at large with ſingular learning and dexterity in his Book called *Stromata*, publiſhed about this time; for drawing down a *Chronological* [b] account of things, he ends his computation in the death of the Emperour *Commodus*. Whence [c] 'tis evident, as [c] *Euſebius* obſerves, that he compiled that Volume in the reign of *Severus* that ſucceeded him.

* *Euſeb. l. 6. c. 6. p.* 208. *Hieron. de Script. in Clement. Phot. Cod.* CXVIII. *col.* 297.

[a] *Strom. l. 1. p.* 278.

[b] *Strom. l. 1. p.* 336.

[c] *Lib. 6. c. 6. p.* 208.

V. THE Perſecution under *Severus* raged in all Provinces of the Empire, and particularly at *Alexandria*, which made many of the Chriſtians for the preſent willing to retire, and *Clemens* probably among the reſt, whom we therefore find particularly diſcourſing [d] the lawfulneſs of withdrawing in a time of Perſecution: that though we may not cowardly decline a danger or death, when 'tis neceſſary for the ſake of Religion, yet in other caſes we are to follow the direction of our Saviour, *when they perſecute you in one City, flee ye into another*; and not to obey in ſuch a caſe, is to be bold and raſh, and unwarrantably to precipitate our ſelves into danger, that if it be a great ſin againſt God to deſtroy a man, who is his image, that man makes himſelf guilty of the crime, who offers himſelf to the public tribunal; and little better does he, that when he may, declines not the Perſecution, but raſhly expoſes himſelf to be apprehended, thereby to his power conſpiring with the wickedneſs of his Perſecutors. And if further, he irritate and provoke them, he is unqueſtionably the cauſe of his own ruine, like a man that needleſly rouzes and enrages a wild Beaſt to fall upon him. And this opportunity I doubt not he took to viſit the *Eaſtern* parts, where he had ſtudied in his younger days. We find him about this time at *Jeruſalem* with *Alexander* ſhortly after Biſhop of that place, between whom there ſeems to have been a peculiar intimacy, inſomuch that S. *Clemens* dedicated [e] his Book to him, called *The Eccleſiaſtical Canon*, ἢ πρὸς τὸς Ἰουδαΐζοντας, or *againſt them that Judaize*. During his ſtay here he preached conſtantly, and declined no pains even in that evil time, and

[d] *Stromat. l. 4. p.* 504.

[e] *Euſeb. l. 6. c.* 14. *pag.* 214. *Hieron. in Clement.*

with

with what ſucceſs, we may ſee by a piece of a Letter written by *Alexander*, then in priſon, and ſent by our S. *Clemens* to *Antioch*, which we here inſert. [f] *Alexander, a Servant of God, and a priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt, to the bleſſed Church at Antioch, in the Lord greeting. Our Lord has made my bonds in this time of my impriſonment light and eaſie to me, while I underſtood that* Aſclepiades, *a perſon admirably qualified by his eminency in the faith, was by the divine Providence become Biſhop of your holy Church of* Antioch. Concluding, *theſe Letters, worthy Brethren, I have ſent you by* Clemens, *the bleſſed Presbyter, a man virtuous and approved, whom ye both do, and ſhall yet further know: who having been here with us according to the good will and providence of God, has greatly eſtabliſhed and encreaſed the Church of Chriſt.* By which Epiſtle we may by the way remarque the errour of ∴ *Euſebius*, who places *Aſclepiades* his coming to the See of *Antioch* in the firſt year of *Caracalla*, *Ann.* CCXII. whereas we ſee it was while *Alexander* was yet in priſon under *Severus*, which he himſelf makes to be *Ann.* CCV. From *Jeruſalem* then *Clemens* went to *Antioch*, where we cannot queſtion but he took the ſame pains, and laboured with the ſame zeal and induſtry. After which he returned to *Alexandria*, and the diſcharge of his Office, where how long he continued, or by what death he died, Antiquity is ſilent. Certain it is, that for ſome conſiderable time he out-lived *Pantænus*, who died in the time of *Caracalla*; and when he wrote his *Stromata*, he tells us that he did it that he might lay up things in ſtore againſt old Age: a plain intimation that he was then pretty far from it. I add no more but what *Alexander* of *Hieruſalem* [a] ſays in a Letter to *Origen*, where having told him that their friendſhip which had commenced under their Predeceſſors ſhould continue ſacred and inviolable, yea grow more firm and fervent, he adds, "For we acknowledge for our Fathers thoſe bleſſed Saints, who are gone "before us, and to whom we ſhall go after a little time; *Pantænus* I mean, "the truly happy, and my Maſter; and the holy *Clemens*, my Maſter, and "one that was greatly uſeful and helpful to me.

VI. TO commend this excellent man after the great things ſpoken of him by the Ancients, were to hold a Candle to the Sun. Let us hear the character which ſome of them give of him. *The holy and the bleſſed* Clemens, *a man very virtuous and approved*, as we have ſeen *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who knew him beſt, teſtifying of him. Indeed his zeal and piety, modeſty, and humility, could not but endear him unto all. For his learning, he was in [b] S. *Hieroms* judgment the moſt learned of all the Ancients. *A man admirably learned and skilful, and that ſearched to the very bottom of all the learning of the Greeks with that exactneſs that perhaps few before him ever attained to*, ſays [c] S. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*. *An holy man* (ſays [d] *Theodoret*) ὡς πολυπειρίᾳ ἅπαντας ἀπολιπών, *and one that for his vaſt and diffuſive learning incomparably ſurpaſſed all other men.* Nor was he leſs accurate in matters of Theology, then humane learning, an incomparable Maſter in the Chriſtian Philoſophy, as *Euſebius* ſtiles him. Witneſs his many Books, crowded, as [e] *Euſebius* tells us, with variety and plenty of uſeful knowledge, derived (as [f] S. *Hierom* adds) both from the holy Scriptures and ſecular learning, wherein there is nothing unlearned, nothing that it is not fetched out of the very center and bowels of Philoſophy. The titles of them thoſe two Authors have preſerved, the far greateſt part of the Books themſelves having periſhed, among which the moſt memorable was the *Hypotypoſes* or *Books*

of

* *Apud. Euſeb. ib. c.* 11. *p.* 212.

∴ *In Chron. ad Ann.* CCXII.

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. l.* 6. *c.* 14. *p.* 216.

[b] *Epiſt. ad Magn. Orat. p.* 327.

[c] *Contr. Julian. l.* 7. *p.* 221. *Tom.* 6. *vid. l.* 6. *p.* 205

[d] *Hæret. Fabul. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 197.

[e] *H. Eccl. l.* 6. *c.* 13. *p.* 215.

[f] *De Script. in Clem. & ad Magn. Or. loc. cit.*

of Inſtitution, ſo often cited by *Euſebius*, which contained ſhort and ſtrict explications of many paſſages of holy Scriptures, wherein [a] *Photius* tells us there were many wild and impious opinions, as, That Matter was eternal, and that *Idæas* were introduced by certain Decrees, that there is a tranſmigration of Souls, and were many Worlds before *Adam*, that the Son is among the number of created Beings, and that the Word was not really *made fleſh*, but onely appeared ſo, and many more βλάσφημοι περιτολογίαι, *monſtrous blaſphemies*: But withall inſinuates, that probably theſe things were inſerted by another hand, as [b] *Rufinus*, expreſly aſſures us, that Heretics had corrupted *Clemens* his Writings. Certainly had theſe Books been infected with theſe prophane and poyſonous *dogmata* in *Euſebius* his time, we can hardly think, but that he would have given us at leaſt ſome obſcure intimations of it. And conſiderable it is what *Photius* obſerves, that theſe things are not countenanced by his other Books, nay many of them plainly contradicted by them.

[a] *Cod.* CIX. *col.* 285.

[b] *Apol. pro Orig. inter Oper. Hier. Tom.* 4 *p.* 195.

VII. THE Books yet extant (beſides the little Tract, entituled, Τὶς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος, lately publiſhed) are chiefly three, which ſeem to have been written in a very wiſe and excellent order, the Λόγος Προτρεπτικὸς, or *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, the *Pædagogus*, or Chriſtian Inſtructor, and the *Stromata*, or Various Diſcourſes; in the firſt he very rationally refutes the follies and impieties of the *Gentile* Religion, and ſtrongly perſuades men to embrace Chriſtianity: in the ſecond he tutors and inſtructs new Converts, and by the moſt admirable rules, and pathetical inſinuations prepares and forms them to an holy and truly Chriſtian life: in the third he adminiſters *ſtrong meat to them that are of a more full age*, a clearer explication of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and a more particular confutation both of *Gentile* and Heretical opinions, admitting the Diſciple after his firſt purgation and initiation into a more immediate acquaintance, with the ſacred Myſteries of Religion. His *Stromata* [c] are nothing but Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes compoſed out of the holy Writings, and the Books of the *Gentiles*, explaining and (as occaſion is) confuting the opinions of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, the Sentiments of Philoſophers, the notions of Heretics, inſerting variety of Stories, and Treaſures out of all ſorts of Learning; which as himſelf tells us [d], he therefore ſtiled *Stromata*, that is, a *variegated contexture of Diſcourſes*, and which [e] he compares not to a curious Garden, wherein the Trees and Plants are diſpoſed according to the exacteſt rules of Method and Order, but to a thick ſhady Mountain, whereon trees of all ſorts, the *Cypreſs* and the *Plantane*, the *Laurel* and the *Ivy*, the *Apple*, the *Olive*, and the *Figtree*, promiſcuouſly grow together. In the two former of his Books (as [f] *Photius* obſerves) his ſtile is florid, but ſet off with a well proportioned gravity, and a becoming variety of Learning: In the latter he neither deſigned the ornaments of Eloquence, nor would the nature of his deſign well admit it, as he truly [g] apologizes for himſelf; his main care [h] was ſo to expreſs things that he might be underſtood, and further eloquence then this, he neither ſtudied nor deſired. If in theſe Books of his there be what [i] *Photius* affirms, ſome few things here and there ἀχύρωδες, not ſoundly or warily expreſſed, yet not, as he adds, like thoſe of the *Hypotypoſes*, but capable of a candid and benign interpretation, not conſiderably prejudicial either to the doctrine and practice of Religion, and ſuch as are generally to be met with in the

[c] *Vid. Euſeb. l.* 6. *c.* 13. *p.* 214.

[d] *Strom. l.* 1. *p.* 278. *l.* 4. *p.* 476.

[e] *Lib.* 7. *p.* 766.

[f] *Loc. ſupr. cit. col.* 288.

[g] *ubi ſupr. p.* 767.

[h] *Ib. l.* 1. *p.* 293.

[i] *ubi ſupr.*

Writers

Writers of thoſe early Ages. And it is no wonder, if the good and pious men of thoſe times, who were continually engaged in fierce diſputes with Heathens on the one ſide, and *Jews* and Heretics on the other, did not always ὀρθοτομῆν, *divide the truth aright*, in ſome nicer lines and ſtrokes of it. The beſt is, their great piety and ſerviceableneſs in their generations, while they lived, and the ſingular uſefulneſs of their Writings to poſterity ſince they are dead, are abundantly enough to weigh down any little failures or miſtakes that dropt from them.

His Writings.

Extant.

Protrepticon ad Gentes.
Pædagogi, Libri III.
Stromateων, Libri VIII.
Orat. Quiſnam dives ille ſit, qui ſalvetur.
Epitome doctrinæ Orientalis Theodoti, &c.

Not Extant.

Hypotypoſeων, ſeu Inſtitutionum, Libri VIII.
Canon Eccleſiaſticus.
ſeu
Adverſus Judaizantes.
De Paſchate.
De obtrectatione.
Diſputationes de jejunio.
Exhortatio ad Patientiam ad Neophytos.

Suppoſititious.

Commentariola in Prim. Canonicam S. Petri, in Epiſtolam Judæ, & tres Epiſtolas S. Joannis Apoſtoli.

The End of S. CLEMENS Alexandrinus *his Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF TERTULLIAN PRESBYTER OF CARTHAGE.

TERTULLIANUS.

His names, whence. His Father, who. His education in all kinds of Learning. His skill in the Roman *Laws. Different from* Tertylian *the Lawyer. His way of life before his conversion, enquired into. His mar-*

 ried

ried condition. His Converſion to Chriſtianity, when. The great cruelty uſed towards the Chriſtians. Severus *his kindneſs to them.* Tertullians *excellent Apology in their behalf. His addreſs to* Scapula, *and the tendency of that diſcourſe.* Severus *his violent perſecuting the Chriſtians. His prohibition of the* Heteriæ. Tertullians *Book to the Martyrs, and concerning* Patience. *His zeal againſt Hereſies, and Writings that way. His Book* De Pallio, *when written, and upon what occaſion. His becoming Presbyter, when. His Book* De Corona, *and what the occaſion of it. His declining from the* Catholic *Party.* Montanus *who and whence. His principles and practices.* Tertullians *owning them, and upon what occaſion. His moroſe and ſtubborn temper. How far he complied with the* Montaniſts, *and acknowledged the* Paraclete. *How he was impoſed upon. His writings againſt the* Catholics. *The ſeverity of the ancient Diſcipline.* Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum, *in what ſenſe meant by* Tertullian *concerning the Biſhop of* Rome. *His ſeparate meetings at* Carthage. *His death. His Character. His ſingular parts and learning. His Books. His phraſe and ſtile. What contributed to its perplexedneſs and obſcurity. His un-orthodox opinions. A brief plea for him.*

I.

[a] *Hieron. de ſcript. in Tertul. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 34. p 334.* [b] *De Pall. c. 1. p. 112. & Apolog. c. 9. p. 9.*

QUINTUS *Septimius Florens Tertullianus*, was (as the Ancients [a] affirm, and himſelf [b] implies when he calls it his Countrey) born at *Carthage*, the *Metropolis* of *Afric*, famous above all others for Antiquity, Soveraignty, and Power, inſomuch that for ſome Ages it contended for glory and ſuperiority even with *Rome* it ſelf. He was called *Septimius*, becauſe deſcended of the *Gens Septimia*, a Tribe of great account among the *Romans*, being firſt Regal, afterwards Plebeian, and laſt of all Conſular and Patrician. *Florens* from ſome particular Family of that Houſe, ſo called, and *Quintus* (a title common among the *Romans*) probably becauſe the fifth child which his Parents had; and *Tertullian*, a derivative from *Tertullus*, it is like from his immediate Parent. His Father was a Souldier, a *Centurion* under the *Proconſul* of *Afric* (called therefore by S. *Hierom* and others *Centurio Proconſularis*) not a man of *Proconſular* dignity, as ſome make him; he was a *Gentile*, in which Religion *Tertullian* alſo was brought up, as himſelf [c] confeſſes. He was educated in all the accompliſhments which the learning either of the *Greeks* or *Romans* could add to him, he ſeems to have left no paths untraced, to have intimately converſed with Poets, Hiſtorians, Orators, not to have looked onely, but to have entered into the ſecrets of Philoſophy and the Mathematics, not unſeen in Phyſic, and the curioſities of nature, and as *Euſebius* [d] notes, a man famous for other things, but eſpecially admirably skilled in the *Roman* Laws; though they who would hence infer him to have been a profeſſed Lawyer, and the ſame with him whoſe *Excerpta* are yet extant in the *Pandects*, are guilty of a notorious miſtake, the name of that Lawyer being *Tertylianus*; beſides that diſſonancy that is in their ſtile and language. Or ſuppoſe with others that this *Tertylian* was one of *Papinians* Scholars in the reign of *Alexander Severus*, he muſt by this account be at leaſt thirty years after the others Converſion to Chriſtianity. The original of the Errour doubtleſs aroſe from the nearneſs and ſimilitude of the names, and the character of his

[c] *Apol. c. 18. p. 17.*

[d] *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2. p. 41.*

skill

skill in the *Roman* Laws given by *Euſebius*, which indeed is evident from his Works, and eſpecially his *Apology* for the Chriſtians.

II. WHAT was his particular courſe of life before he came over to the Chriſtian Religion, is uncertain. They that conceive him to have been an Advocate, and publicly to have pleaded Cauſes, becauſe after his Converſion he * ſays of himſelf, that he owed nothing to the *Forum*, took up no place among the *Roſtra*, made no noiſe among the Benches, did not toſs about the Laws, nor clamour out Cauſes, as if he had done all this before, might by the ſame reaſon conclude him to have been a Souldier, becauſe he adds in the ſame place, that he owed nothing to the Camp, with ſome other Offices there mentioned by him. That he was married is evident, though whether before or after his embracing the Chriſtian Faith, I cannot poſitively determine, probably before. However according to the ſeverity of his principles, he lived with his wife a great part of his life in a ſtate of Continency, converſing with her as his ſiſter, exhorting her to perpetual cœlibacy, and the utmoſt ſtrictneſſes of a ſingle life, as appears by his two Books written to her upon that Subject.

* *De Pall. c.* 5. *p.* 118.

III. HIS converſion to Chriſtianity we may conceive to have hapned not long after the beginning of *Severus* his reign, and a little before the concluſion of the ſecond Century. Being a man of an inquiſitive and ſagacious mind, he had obſerved the powerful and triumphant efficacy of the Chriſtian Faith over the minds and lives of men, its great Antiquity, the admirable conſent and truth of the Predictions recorded in the Books of the Chriſtians, the frequent Teſtimonies which the Heathen deities themſelves gave to its truth and divinity, the ordinary confeſſions of their *Dæmons* when forced to abandon the perſons they had poſſeſſed, at the command of a Chriſtian, all which he ſhews [a] at large (at leaſt as we may probably gueſs) to have been the main inducements of his Converſion. In the very entrance of the following *Seculum*, *Severus* being gone to make War upon the *Parthians*, the Magiſtrates at *Rome*, and proportionably the Governours of Provinces, began to bear hard upon the Chriſtians, beholding them as infamous perſons, and eſpecially Traitors to the Empire. Among whom the moſt principal perſon, I doubt not, was *Plautianus*, a man in great favour with the Emperour, whoſe daughter was married to *Antoninus* the Emperours eldeſt Son, and whom *Severus* at his going into the *Eaſt*, had made *Præfect* of *Rome*; of him we read [b], that in the Emperours abſence he put to death an infinite number both of the Nobility and Common People. Among whom we cannot queſtion but the Chriſtians had theirs, and it's like the far greateſt ſhare. And ſo notorious was the cruelty, that [c] *Severus* at his return was forced to apologize for himſelf, that he had no hand in it. And indeed *Severus* in the firſt part of his reign (was as *Tertullian* informs [d] us) very benign and favourable to the Chriſtians; for having been cured of a dangerous diſtemper by one *Proculus* a Chriſtian, who anointed him with oyl, he kept him at Court with him ever after. Nor did his kindneſs terminate here, for when he knew that ſeveral both men and Women of the *Senatorian* Order were Chriſtians, he was ſo far from perſecuting them upon that account, that he gave them an honourable teſtimony, and reſtrained the people, when they were raging againſt the Chriſtians. This I ſuppoſe to have been done at his return from the *Parthian* Expedition, when he found both Governours and People engaged in ſo hot and ſevere a Perſecution of the Chriſtians.

[a] *Vid. Apol. c.* 19, 20. *p.* 18. *c.* 23. *p.* 22, 23. *& alibi paſſim.*

[b] *Dio. Caſſ. H. Rom. l.* 75. *& Xiphil. in Vit. Sever. p* 328.

[c] *Spartian in vit. Sever. c.* 15. *p.* 350.

[d] *Ad Scapul. c.* 4. *p.* 71.

IV. THE barbarous and cruel uſage which the Chriſtians generally met with, engaged *Tertullian* to vindicate and plead their cauſe both againſt the malice and cruelty of their enemies. For which purpoſe he publiſhed and ſent abroad his *Apology*, dedicating it to the Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Empire, and eſpecially the Senate at *Rome* (for that he went to *Rome* himſelf, and perſonally preſented it to the *Senate*, I confeſs, I ſee no convincing evidence) wherein with incomparable learning and eloquence, with all poſſible evidence and ſtrength of reaſon he pleads their Cauſe, complains of the iniquity and injuſtice of their enemies, and the methods of their proceedings, particularly demonſtrates the vanity and falſhood of thoſe crimes that were commonly charged upon the Chriſtians, arguing their meekneſs and innocency, their temperance and ſobriety, their piety to God, and obedience to their Prince, the reaſonableneſs of their principles, and the holineſs of their lives, beyond all juſt exception. An Apology which undoubtedly contributed towards the cooling and qualifying of the preſent Calentures, eſpecially at *Severus* his return. And indeed it appears not by the whole ſeries of that Diſcourſe, that the Emperour had given any particular countenance to thoſe ſeverities; nay on the contrary, he expreſly ſtiles * him the *moſt conſtant Prince*. Not long after this, *Tertullian* found work nearer home, *Scapula* the Preſident, and *Proconſul* of *Afric*, (the ſame probably with *Scapula Tertyllus*, a Provincial Preſident, to whom there is a *Reſcript* of *Marcus* and *Commodus* [a]) treating the Chriſtians much at the ſame rate that *Plautianus* had done at *Rome*. To him therefore he addreſſes himſelf in a neat and pathetical Diſcourſe, repreſenting the honeſty and ſimplicity of Chriſtians, and their hearty prayers and endeavours for the proſperity of the Empire, and thoſe particular inſtances of ſeverity which the Divine Providence had lately inflicted upon it, which could not be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been ſent upon any other errand, ſo much as to revenge the innocent bloud that had been ſhed; laying before him the clemency and indulgence of former Princes and Preſidents, yea and of the preſent Emperour himſelf, ſo great a friend to Chriſtians. A plain evidence that this Book was written at this time, before *Severus* broke out into open violence againſt them.

* *Apol. c. 4. p. 5.*

[a] *L. 14. ff. de Offic. Præſid. lib. 1. Tit. 18.*

V. THE Chriſtians now enjoyed a little reſpite: but alas it was but like the intermitting fits of a Fever, which being over, the *paroxyſm* returns with a fiercer violence, *Ann. Chr.* CCII. *Severi* X. [b] the Perſecution revived, and was now carried on by the command of the Emperour. For *Severus* in his journey through *Paleſtin* forbad [c] any under the heavieſt penalties to become *Jews*; and the ſame Orders he iſſued out concerning Chriſtians. The general pretence it's like was the prohibiting the *Heteriæ*, or unlawful Societies, (which we have elſewhere deſcribed) for ſuch a Reſcript [d] *Ulpian* mentions, whereby *Severus* forbad the *illegal Colledges*, commanding the perſons frequenting them to be accuſed before the *Præfect* of the City, in which number they uſually beheld the Chriſtians; though I doubt not but there were (as *Spartianus* plainly affirms) particular Edicts iſſued out againſt them. The People, who could hardly be held in before, having now the reins thrown upon their necks, and ſpurred on by the Imperial Orders, ran apace upon the execution, ſo that the Churches in all places [e] were filled with Martyrdoms and the bloud of the Saints, and it grew ſo hot, that [f] *Jude* a Writer of thoſe Times drawing down his *Chronology* of *Daniels* LXX Weeks,

[b] *Euſeb. Chron. Ad eundem An.*

[c] *Æl. Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 17. p. 352.*

[d] *L. 1. ff. de Offic. Præfect. urb. § 14. Tit. 12. lib. 1.*

[e] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 1. p. 201.*

[f] *Ibid. c. 6. p. 208.*

Weeks, to this Year, broke off his computation, ſuppoſing that the ſo much celebrated coming of *Antichriſt* was now at hand. So exceedingly (ſays the Hiſtorian) were the minds of many ſhaken and diſturbed with the preſent Perſecution. *Tertullian*, that he might ſpeak a word in ſeaſon, took hold of the preſent opportunity, and wrote to the Martyrs in priſon, to comfort them under their ſufferings, and exhort them to conſtancy and final perſeverance; as alſo for the ſame reaſon and about the ſame time he publiſhed his Diſcourſe concerning Patience, wherein he very elegantly deſcribes the advantages and commendations of that Vertue, and eſpecially urges it from the example of God, our bleſſed Saviour, and ſpeaks therein more favourably then he did afterwards of retiring in a time of Perſecution. Nor was he leſs watchful to defend and preſerve the Church from Errour and Hereſie, writing his *Præſcription againſt Heretics*, (for that it was written about this time is evident from ſeveral paſſages, eſpecially where he mentions the time of Perſecution, the place of the *Tribunal*, the perſon of the Judge, the bringing forth of Lions, and the like,) wherein he enumerates and inſiſts upon the ſeveral Hereſies which had infeſted the Church till that time; cenſuring and confuting their abſurd opinions, and promiſing * a more diſtinct and particular confutation of them afterwards. Which accordingly he performed in his Diſcourſes againſt the *Jews*, againſt *Hermogenes*, the *Valentinians*, *Marcion*, *Praxeas*, and ſome others of their Proſelytes and Diſciples, and ſome of the *Montaniſts* themſelves, writing a particular Tract concerning *Baptiſm*, and the uſe of Water in it, and its neceſſity to ſalvation, againſt *Quintilla* a woman of great note and eminency among the followers of *Montanus*, what value ſoever he afterwards ſeemed to put upon that Sect.

* *De Præſcript. Hæret. c. 45. p. 219.*

VI. ABOUT the XV. of *Severus*, *Ann. Chr.* CCVII. he publiſhed his Book *De Pallio* upon this occaſion. He had lately left off the *Gown*, the Garment ordinarily worn in all parts of the *Roman* Empire, and had put on the *Cloak*, the uſual habit of Philoſophers, and of all thoſe Chriſtians that entered upon a ſeverer ſtate of life, as we have ſhewn in the life of *Juſtin Martyr*. Hereupon he was derided by them of *Carthage* for his lightneſs and vanity, in ſo wantonly skipping *à Toga ad Pallium*, from the Gown to the Cloak, ſatyrically taxing his inconſtancy in turning from one courſe of life to another. To vindicate himſelf he writes this Diſcourſe, wherein he puts forth the keeneſs of a Sarcaſtic Wit, and ſpreads all the ſails of his *African* eloquence, retorts the caſe upon his accuſers, ſhews the antiquity, ſimplicity, eaſineſs, and gravity of this habit, and ſmartly upbraids that luxury and prodigality that had over-run all orders and ranks of men. And that this was done about this time, and not at his firſt taking upon him the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, is judiciouſly obſerved and urged by *Baronius* [a], and more fully proved by the learned *Salmaſius* in his notes upon that Book. Indeed the circumſtances mentioned by [b] *Tertullian* do not well ſuit with any other time, as the *præſentis Imperii triplex virtus*, which cannot reaſonably be meant of any, but *Severus* and his two Sons, *Antoninus* and *Geta*, whence in ſeveral ancient inſcriptions they are put together under the title of *AUGUSTI*, and *Emperours*; the preſent happineſs, ſecurity, enlargement, and tranquillity of the *Roman* State, which theſe three powers of the Empire had made like a well-cultivated Field, *eradicato omni aconito hoſtilitatis*, every poyſonous weed of hoſtility and ſedition

[a] *Ad Ann. 197. n. 3. & ſeq.*

[b] *De Pall. cap. 2. p. 114.*

dition being rooted up, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe. Which
[c] *Euſeb. Chron. ad eund. Ann.* evidently refers both to his Conqueſt of *Peſcennius Niger*, who uſurped the Empire, and whom he overthrew and killed at *Cyzicum* in the *Eaſt*, and to his laſt years Victory (as [c] *Euſebius* places it) over *Clodius Albinus* and his Party, whom he ſubdued and ſlew at *Lyons* in *France*, for at-
[*] *Spart. in vit. Sever. c.* 18. *p.* 354. tempting to make himſelf Emperour, as afterwards he came into *Britain*, (*maximum ejus Imperii Decus*, as the [*] Hiſtorian ſtiles it, the greateſt honour and ornament of his Empire) where he conquered the Natives, and ſecured his Conqueſts by the famous *Picts Wall* which he built: by which means he rendred the State of the *Roman* Empire pacate and quiet. At the ſame time we may ſuppoſe it was that *Tertullian* was made *Presbyter* of *Carthage*, and that that was the particular occaſion of altering his habit, and aſſuming the Philoſophic *Pallium*, the Clergy of thoſe times being generally thoſe who took upon them
[b] *Ibid. c.* 4. *p.* 118. an *Aſcetic* courſe of life, and for which reaſon doubtleſs the Cloak is called by *Tertullian* in his Dialect [b], *Sacerdos Suggeſtus*, the Prieſtly habit.
[c] *Chron. ad An.* CCVIII. Accordingly [c] *Euſebius* takes notice of him this very year as becoming famous in the account and eſteem of all Chriſtian Churches.

VII. BEFORE *Severus* left *Rome* in order to his *Britanic* expedition, were ſolemnized the *Decennalia* of *Antoninus Caracalla*, when beſides many magnificent Sports and Shews, and a Largeſs beſtowed upon the People, the Emperour gave a *Donative* to the Souldiers, which every
[d] *De Coron. Militis. c.* 1. *p.* 100. one that received, was to come up to the *Tribune* with a *Laurel Crown* upon his head. Among the reſt there was one a [d] Chriſtian, who brought his Crown along with him in his hand, and being asked the reaſon why like others he wore it not upon his head? anſwered, he could not for that he was a Chriſtian. A Council of War was preſently called, and the man accuſed before the General, ſtripped of his Military ornaments, his Cloak, Shoes, and Sword, unmercifully beaten, till he was died in his own bloud, and then caſt into priſon, there expecting Martyrdom, and a better donative and reward from Chriſt. The reſt of the Chriſtians, who were Fellow-Souldiers in the ſame Army, took offence at his over-nice ſcrupuloſity. What was this but needleſly to betray their liberty, and to ſacrifice the general quiet and peace of Chriſtians to one mans private humour? to give the common Enemy too juſt a provocation to fall upon them? where did the Laws of their Religion forbid ſuch an innocent compliance, nay rather not onely give leave, but command us prudently to decline a danger, by withdrawing from it? what was this but a ſturdy and an affected ſingularity, as if he had been the onely Chriſtian? *Tertullian*, whoſe mighty zeal engaged him to be a Patron to whatever had but the ſhadow of ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, preſently ſet himſelf to defend the fact, and wrote his Book *De Corona Militis*, wherein he cries up the Act as an heroic piece of Zeal and Chriſtian Magnanimity, not onely warrantable, but honourable, not onely lawful, but juſt and neceſſary, fortifying his aſſertion with ſeveral arguments, and endeavouring to diſable the moſt ſpecious objections that were made againſt it. This Military Act, and *Tertullians* vindication of it, hapned (as we have here placed it) *Ann. Chr.* CCVIII. *Sever.* XVI. while others refer it to the year CXCIX. *Sever.* VII. when the Emperour by the decree of the *Senate* created his elder Son *Antoninus* Emperour, and his younger *Geta*, *Cæſar*, in teſtimony whereof he entertained the People with various Shews and Solemnities, and beſtowed

ſtowed a *Donative* upon the Souldiers. If the Reader like this period of time better, I will not contend with him, it being what I my ſelf upon ſecond thoughts do not think improbable.

VIII. BUT *let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall. Tertullian*, who had hitherto ſtood firm and right in the Communion of the Catholic Church, began now, about the middle of his Age, ſays [a] S. *Hierom* (which I am inclinable rather to underſtand of his Age as a Chriſtian, then the current of his life) to incline towards the errours of the *Montaniſts*. Of which before we give an account, it may not be amiſs a little to enquire into the Author and Principles of that Sect. [b] *Montanus* was born at *Ardaba*, a little Village in *Myſia* in the confines of *Phrygia*, where about the latter times of *Antoninus Pius*, but eſpecially in the reign of his Succeſſor, he began to ſhew himſelf. *Pride* and an immoderate ambition betrayed the man into the *ſnare and condemnation of the Devil.* At which breach *Satan* having entered, took poſſeſſion of the man, who acted by the influence of an evil Spirit, was wont on a ſudden to fall into Enthuſiaſtic fits and Ecſtatic raptures, and while he was in them, in a furious and a frantic manner he poured out wild and unheard of things, prophecying of what was to come in a way and ſtrain that had not been uſed hitherto in the Church. Proſelytes he wanted not, that came over to his Party. At firſt onely ſome few of his Countrymen, the *Phrygians* (whence his Sect derived the title of *Cataphryges*) were drawn into the ſnare, whom he inſtructed in the Arts of Evil ſpeaking, teaching them to reproach the whole Chriſtian Church for refuſing to entertain and honor his Pſeudo-prophetic Spirit, the ſame Spirit on the contrary pronouncing them bleſſed that joyned themſelves to this new Prophet, and ſwelling them with the mighty hopes and promiſes of what ſhould happen to them, ſometimes alſo gently reproving and condemning them. Among the reſt of his Diſciples two women were eſpecially remarkable, *Priſca*, and *Maximilla*, whom having firſt corrupted, he imparted his *Dæmon* to them, whereby they were preſently enabled to utter the moſt frantic, incoherent and extravagant Diſcourſes. The truth is he ſeemed to lay his Scene with all imaginable craft and ſubtlety; in the great and foundation-principles of Religion he agreed with the Catholics, embraced entirely the holy Scriptures, and pretended that he muſt receive the gifts of Divine Grace extraordinarily conferred upon him, which he gave out were more immediately the Holy Ghoſt: he made a ſingular ſhew of ſome uncommon rigours and ſeverities in Religion, gave Laws for more ſtrict and ſolemn Faſts, and more frequently to be obſerved, then were among the Orthodox, taught Divorces to be lawful, and forbad all ſecond marriages, called *Pepuza* and *Tymium*, two little Towns of *Phrygia*, *Jeruſalem*, that ſo he might the more plauſibly invite ſimple and unwary Proſelytes to flock thither. And becauſe he knew no ſurer way to oblige ſuch perſons as would be ſerviceable to him, then by Propoſals of gain and advantage, he uſed all methods of extorting money from his deluded followers, eſpecially under the notion of Gifts and Offerings, for which purpoſe he appointed Collectors to receive the Oblations that were brought in, with which he maintained under-Officers, and paid Salaries to thoſe that propagated his Doctrines up and down the World. Such were the Arts, ſuch the Principles of the Sect firſt ſtarted by *Montanus*; what additions were made by his followers in after-Ages, I am not now concerned to enquire.

[a] *De Script. in Tertull.*

[b] *Vet. Script. ap. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 16. p. 180 &c. Apollon. ibid. c. 18. p. 184. Epiph. Hæreſ. XLVIII. p. 175. Tertull. de Præſcript. Hæretic. c. 52. p. 223.*

IX. ALLU-

IX. ALLURED with the ſmooth and ſpecious pretences of this Sect, *Tertullian* began to look that way, though the particular occaſion of his ſtarting aſide * S. *Hierom* tells us, was the envy and reproaches which he met with from the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*. They that conceive him to have ſued for the See of *Carthage*, vacant by the death of *Agrippinus*, and that he was oppoſed and repulſed in it by the Clergy of *Rome*, and ſo highly reſented the affront, as thereupon to quit the Communion of the Catholic Church, talk at random, and little conſider the mortified temper of the man, and his known contempt of the World. Probable it is, that being generally noted for the exceſſive and over-rigorous ſtrictneſs of his manners, he had been charged by ſome of the *Roman* Clergy for compliance with *Montanus*, and it may be admoniſhed to recant, or diſown thoſe Principles. Which his ſtubborn and reſolute temper not admitting, he was together with *Proclus* and the reſt of the *Cataphrygian* Party cut off by the Biſhop of *Rome* from all Communion with that Church. For there had been lately a diſputation held at *Rome* between *Caius*, an ancient Orthodox Divine, and *Proclus*, one of the Heads of the *Montaniſt* Party (as [a] *Euſebius* who read the account of it publiſhed by *Caius*, informs us) wherein *Proclus* being worſted, was together with all the followers of that Sect excommunicated, and *Tertullian* himſelf among the reſt, as he ſufficiently [b] intimates. This, a man of a moroſe and unyielding diſpoſition, and who could brook no moderation that ſeemed to intrench upon the Diſcipline and Practice of Religion, could not bear, and therefore making light of the judgment and cenſures of that Church, flew off, and joined himſelf to *Montanus* his Party, whoſe pretended auſterities ſeemed of all others moſt agreeable to his humour and *genius*, and moſt exactly to conſpire with the courſe and method of his life. But as it cannot be doubted that he looked no further then to the appearances and pretenſions of that Sect (not ſeeing the corrupt Springs by which the Engine was managed within) ſo it is moſt reaſonable and charitable to conceive, that he never underſtood their principles in the utmoſt latitude and extent of them. If he ſeems ſometimes to acknowledge *Montanus* to be the *Paraclete* that was to come into the World, probably he meant not ſomething diſtinct from the Holy Spirit beſtowed upon the Apoſtles, but a mighty power and extraordinary aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt ſhed upon *Montanus*, whom God had ſent into the World, more fully and perfectly to explain the Doctrines of the Goſpel, and to urge the rules and inſtitutions of the Chriſtian life, which our Lord had delivered when he was upon earth, but did not with the greateſt accuracy the things were capable of, the minds of men not being then duly qualified to receive them. That for this end he thought *Montanus* inveſted with miraculous powers and a ſpirit of Propheſie (a thing not unuſual even in thoſe times) and might believe his two Propheteſſes to be acted with the ſame ſpirit. All which might conſiſt with an honeſt mind, impoſed upon by crafty and plauſible pretences. And plain it is that for ſome conſiderable time *Montanus* maintained the reputation of great piety, zeal, ſanctity, and extraordinary gifts, before he was diſcovered to the World. And *Tertullian* in all likelihood had his accounts concerning him, not from himſelf, but from *Proclus*, or ſome others of the Party, who might eaſily delude him, eſpecially in matters of fact, with falſe informations. However nothing can be more evident, then that he looked

* *ubi ſupra vid. Niceph. l. 4. c. 12. p. 298.*

[a] *Lib. 6. c. 20. p. 222. l. 2, c. 25. p. 67. Hieron. de Script. in Caio.*

[b] *De jejun. c. 1. p. 544.*

looked [a] upon theſe new Prophets as innovating nothing in the principles of Chriſtianity, that *Montanus* preached no other God, nor aſſerted any thing to the prejudice of our bleſſed Saviour, nor ſubverted any rule of Faith or Hope, but onely introduced greater ſeverities then other men: that he was not the Author, but the reſtorer of Diſcipline, and onely reduced things to that ancient ſtrictneſs, from which he ſuppoſed they had degenerated, eſpecially in the caſes of cœlibacy, ſingle marriages, and ſuch like, as he [b] more then once particularly tells us. Not to ſay, that *Montanus* his followers (as is uſual with the after-brood of every Sect) aſſerted many things, which their Maſter himſelf never dreamt of, which yet without diſtinction are laid at his door, and *Tertullian* too becauſe a favourer of the Party, drawn into the guilt, and made liable to many improvements, to *the Hay and Stubble* which the ſucceſſors of that Sect built upon it.

[a] *De Jejun. loc. citat.*

[b] *Vid. l. de Monogam. c. 1. p. 525. & c. 3. & 4. & paſſim de Jejun. c. 12. p. 550, 551.*

X. BUT however it was, he ſtomached his excommunication, and was highly offended at the looſeneſs and remiſsneſs of the Diſcipline among the Catholics, whom with great ſmartneſs he perſecutes under the name of *Pſychici*, or *Animal* perſons, as thoſe that took too much liberty in their manners and practices of devotion, ſtiling his own party *Spiritales*, as whom he thought more immediately guided by the Spirit, more plentifully endowed with the gifts of it, and converſant in a more divine and ſpiritual life. Againſt theſe *Pſychici* he preſently publiſhed a Tract *De Jejuniis*, wherein he defends the *Montaniſts* in the obſervation of their Faſts, their abſtinence from Fleſh, and feeding onely upon dried meats, their Stationary days, and the keeping them till the very evening, while the Orthodox broke up theirs about three of the Clock in the afternoon; in all which reſpects he makes many tart and ſevere reflections upon them. Indeed the devotions of thoſe times were brisk and fervent, their uſages ſtrict and punctual, their Eccleſiaſtic Diſcipline generally very rigid and extreme, ſeldom admitting perſons that had lapſed after Baptiſm to Penance and the Communion of the Church. But this was looked upon by moderate and ſober men as making the gate too ſtrait, and that which could not but diſcourage Converts from entering in. Accordingly it began to be relaxed in ſeveral places, and particularly the Biſhop of *Rome* [b] had lately publiſhed a conſtitution, wherein he admitted perſons guilty of Adultery and Fornication (and probably other crimes) to a place among the Penitents. Againſt this *Tertullian* ſtorms, cries up the ſeverity of the antient Diſcipline, writes his Book *De Pudicitia*, wherein he conſiders and diſputes the caſe, and aggravates the greatneſs of thoſe offences, and undertakes the Arguments that pleaded for remiſſion and indulgence. And if in the mentioning this Decree the Biſhop of *Rome* be ſtiled *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, the Champions of that Church before they make ſuch advantage of it, ſhould do well to prove it to have been a part of the Decree, or, if it was, that it was mentioned by *Tertullian* as his juſt right and priviledge, and not rather (which is infinitely more probable) *Tertullians* Sarcaſm, intended by him as an Ironical reflection, and a tart upbraiding the pride and ambition of the Biſhops of that Church, who took too much upon them, and began (as appears from Pope *Victors* carriage towards the *Aſian* Churches in the caſe of *Eaſter*) to domineer over their Brethren, and uſurp an inſolent authority over the whole Chriſtian Church. And that this was his meaning, I am abundantly ſatisfied from

[b] *Tert. de Pudic. cit. c. 1. p. 555.*

[a] *Apud Cyprian. p.282.* [a] *Cyprians* using the phraſe in this very ſenſe in the famous Synod at *Carthage*, where reflecting upon the raſh and violent proceedings of the Biſhops of *Rome* (whom though he particularly names not, yet all who are acquainted with the Story know whom he means) against thoſe who were engaged in the cauſe of rebaptizing Heretics, he adds, "that "as for themſelves (the Biſhops then in the Synod) none of them made "himſelf *Biſhop of Biſhops*, or by a tyrannical threatning forced his Col- "leagues into a neceſſity of Compliance: ſince every Biſhop according "to the power and liberty granted to him, had his proper juriſdiction, "and could no more be judged by another, then he himſelf could judge "others.

XI. WHETHER ever he was reconciled to the Catholic Communion, appears not; 'tis certain that for the main he forſook the [b] *Cataphrygians*, and kept his ſeparate meetings at *Carthage*, and his Church was yet remaining till S. *Auguſtins* time, by whoſe labours the very reliques of his followers, called *Tertullianiſts*, were diſperſed, and quite diſappeared. How long he continued after his departure from the Church, is not known; S. *Hierom* [c] ſays that he lived to a very decrepit age, but whether he died under the reign of *Alexander Severus*, or before, the Ancients tell us not, as neither whether he died a natural or violent death. He ſeems indeed to have been poſſeſſed with a paſſionate deſire of laying down his life for the Faith; though had he been a Martyr, ſome mention would without peradventure have been made of it in the Writings of the Church.

[b] *Auguſt. de Hæreſ. c. 86. Tom. 6. col. 31.*

[c] *De Script. in Tertull.*

XII. HE was a man of a ſmart and acute wit, though a little too much edged with Keeneſs and Satyriſm, *acris & vehementis ingenii*, as [d] S. *Hierom* characters him, one that knew not how to treat an adverſary without ſalt and ſharpneſs. He was of a ſtiff and rugged diſpoſition, a rigid Cenſor, inclined to choler, and impatient of oppoſition, a ſtrict obſerver of Rites and Diſcipline, and a zealous aſſerter of the higheſt rigors and moſt nice ſeverities of Religion. His learning was admirable, wherein though many excelled, he had no ſuperiours, and few equals in the Age he lived in: *Tertulliano quid eruditius, quid acutius?* ſays [e] S. *Hierom*, who adds that his *Apology*, and Book againſt the *Gentiles* took in all the treaſures of Humane Learning. [f] *Vincentius* of *Lire* gives him this notable *Elogium*. "He is juſtly (*ſays he*) to be eſteemed the Prince "among the Writers of the *Latin* Church. For what more learned? "who more converſant both in divine and humane Studies? who by a "ſtrange largeneſs and capacity of mind had drawn all Philoſophy, and "its ſeveral Sects, the Authors and Abettors of Hereſies with all their "Rites and Principles, and the whole circumference of Hiſtory and all "kind of Study within the compaſs of his own breaſt. A man of ſuch "quick and weighty parts, that there was ſcarce any thing which he "ſet himſelf againſt, which he did not either pierce through with the "*acumen* of his Wit, or batter down with the ſtrength and ſolidity of "his Arguments. Who can ſufficiently commend his Diſcourſes, ſo thick "ſet with Troops of Reaſons, that whom they cannot perſuade, they are "ready to force to an aſſent? who hath almoſt as many ſentences as "words, and not more periods, then victories over thoſe whom he hath "to deal with.

[d] *Loc. citat.*

[e] *Epiſt. ad Mag. Orator. p. 328. T. 2.*

[f] *Commonit. adv. Hæreſ. cap. 24 p. 59, 60.*

XIII. FOR his Books, though time has devoured many, yet a great number ſtill remain, and ſome of them written after his withdrawment from

from the Church. His ſtile is for the moſt part abrupt and haughty, and its face full of ancient wrinkles, of which [a] *Lactantius* long ſince gave this cenſure, that though he himſelf was skilled in all points of Learning, yet his ſtile was rugged and uneaſie, and very obſcure; as indeed it requires a very attentive and diligent, a ſharp and ſagacious underſtanding, yet is it lofty and maſculine, and carries a kind of majeſtic eloquence along with it, that gives a pleaſant reliſh to the judicious and inquiſitive Reader. It is deeply tinctured with the *African* dialect, and owes not a little of its perplexedneſs and obſcurity to his converſing ſo much in the Writings of the *Greeks*, whoſe forms and idioms he had ſo made his own, that they naturally flowed into his pen; and how great a Maſter he was of that Tongue is plain, in that himſelf [b] tells us, he wrote a Book concerning *Baptiſm*, and ſome others, in *Greek*; which could not but exceedingly vitiate and infect his native ſtile, and render it leſs ſmooth, elegant, and delightful, as we ſee in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who being a *Greek* born wrote his *Roman* Hiſtory in *Latin*, in a ſtile rough and unpleaſant, and next door to barbarous. Beſides what was in it ſelf obſcure and uneven, became infinitely worſe by the ignorance of ſucceeding Ages, who changed, what they did not underſtand, and crowded in ſpurious words in the room of thoſe which were proper and natural, till they had made it look like quite another thing then what it was when it firſt came from under the hand of its Author.

[a] *Lib.5.cap.1. p.459.*

[b] *De Baptiſm. c.15. p.230. de Coron.c.6.p.104.*

XIV. HIS errours and unſound opinions are frequently noted by S. *Auguſtin* and the Ancients, (not to mention later *Cenſors*) and *Pamelius* has reduced his *Paradoxes* to thirty one, which together with their Explications and Antidotes he has prefixed before the Editions of his Works. That of *Montanus* his being the *Paraclete*, we noted before, and for other things relating to that Sect, they are rather matters concerning Order and Diſcipline, then Articles and Points of Faith. It cannot be denied but that he has ſome unwarrantable notions, common with other Writers of thoſe Times, and ſome more peculiar to himſelf. But he lived in an Age, when the Faith was yet green and tender, when the Church had not publicly and ſolemnly defined things by explicit Articles and nice Propoſitions, when the Philoſophy of the Schools was mainly predominant, and men ran immediately from the *Stoa* and the *Academy* to the Church, when a greater latitude of opining was indulged, and good men were infinitely more ſolicitous about piety and a good life, then about modes of Speech, and how to expreſs every thing ſo critically and exactly, that it ſhould not be liable to a ſevere ſcrutiny and examination.

His Writings.

Genuine.

Apologeticus.
Ad Nationes, Libri II.
De Teſtimonio Animæ.
Ad Scapulam.
De Spectaculis.
De Idololatria.
De Corona.
De Pallio.
De Pœnitentia.
De Oratione.
Ad Martyras.
De Patientia.
De cultu fœminarum Lib. II.
Ad Uxorem, Lib. II.
De Virginibus Velandis.
Adverſus Judæos.
De Præſcriptione Hæreticorum.
De Baptiſmo.
Adverſus Hermogenem.
Adverſus Valentinianos.
De Anima.
De Carne Chriſti.
De Reſurrectione Carnis.
Adverſus Marcionem, Lib. V.
Scorpiace.
Adverſus Praxeam.

Libri poſt Lapſum in Montaniſmum ſcripti.

De Exhortatione Caſtitatis.
De Monogamia.
De fuga in Perſecutione.
De Jejuniis.
De Pudicitia.

Suppoſititious.

Poemata.

Adverſus Marcionem, Lib. V.
De Judicio Domini.
Geneſis.
Sodoma.

Not extant.

De Paradiſo.
De Spe Fidelium.
De Ecſtaſi.
Adverſus Apollonium.
Adverſus Apellecianos.
De Veſtibus Aaron.
De Cenſu Animæ.

Græce.

De Corona.
De Virginibus Velandis.
De Baptiſmo.

The End of TERTULLIAN's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF ORIGEN

Presbyter, Catechiſt of ALEXANDRIA.

ORIGEN.

Origen, *where and when born. Several conjectures about the original of his name. His Father who. His juvenile education, and great towardlineſs in the knowledge of the Scriptures. His Philoſophical Studies under* Clemens

mens Alexandrinus. *His Inſtitution under* Ammonius. Ammonius, *who. His fame and excellency confeſſed by the Gentile Philoſophers. Another* Origen *his contemporary: Theſe two heedleſly confounded. His Fathers martyrdom, and the confiſcation of his Eſtate.* Origen's *reſolute encouragement of his Father. His own paſſionate deſire of Martyrdom. His maintenance by an honourable Matron of* Alexandria. *His zeal againſt Heretics. His ſetting up a private School. His ſucceeding* Clemens *in the* Catechetic *School at eighteen years of Age. The frequency of his Auditors. Many of them Martyrs for the Faith.* Origen's *reſolution in attending upon the Martyrs. His danger. His couragious act at the Temple of* Serapis. *His emaſculating himſelf, and the reaſons of it. The eminent chaſtity of thoſe Primitive times.* Origen's *journey to* Rome, *and return to* Alexandria. *His taking in a Colleague into the* Catechetic *Office. His learning the* Hebrew *Tongue. The prudent method of his Teaching.* Ambroſius *converted. Who he was. His great intimacy with* Origen. Origen *ſent for by the Governour of* Arabia. *His journey into* Paleſtin, *and teaching at* Cæſarea. *Remanded by the Biſhop of* Alexandria. Alexander Severus *his excellent Vertues, and kindneſs for the Chriſtian Religion.* Origen *ſent for by the Empreſs* Mammæa *to* Antioch. *He begins to write his Commentaries. How many* Notaries, *and Tranſcribers imployed, and by whom maintained.* Notaries, *their Original and Office: Their uſe and inſtitution in the Primitive Church. His journey into* Greece. *His paſſage through* Paleſtin, *and being ordained Presbyter at* Cæſarea. Demetrius *of* Alexandria *his envy and rage againſt him.* Origen *condemned in two Synods at* Alexandria, *and one at* Rome. *The reſignation of his* Catechetic *School to* Heraclas. Heraclas *who. The ſtory of his offering ſacrifice. The credit of this ſtory queſtioned, and why. His departure from* Alexandria, *and fixing at* Cæſarea. *The eminency of his School there.* Gregorius Thaumaturgus *his Scholar. His friendſhip with* Firmilian: Firmilian *who. The Perſecution under* Maximinus. Origen's *Book written to the Martyrs. His retirement whither. His comparing the Verſions of the Bible. His* Tetrapla, Hexapla, *and* Octapla, *what, and how managed: A Specimen given of them. His ſecond journey to* Athens. *His going to* Nicomedia, *and letter to* Africanus *about the Hiſtory of* Suſanna. *His confutation of* Beryllus *in* Arabia. *His anſwer to* Celſus. Celſus *who.* Origens *Letters to* Philip *the Emperour. The vanity of making him a Chriſtian.* Origen's *journey into* Arabia *to refute Hereſies. The* Helcesaitæ *who: What their Principles.* Alexander's *miraculous election to the See of* Jeruſalem; *his Coadjutor-ſhip, Government, Sufferings, and Martyrdom.* Origen's *grievous ſufferings at* Tyre *under the* Decian *Perſecution. His deliverance out of Priſon; Age, and Death. His Character. His ſtrict life. His mighty zeal, abſtinence, contempt of the World, indefatigable diligence, and patience noted. His natural parts: incomparable learning. His Books, and their ſeveral Claſſes. His ſtile, what. His unſound opinions. The great Out-cry againſt him in all Ages. The Apologies written in his behalf. Several things noted out of the Ancients to extenuate the charge. His aſſertions not Dogmatical. Not intended for public view. Generally ſuch as were not determined by the Church. His Books corrupted, and by whom. His own complaints to that purpoſe. The teſtimonies of* Athanaſius, *and* Theotimus, *and* Haymo *in his vindication. Great errours and miſtakes acknowledged*

knowledged. What things contributed to them. His great kindneſs for the Platonic *Principles. S.* Hierom's *moderate cenſure of him. His repenting of his raſh Propoſitions. His Writings enumerated, and what now extant.*

I. ORIGEN, called alſo *Adamantius* (either from the unwearied temper of his mind, and that ſtrength of reaſon wherewith he compacted his Diſcourſes, or his firmneſs and conſtancy in Religion, notwithſtanding all the aſſaults made againſt it) was born at *Alexandria*, the known *Metropolis* of *Egypt*; unleſs we will ſuppoſe, that upon ſome particular Tumult or Perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians in that City, his Parents fled for refuge to the Mountainous parts thereabouts, where his Mother was delivered of him, and that thence he was called *Origenes*, *quaſi* ἐν ὄρει γενηθείς (which moſt conceive to be the Etymology of his name) *one born in the Mountains*. But whether that be the proper derivation of the Word, or the other the particular occaſion of its impoſition, let the Reader determine as he pleaſe. However I believe the Reader will think it a much more probable and reaſonable conjecture, then what one [a] ſuppoſes, that he was ſo called becauſe born of holy Parents; the Saints in Scripture being (as he tells us) ſometimes metaphorically ſtiled *Mountains*. The firſt and the laſt I dare ſay that ever made that conjecture. A learned man [b] ſuppoſes him rather (and thinks no doubt can be made of it) ſo called from *Orus*, an *Egyptian* word, and with them the title of *Apollo* or the Sun (from אור no queſtion, which ſignifies light or fire) one of their principal Deities. Hence *Orus*, the name of one of the *Egyptian* Kings, as it has been alſo of many others. And thus as ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς comes *Diogenes*, one born of *Jupiter*, ſo ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὥρου is derived *Origenes*, one deſcended of *Or* or *Orus*, a Deity ſolemnly worſhipped at *Alexandria*. A conjecture that might have commanded its own entertainment, did not one prejudice lie againſt it, that we can hardly conceive ſo good a man, and ſo ſevere a Chriſtian as *Origens* Father would impoſe a name upon his Child, for which he muſt be beholden to an Heathen Deity, and whom he might ſee every day worſhipped with the moſt ſottiſh Idolatry, that he ſhould let him perpetually carry about that remembrance of Pagan Idolatry in his name, which they ſo particularly, and ſo ſolemnly renounced in their Baptiſm. But to return.

'Ωριγένης, ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει γενηθείς. Suid. in voc. Ὠριγ. p. 330. T. 2.

[a] *Halloix not. ad Orig. defenſ. c. 1. p. 1.*

[b] *Voſſ. de Idol. l. 2. c. 19. p. 182.*

II. HE was born about the year of our Lord CLXXXVI. being ſeventeen [c] years of age at his Fathers death, who ſuffered *Ann. Chr.* CCII. *Severi* X. His Father was *Leonides*, whom *Suidas* [d] and ſome others (without any authority, that I know of, from the Ancients) make a Biſhop: to be ſure he was a good man, and a Martyr for the Faith. In his younger years he was brought up under the tutorage of his own [e] Father, who inſtructed him in all the grounds of humane literature, and together with them took eſpecial care to inſtill the principles of Religion, ſeaſoning his early age with the notices of divine things, ſo that like another *Timothy*, *from a child he knew the holy Scriptures*, and was thoroughly exerciſed and inſtructed in them. Nor was his Father more diligent to inſinuate his inſtructions, then the ſubject he managed was capable to receive them. Part of his daily task was to learn and repeat

[c] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 2. p. 202.*

[d] *In voc.* Ὠριγένης, *p. 389. Tom. 2.*

[e] *Euſeb. ibid. p. 202.*

ſome

ſome parts of the holy Scriptures, which he readily diſcharged. But not ſatisfied with the bare reading or recital of them, he began to enquire more narrowly into the more profound ſenſe of them, often importuning his Father with queſtions, what ſuch or ſuch a paſſage of Scripture meant. The good man though ſeemingly reproving his buſie forwardneſs, and admoniſhing him to be content with the plain obvious ſenſe, and not to ask queſtions above his age, did yet inwardly rejoice in his own mind, and heartily bleſs God that he had made him the Father of ſuch a child.* Much ado had the prudent man to keep the exuberance of his love and joy from running over before others, but in private he gave it vent, frequently going into the Chamber where the Youth lay aſleep, and reverently kiſſing his naked breſt, the treaſury of an early piety and a divine ſpirit, reflected upon himſelf how happy he was in ſo excellent a Son. So great a comfort, ſo invaluable a bleſſing is it to pious parents to ſee their children ſetting out betimes in the way of righteouſneſs, and ſucking in Religion almoſt with their Mothers milk.

III. HAVING paſſed over his paternal education, he was put to perfect his Studies under the Inſtitution of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, then Regent of the *Catechiſt* School at *Alexandria*, where according to the acuteneſs of his parts, and the greatneſs of his induſtry he made vaſt improvements in all ſorts of learning. From him he betook himſelf to *Ammonius*, who had then newly ſet up a *Platonic* School at *Alexandria*, and had reconciled [a] thoſe inveterate feuds and differences that had been between the Schools of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, and which had reigned among their Diſciples till his time, which he did (ſays my Author) ἐνθουσιάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινὸν, out of a divine tranſport for the truth of Philoſophy, deſpiſing the little opinions, and wrangling contentions of peeviſh men, and propounding a more free and generous kind of Philoſophy to his Auditors. Among whom was our *Origen*, as *Porphyry* [b] beſides others witneſſes, who ſaw *Origen* when himſelf but a Youth. This *Ammonius* was called *Saccas*, (from his carrying [c] *ſacks* of Corn upon his back, being a Porter by imployment, before he betook himſelf to the Study of Philoſophy) one of the moſt learned and eloquent men of thoſe times, a great Philoſopher, and the chief of the *Platonic* Sect, and which was above all, a Chriſtian, born and brought up among them, as [d] *Porphyry* himſelf is forced to confeſs; though when he tells us, that afterwards upon maturer conſideration, and his entering upon Philoſophy, he renounced Chriſtianity, and embraced Paganiſm and the Religion of the Empire, he is as little to be credited, and guilty of as notorious a falſhood (as *Euſebius* obſerves) as when he affirms that *Origen* was born and bred up a *Gentile*, and then turned off to Chriſtianity, when as nothing was more evident, then that *Origen* was born of Chriſtian Parents, and that *Ammonius* retained his Chriſtian and divine Philoſophy to the very laſt minute of his life, whereof the Books which he left behind him were a ſtanding evidence. Indeed [e] *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria* (if he means the ſame) ſeems to give ſome countenance to *Porphyries* report, and further adds, that *Ammonius* was one of the twenty Biſhops, which *Heraclas* then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, conſtituted over the *Egyptian* Churches, but that he deſerted his Religion. Which *Heraclas* no ſooner heard of, but he convened a Synod of Biſhops and went to the City, where *Ammonius* was Biſhop, where having throughly ſcanned and diſcuſſed the matter, he reduced him back again

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[a] *Hierocl. l. 1. de provid. & Fat. ap. Phot. cod.* CCXIV. *col.* 549. *&* *cod.* CCLI. *col.* 1381.

[b] *Apud Euſeb. ibid. c.* 19. *p.* 220. *vid. Theod. Serm.* VI. *de Provid. p.* 96.

[c] *Vid. Theod. loco citat.*

[d] *Loc. citat.*

[e] *Annal. p.* 332. *Edit. Pocock. vid. etiam Selden. not. in Eutych. Sect.* 23. *p.* 147.

to the truth. Whether he found this among the Records of that Church, or took it from the mouth of Tradition and Report, is uncertain, the thing not being mentioned by any other Writer. But however it was, 'tis plain that *Ammonius* was a man of incomparable parts and learning, [a] *Hierocles* himself ſtiles him Θεοδίδακτον, one *taught of God*, and when *Plotinus* the great *Platoniſt* had found him out, he [b] told his friend in a kind of triumph, that this was the man whom he had ſought after. Under him *Origen* made himſelf perfect Maſter of the *Platonic* Notions, being daily converſant in the Writings of *Plato*, *Numenius*, *Cronius*, *Apollophanes*, *Longinus*, *Moderatus*, *Nicomachus*, and the moſt principal among the *Pythagoreans*, as alſo of *Chæremon* and *Cornatus*, *Stoics*; from whom (as *Porphyry* truly enough obſerves) he learned that allegorical and myſtical way of interpretation, which he introduced into the Chriſtian Doctrin.

[a] *Lib. de Prov. & fat. ubi ſupr.*
[b] *Porphyr. in vit. Plotin. p. 2 Plot n. Oper. Præf. Porphyr. ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupr.*

IV. BESIDES our *Adamantius*, there was another *Origen* his Contemporary, a *Gentile* Philoſopher, honourably mentioned by [c] *Longinus*, [d] *Porphyry*, [e] *Hierocles*, [f] *Eunapius*, [g] *Proclus*, and others; a perſon of that learning and accurate judgment, that coming [h] one day into *Plotinus* his School, the grave *Philoſopher* was aſhamed, and would have given place: and when intreated by *Origen* to go on with his Lecture, he anſwered with a complement, that a man could have but little mind to ſpeak there, where he was to diſcourſe to them, who underſtood things as well as himſelf, and ſo after a very ſhort diſcourſe, broke up the meeting. I am not ignorant that moſt learned men have careleſly confounded this perſon with our *Origen*: Whence [i] *Holſtenius* wonders why *Eunapius* ſhould make him School-fellow with *Porphyry*, who was much his *junior*, whom *Porphyry* ſays indeed he knew, being himſelf then very young, and this probably not at *Alexandria* but at *Tyre*, where he was born, and where *Origen* a long time reſided. So that his wonder would have ceaſed, had he conſidered what is plain enough, that *Eunapius* meant it of this other *Origen*, *Porphyries* fellow-Pupil, not under *Ammonius* at *Alexandria*, but under *Plotinus* at *Rome*. Indeed were there nothing elſe, this were enough to diſtinguiſh them, that the account given of *Origen* and what he wrote by *Longinus*, by *Porphyry* in the life of *Plotinus*, and others, does no ways agree to our Chriſtian Writer.

[c] *Lib. περὶ τέλους apud Porphyr. in vit. Plotin.*
[d] *Ibid.*
[e] *Lib. de Fat. ubi ſupr.*
[f] *In vit. Porphyr. p. 19.*
[g] *In Plat. Theol. l. 2. c. 4. p. 90.*
[h] *Ap. Porphyr. loc. cit.*
[i] *De Vit. & Script. Porphyr. c. 2. p. 11.*

V. THE Perſecution under *Severus* in the tenth year of his reign was now grown hot at *Alexandria*, *Lætus* the Governour daily adding fewel to the flames, where among the great numbers of Martyrs [l] *Leonides*, *Origens* Father, was firſt impriſoned, then beheaded, and his eſtate confiſcate and reduced into the public Exchequer. During his impriſonment [m] *Origen* began to diſcover a moſt impatient deſire of Martyrdom, from which ſcarce any intreaties or conſiderations could reſtrain him. He knew the deplorable eſtate wherein he was like to leave his wife and children, could not but have a ſad influence upon his Fathers mind, whom therefore by Letters he paſſionately exhorted to perſevere unto Martyrdom, adding this clauſe among the reſt, *Take heed, Sir, that for our ſakes you do not change your mind.* And himſelf had gone not onely to priſon, but to the very block with his Father, if the divine Providence had not interpoſed. His Mother perceiving his reſolutions, treated him with all the charms and endearments of ſo affectionate a relation, attempted him with prayers and tears, intreating him if not for his own, that at leaſt for her ſake, and his neareſt relatives, he would ſpare himſelf.

[k] *Euſeb. ib. c. 1. p. 201.*
[l] *Id. c. 2 p. 202.*

All which not prevailing, eſpecially after his Fathers apprehenſion, ſhe was forced to betake her ſelf to little Arts, hiding all his cloths, that meer ſhame might confine him to the houſe. A mighty inſtance, as the Hiſtorian notes, of a juvenile forwardneſs and maturity, and a moſt hearty affection for the true Religion.

[a] *Euſeb. ibid. p.* 203. VI. HIS Father being dead, and the [a] Eſtate ſeized for the Emperours uſe, he and the Family were reduced to great ſtreights. When behold the providence of God (who peculiarly takes care of Widows and Orphans, and eſpecially the relicts of thoſe that ſuffer for him) made way for their relief. A rich and honourable Matron of *Alexandria* pitying his miſerable caſe, liberally contributed to his neceſſities, as ſhe did to others, and among them maintained one *Paul* of *Antioch*, a ringleader of all the Heretics at *Alexandria*, who by ſubtle artifices had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into her, that ſhe had adopted him to be her Son. *Origen* though he held his livelihood purely at her bounty, would not yet comply with this Favourite, not ſo much as to join in prayer with him, no not when an innumerable multitude not onely of Heretics, but of Orthodox daily flocked to him, taken with the eloquence of his diſcourſes. For from his childhood he had religiouſly obſerved the Rule and Canon of the Church, and abominated (as himſelf expreſſes it) all heretical Doctrines. Whether this noble Lady upon this occaſion withdrew her charity, or whether he thought it more agreeable to the Chriſtian Rule to live by his own labour, then to depend wholly upon anothers bounty, I know not: but having perfected thoſe Studies of Foreign Learning, the foundations whereof he had laid under the Diſcipline of his Father, he now began to ſet up for himſelf, opening a School for the profeſſion of the learned Arts, where beſides the good he did to others, he raiſed a conſiderable maintenance to himſelf. And though then but a very Youth, yet did not the Grave and the Learned, the Philoſophers, and greateſt Maſters of Hereſie diſdain to be preſent at his Lectures, whoſe opinions he impartially weighed and examined, as himſelf [b] informs us: many of whom of Auditors [c] became his Converts, yea and Martyrs for the Faith, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

[b] *Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. ib. c.* 19. *p.* 221.

[c] *Ibid. c.* 30. *p.* 204.

VII. BY this time his fame had recommended him to public notice, and he was thought fit, though but eighteen years of age, to be made Maſter of the *Catechetic* School at *Alexandria*, whether as Colleague with his Maſter *Clemens*, or upon reſignation, his Succeſſor, is uncertain: the latter ſeems moſt probable, becauſe [d] *Euſebius* reports that *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* committed the inſtruction of the *Catechumens* to him onely, unleſs we will underſtand it of ſome private and particular School, diſtinct from the ordinary Catechetic School, till *Clemens* his death, whoſe Succeſſor the Ancients generally make him. Scholars in very great numbers daily crowded in upon him, ſo that finding he had enough to do, and that his different imployments did not well conſiſt together, he left off teaching the Arts and Sciences, and gave up himſelf intirely to the inſtructing his Diſciples in the rudiments of Chriſtianity. Being ſetled in this Office, he followed it with infinite diligence, and no leſs ſucceſs. For he not onely built up thoſe who were already Chriſtians, but [e] gained over a great number of *Gentile* Philoſophers to the Faith, who embraced Chriſtianity with ſo hearty and ſincere a mind, as readily to ſeal it with their bloud. Among which of moſt note were *Plutarch*, whom *Origen* attending to his Martyrdom,

[d] *Ibid. p.* 205.

[e] *Id. ibid. c.* 4. *p.* 206.

was

was like to have been killed by the people for being the Author of his Converſion; *Serenus*, who was burnt for his Religion, *Heraclides* and *Heron*, both beheaded, the one while but a *Catechumen*, the other a Novice; next came a ſecond *Serenus*, who after he had endured infinite torments, loſt his Head, and gained a Crown. Nay the weaker Sex alſo put in for a ſhare, one *Herais* a *Catechumen*, and *Origens* Scholar, being as himſelf expreſſes it, τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα, *baptized by fire*, left this World, and in thoſe flames mounted up to Heaven. Nor was *Origen* ſo wholly ſwallowed up with the care of his School, as not to perform [a] duties of Piety and humanity towards others, eſpecially Martyrs, and thoſe that were condemned to die. For *Aquila*, *Lætus* his Succeſſor in the Government of *Alexandria*, that he might do ſomething ſingular in the entrance upon his place, renewed the Perſecution, which was ſo ſevere, that every one conſulted his own ſafety, and kept cloſe; ſo that when the Martyrs were in Priſon, or led to Trial, or Execution, there was none to comfort them, or miniſter unto them. This Office *Origen* boldly took upon him, attending the Martyrs to the very place of Execution, embracing and ſaluting them as they were led along, till the enraged multitude pelted him with ſhowers of ſtones, and an hundred times was he in danger of his life, had not the divine Providence immediately interpoſed to reſcue him. At laſt they reſolved to find him out, great multitudes beſetting his houſe, and becauſe he had vaſt numbers of Scholars, they brought a Guard of Souldiers along with them, who hunted him from houſe to houſe, ſo that no place could afford him a quiet refuge. And to this period of time I find ſome learned men (and I think very probably) aſcribing that paſſage which [b] *Epiphanius* reports concerning him, that he was haled up and down the City, reviled and reproached, and treated with inſolent ſcorn and fury. Once having ſhaved his head after the manner of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, they ſet him upon the ſteps of *Serapis*'s Temple, commanding him to give branches of Palm-trees, as the Prieſts uſed to do, to them that went up to perform their holy Rites. He taking the branches with a ready and unterrified mind, cried out aloud, *Come hither, and take the branch, not of an Idol-Temple, but of Chriſt.* A piece of courage which I ſuppoſe did not contribute to mitigate their rage againſt him.

[a] *Ibid. p.* 204.

[b] *Hæreſ.* LXIV. *p.* 227.

VIII. ABOUT this time he made that famous attempt upon himſelf, ſo much commended by ſome, but condemned by others, his making himſelf an *Eunuch*, which (as appears from [c] *Epiphanius*) ſome of the Ancients conceived to have been done by Medicinal applications, which enervated the powers and tendencies of Nature that way, though others, and [d] S. *Hierom* expreſly, ſay it was done with the Knife. But however it was, he did it partly out of a perverſe interpretation [e] of our Saviours meaning, when he ſays, *there be ſome which make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake*, which he would needs literally underſtand; partly out of a deſire to take away all ſuſpicion of wantonneſs and incontinency, which the *Gentiles* might be apt enough to caſt upon him, when they ſaw him admit not men onely, but women into his Diſcipline; beſides that hereby he himſelf was ſecured from any temptations to immodeſt and irregular embraces. How ſtrict and ſevere was the chaſtity of thoſe Primitive times, we have ſhewed at large in another place; ſo great, that [f] *Juſtin* the *Martyr* tells us of a young man of *Alexandria*, who to convince the *Gentiles* of the falſhood of that malicious

[c] *ubi ſupr. p.* 228.

[d] *Ad Pamach. de Error. Orig. Tom.* 2. *p.* 192.

[e] *Euſeb. ibid. c.* 8. *p.* 209.

[f] *Apolog.* II. *p.* 71.

licious charge of incontinency and promiſcuous mixtures, which they uſually laid upon the Chriſtians, preſented a Petition to *Fælix* the Preſident of *Alexandria*, deſiring his leave that the Phyſitians might make him an *Eunuch*, which the Preſident refuſed, as prohibited by the Laws of the *Roman* Empire; as it was afterwards by ſeveral Proviſo's and Canons of the Church. This fact though *Origen* endeavoured to conceal from ſome of his friends, yet did it quickly break out, and *Demetrius* the Biſhop who now admired it as an heroic act of temperance, and an inſtance of a great and a daring mind, did afterwards load it with all its aggravations, and bring it in as an inexcuſable charge againſt him. I add no more concerning this then that whatever *Origen* might do now in the vigour of his youth, and through the ſprightlineſs of his devout Zeal, yet in his more conſiderate and reduced age he was of another mind, condemning [a] ſuch kind of attempts, ſoberly enough expounding that paſſage of our Saviour, which before he had ſo fatally miſunderſtood.

[a] *Vid. Comment. in Matt. p. 368. & p. 370, 371. Edit. Huet.*

IX. *SEVERUS* the Emperour, that violent enemy of Chriſtians, being dead *Ann. Chr.* CCXI. *Origen* [b] had a great deſire to ſee the Church of *Rome*, ſo venerable for its antiquity and renown, and accordingly came thither, while Pope *Zephyrin* ſate Biſhop of that See, where he ſtaid not long, but returned back to *Alexandria*, and to his accuſtomed *Catechetic* office, *Demetrius* earneſtly importuning him to reſume it. But finding the imployment [c] grow upon him, and ſo wholly to engroſs his time, as not to allow him the leaſt leiſure for retirement and contemplation, and the ſtudy of the Scriptures, ſo faſt did auditors preſs in upon him from morning to night, he took in *Heraclas*, who had been his Scholar, a man verſed both in divine and humane Studies, to be his Partner, dividing the work between them, the younger and more untutored *Catechumens* he committed to him; the maturer, and thoſe who had been of a longer ſtanding he reſerved to be inſtructed by himſelf. And now he gave up himſelf to a cloſer and more accurate Study of the holy Scriptures, which that he might manage with the better ſucceſs, he ſet himſelf to learn the *Hebrew* Tongue, the true Key to unlock the Door, (wherein as [d] S. *Hierom* probably intimates, he was aſſiſted by the help of *Huillus* the *Jewiſh* Patriarch at that time, at leaſt in the Rabbinic Expoſition of the Scripture,) a thing little underſtood in thoſe times, and the place he lived in, and to him who was now in the prime of his age, and the Flower of more pleaſing and delightful Studies, no doubt very difficult and uneaſie. But nothing is hard to an induſtrious diligence, and a willing mind.

[b] *Euſeb. lib. c. 14. p. 216.*

[c] *Ibid. c. 15. p. 217.*

[d] *Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Tom. 2. p. 201.*

X. NOR did his pains in this interrupt his activity in his other imployments; where he perceived [e] any of his Scholars of more ſmart and acute underſtandings, he firſt inſtructed them in *Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, and other preparatory Inſtitutions, and then brought them through a courſe of Philoſophy, diſcovering the Principles of each Sect, and explaining the Books of the Ancients, and ſometimes himſelf writing Comments upon them, ſo that the very *Gentiles* cried him up for an eminent Philoſopher. The ruder and more unpoliſhed part of his auditory he would often exhort to the Study of humane Arts, aſſuring them that they would not a little conduce to the right underſtanding of the holy Scriptures. Many flocked to him to make trial of his famed Skill and Learning; others to be inſtructed in the Precepts both of Philoſophy

[e] *Euſ. lib. c. 18. p. 218.*

loſophy and Chriſtianity. Great numbers of Heretics were his Auditors, ſome of whom he converted from the errour of their way: and among the reſt * *Ambroſius*, a man of Nobility and Eſtate at *Alexandria*, having been ſeduced into the Errours of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, being convinced by *Origen*'s Diſcourſes, renounced his former Hereſies, and returned to the Catholic Doctrin of the Church, and ever after became his intimate Friend, his great Patron and Benefactor. He was a man of neat elegant parts, and was continually prompting *Origen* to explain and interpret ſome part of the Scripture; as oft as they were together, (as [a] *Origen* himſelf informs us) he ſuffered not a Supper time to paſs without diſcourſes to this purpoſe, nor their very walks and recreations to be without them; a great part of the night, beſides their morning ſtudies, were ſpent upon theſe pious exerciſes; their meals and their reſt were uſhered in with continual Lectures, and both night and day where Prayer ended, Reading began, as after reading they again betook themſelves to Prayer. Indeed this *Ambroſe* was a pious and good man, and though ſo great a perſon, did not diſdain to take upon him the Office of a *Deacon* in the Church, nay to undergo great hardſhips and ſufferings, becoming an eminent *Confeſſor* for the Faith. And there is onely this blot [b] that I know of, that ſticks upon his memory, that when he died rich, he remembred not his dear and ancient Friend, whoſe low and mean condition might well have admitted, as his pains and intimacy might deſervedly have challenged, a bountiful legacy to have been bequeathed to him.

* *Euſeb. ib. Hieron. de Scrip. in Ambroſ. Suid. in Voc. Ὠριγ. Epiph. ubi ſupr. p. 228.*

[a] *Epiſt. ap. Suid. ubi ſupr. p. 390. vid. Hieron. Ep. ad Marcell. p. 129. Tom. 1.*

[b] *Hieron. de Script. in Ambroſ.*

XI. ABOUT this time came a [c] Meſſenger from the Governour of *Arabia* with Letters to *Demetrius* the Biſhop, and to the *Præfect* of *Egypt*, deſiring that with all ſpeed *Origen* might be ſent to impart the Chriſtian Doctrin to him: ſo conſiderable had the fame of this great man rendred him abroad in foreign Nations. Accordingly he went into *Arabia*, where having diſpatched his errand, he came back to *Alexandria*. Not long after whoſe return, the Emperour *Caracalla* drew his Army into thoſe parts, intending to fall ſeverely upon that City. To avoid whoſe rage and cruelty *Origen* thought good to withdraw himſelf, and not knowing any place in *Egypt* that could afford him ſhelter, he retired into *Paleſtin*, and fixed his reſidence at *Cæſarea*. Where his excellent abilities being ſoon taken notice of, he was requeſted by the Biſhops of thoſe parts, though but then in the capacity of a *Laic*, publicly in the Church, and before themſelves to expound the Scriptures to the People. The news hereof was preſently carried to *Alexandria*, and highly reſented by *Demetrius*, who by Letters expoſtulated the caſe with *Theoctiſtus*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Alexander* of *Jeruſalem*, as a thing never heard of before in the Chriſtian Church; who in their anſwer put him in mind, that this had been no ſuch unuſual thing, whereof they give him particular inſtances. All which ſatisfied not *Demetrius*, who by Letters commanded *Origen* to return, and ſent *Deacons* on purpoſe to urge him to it, whereupon he came back and applied himſelf to his wonted charge.

[c] *Euſeb. ibid. c. 19. p. 221.*

XII. *ALEXANDER SEVERUS* the preſent Emperour in order to his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, was come to *Antioch*, attended with his mother *Mammæa*, a wiſe and prudent, and (ſays [d] *Euſebius*) a moſt pious and religious Princeſs; a great influence ſhe had upon her Son, whom ſhe engaged in a moſt ſtrict and conſtant adminiſtration of Juſtice,

[d] *Ibid. c. 21. p. 223. vid. excerpt. ex Jo. Antioch. p. 836.*

Juſtice, and the affairs of the Empire, that he might have no leiſure to be debauched by Vice and Luxury. Indeed he was a Prince of incomparable Vertues, Hiſtorians repreſenting him as mild and gentle, compaſſionate and charitable, ſober and temperate, juſt and impartial, devout and pious, one advanced to the Empire for the recovery and happineſs of mankind. He was no enemy to Chriſtians, whom he did not onely not perſecute, but favour at every turn; and in his private *Oratory* he had among other *Heroes* the Images of *Abraham* and of *Chriſt*, and was once minded to have built a Temple to him, and publicly admitted him into the number of their gods. He highly admired ſome precepts of the Chriſtian Religion, and from their Diſcipline learned ſome Rites which he made uſe of in the Government of the Empire. But to return to *Mammæa*: Being a *Syrian* born, ſhe could not be unacquainted with the affairs both of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, and having heard of the great fame of [a] *Origen* was very deſirous to ſee him, and hear him diſcourſe concerning Religion, that ſhe might know what it was, for which the whole World had him in ſuch veneration. And for this purpoſe ſhe ſent for him, ordering a military guard to conduct him to *Antioch*, where he ſtaid ſome conſiderable time, and having fully opened the Doctrines of our Religion, and given her many demonſtrations of the Faith of Chriſtians, to the great honour of God and of Religion, he was diſmiſſed, and permitted to return to his old charge at *Alexandria*.

[a] *Euſeb. loc. cit.*

XIII. HENCEFORWARD he ſet upon writing [b] Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, at the inſtigation of his dear friend *Ambroſius*, who did not onely earneſtly importune him to it, but furniſh him with all conveniences neceſſary for it; allowing him beſides his maintenance, ſeven (and as occaſion was more) *Notaries* to attend upon him, who by turns might take from his mouth what he dictated to them; and as many *Tranſcribers*, beſides Virgins imployed for that purpoſe, who copied out fair, what the others had haſtily taken from his mouth. Theſe *Notaries* were very common both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, making uſe of certain peculiar notes and ſigns, either by way of occult or ſhort-writing, being able by the dexterity of their Art to take not words onely but entire ſentences. The original of it is by ſome aſcribed to *Tyro Cicero*'s ſervant, by others to *Aquila* ſervant to *Mecænas*, by others to *Ennius*, and that it was poliſhed and enlarged afterwards, firſt by *Tyro*, then by *Aquila* and ſome others. It may be in its firſt rudeneſs it was much more ancient, and improved and perfected by degrees, every new addition entitling it ſelf to the firſt invention, till it arrived to that accuracy and perfection, that (as appears from what [c] *Martial* ſays in the caſe, and *Auſonius* [d] reports of his *Amanuenſis*) they were able not onely to keep pace with, but many times to out-run the ſpeaker. That they were of frequent uſe in the Primitive Church, is without all doubt, being chiefly imployed to write the *Acts* of the Martyrs; for which end they were wont to frequent the Priſons, to be preſent at all Trials and Examinations; and if the thing was done *intra Velum*, within the *Secretarium*, they uſed by bribes to procure Copies of the Examinations and Anſwers from the *Proconſul*'s Regiſter; thence they followed the Martyrs to the place of Execution, there to remarque their ſayings and their ſufferings. This was done in the moſt early Ages, as is evident from [e] *Tertullians* mentioning the *Faſti Eccleſiæ*, and from what [f] S. *Cyprian* ſays in his Epiſtle

[b] *Ibid. c. 23. p. 224.*

[c] *Lib. 14. Epigr. 208.*

[d] *Epigram. 36.*

[e] *De Coron. c. 13. p. 109.*

[f] *Epiſt. XXXVII. p. 51*

ſtle to the Clergy of his Church, and [g] *Pontius* the *Deacon* in his life; where he tells us, that their Fore-fathers were wont to regiſter whatever concerned the Martyrdom of the meaneſt Chriſtian, the Acts whereof deſcended down to his time. Thus [h] *Euſebius* ſpeaking of the Martyrdom of *Apollonius* in the reign of *Commodus*, tells us, that all his Anſwers and Diſcourſes before the Preſident's Tribunal, and his brave *Apology* before the *Senate*, were contained in the Acts of his Martyrdom, which together with others, he had collected into one Volume. So that the Original of the Inſtitution is not without probability referred to the times of S. *Clemens* Biſhop of *Rome*. All which I the rather note becauſe it gives us a reaſonable account how the Anſwers and Speeches of the Martyrs, the Arguments and Diſcourſes of Synods and Councils, and the *Extempore Homilies* of the Fathers came to be tranſmitted ſo intire and perfect to us. But I return to *Origen*, whom we left dictating to his *Notaries*, and they delivering it to thoſe many *Tranſcribers* that were allowed him; all which were maintained at *Ambroſius*'s ſole expence. [a] *Photius* indeed makes this charge to have been allowed by *Hippolytus*, deriving his miſtake it's plain, from the *Greek* Interpreter of [b] S. *Hieroms* Catalogue, who did not rightly apprehend S. *Hieroms* meaning, and who himſelf ſpeaking of *Hippolytus*, inſerts this paſſage concerning *Ambroſe* I know not how, and for no other reaſon that I can imagin, but becauſe in *Euſebius* his Hiſtory he found it immediately following the account that was given of *Hippolytus* his Works. [d] *Epiphanius* will have theſe Commentaries written, and the expences allowed to that purpoſe by *Ambroſius* at *Tyre*, and that for that end he reſided there XXVIII. years together. An intolerable miſtake, not onely diſagreeing with *Euſebius* his account, but plainly inconſiſtent with the courſe of *Origen's* life. And indeed *Epiphanius* alledges no better an Author then ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, having picked up the Story from ſome vulgar tradition and report. His induſtry and diligence in theſe Studies was incredible, few parts of the Bible eſcaping his narrow and critical reſearches: wherein he attained to ſo admirable an accuracy and perfection, that [e] S. *Hierom* himſelf (not always over-civil to him) profeſſes he could be content to bear that load of envy that was caſt upon his name, ſo that he had but withall his skill and knowledge in the Scriptures. A paſſage which [f] *Ruffinus* afterwards ſmartly enough returns upon him.

[g] *In vit. Cypr. non long. ab init.*

[h] *H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 21. p. 189.*

[a] *Cod. CXXI. col. 301.*

[b] *Vid. Hieron. de Script. in Hippol.*

[d] *Hæreſ. LXIV. p. 228.*

[e] *Hoc unum dico, quod vellem cum invidia nominis ejus habere etiam ſcientiam Scripturarum, floccipendens imagines umbraſque larvarum: quarum natura eſſe dicitur, terrere parvulos, & in angulis garrire tenebroſis. Hieron. Præf. in Quæſt. in Geneſ. Tom. 3. p. 201.* [f] *Invectiv. II. in Hieron. inter oper. Hier. Tom. 4. p. 225.*

XIV. BUT a ſtop for the preſent was put to this work by ſome affairs of the Church, which called him into *Achaia*, then diſturbed with divers Hereſies that over-ran thoſe Churches. And at this time doubtleſs it was that he ſtaid a while at *Athens*, where (as [g] *Epiphanius* tells us) he frequented the Schools of the Philoſophers, and converſed with the Sages of that place. In his journey to *Achaia* he went through [h] *Paleſtin*, and took *Cæſarea* in his way, where producing his Letters of recommendation from *Demetrius*, he was ordained *Presbyter* by *Alexander* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. Not that this was done by any ſiniſter Arts, or the ambitious procurement of *Origen* himſelf, but was intirely the act of thoſe two excellent perſons, who deſigned by this means to furniſh him with a greater authority for the management of his Embaſſie, and to render him more ſerviceable to the affairs of the Church. However the thing was infinitely reſented by *Demetrius*, as an

[g] *ubi ſupr. p. 227.*

[h] *Euſeb. loc. cit. Hier. de Script. in Alex.*

an affront againſt his juriſdiction, and a contempt of his authority, and now the wind is turned into a bluſtring quarter, and nothing but *anathema's* are thundred out againſt him from *Alexandria*. *Demetrius* had for ſome time born him a ſecret grudge, and he takes this occaſion to fall upon him. The truth is, he * envied the honour and reputation which *Origen*'s Learning and Vertue had raiſed him in the thoughts and mouths of all men, and wanting hitherto an opportunity to vent his emulation, he had now one put into his hand, and accordingly charges him with all that ſpight and ſpleen can invent, publicly accuſing him (what before he admired in him) for making himſelf an *Eunuch*, and ſeverely reflecting upon the Biſhops that ordained him. Nay ſo high did he raiſe the ſtorm, that he procured *Origen*, to be condemned [a] in two ſeveral Synods, one of Biſhops and Presbyters, who decreed that he ſhould be baniſhed *Alexandria*, and not permitted either to live, or teach there: the other under *Demetrius*, who with ſome Biſhops of *Egypt* pronounced him to be degraded from his Prieſthood, his greateſt favourers ſubſcribing the Decree. [b] S. *Hierom* adds, that the greateſt part of the Chriſtian World conſented to this condemnation, and that *Rome* it ſelf convened a Synod againſt him, not for Hereſie or Innovations in Doctrin; but meerly out of envy, as not able to bear the glory and renown of his Learning and Eloquence; ſeeing while he taught they were looked upon as mute and dumb, as the Stars diſappear at the preſence of the Sun. And yet all this combuſtion vaniſhed into ſmoke, *Origen* ſtill retaining his Prieſthood, publicly preaching in the Church, and being honourably entertained where-ever he came by the wiſer and more moderate party of the Church.

* *Euſeb. ib. c. 8. p. 209.*

[a] *Pamphil. Apolog. ap. Phot. Cod. CXVIII. col. 297.*

[b] *Apud Ruffin. Invect. II. in Hieron. inter oper. Hier. T. 4. p. 225.*

XV. WEARIED out with the vexatious aſſaults of his enemies, he reſolved to quit *Alexandria*, where the ſentence of the Synods would not ſuffer him long to abide, having firſt reſigned the Government of his *Catechetic* School intirely to his Colleague *Heraclas*[c]. This *Heraclas* was a *Gentile* born, brother to *Plutarch*, who (as before we noted) ſuffered Martyrdom for the Faith, together with whom he became *Origen*'s Scholar, by whom he was converted, and built up in the Faith, then taken in as his *Uſher* or Partner in the *Catechetic* Office, afterwards his ſucceſſor, and laſt of all Biſhop of *Alexandria*. A man of unwearied diligence and a ſtrict life; learned and eloquent, a great Maſter in Philoſophy and all humane, but eſpecially verſed in divine Studies. He retained his *Philoſophic habit* even after he was made Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and ceaſed not with a mighty induſtry ſtill to read over and converſe with the Writings of the *Gentiles*; indeed arrived to that ſingular fame and reputation, that *Julius Africanus*, one of the moſt learned men of thoſe times came [d] on purpoſe to *Alexandria* to ſee and hear him. No wonder therefore, if *Origen* committed this great care and truſt to him, whoſe perſonal merit, and particular obligation as his Scholar, might ſeem to challenge it. Before his departure (for they that refer it to the time of *Decius*, ſpeak at random, *Origen* not being then at *Alexandria*) an accident fell out, which (if true) haſtned his flight with more ſhame and ſorrow then all the malice of his bittereſt enemies could create him. Thus then we are told; [e] ſome *Gentiles* that were his mortal enemies, ſeized upon him, and reduced him to this ſtrait, that either he ſhould abuſe his body with a *Blackmoor*, or do ſacrifice to an Idol. Of the two he choſe to ſacrifice, though it was rather their act then his, for putting Frankincenſe

[c] *Euſeb. ib. c. 26. p. 228.*

[d] *Ibid. c. 31. p. 230.*

[e] *Epiph. ubi ſup. p. 228. Leont. de Sect. Act. X. p.*

cenſe into his hand, they led him up to the Altar, and forced him to throw it into the fire. Which yet drew ſo great a blot upon his name, and derived ſo much guilt upon his conſcience, that not able to bear the public reproach, he immediately left the City. The credit of this Story is not a little ſhaken by the univerſal ſilence of the more ancient Writers in this matter, not ſo much as intimated by *Euſebius*, *Pamphilus*, or *Origen*'s own contemporary, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*; not objected by his greateſt adverſaries, as is plain from the Apologies written in his behalf; not mentioned by *Porphyry* who lived in thoſe times, and whom we cannot ſuppoſe either to have been ignorant of it, or willing to conceal it, when we find him falſly reporting of *Ammonius*, that he apoſtatized from Chriſtianity, and of *Origen* himſelf, that he was born and bred an Heathen. In ſhort not mentioned by any before *Epiphanius*, and beſides him, not by any elſe of that time, not S. *Hierom*, *Ruſinus*, *Vincentius Lerinenſis*, or *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, ſome of whom were enemies enough to *Origen*. So that it was not without ſome plauſibility of reaſon that [a] *Baronius* ſuſpected this paſſage to have been foiſted into *Epiphanius*, and not to have been the genuine iſſue of his Pen. Though in my mind *Epiphanius* himſelf ſays enough to make any wiſe man ready to ſuſpend his belief; for he tells [b] us, that many ſtrange things were reported concerning *Origen*, which he himſelf gave no credit to, though he thought good to ſet down the reports; and how often he catches up any common rumours and builds upon them, none need to be told, that are acquainted with his Writings. Nor is it likely he would balk any Story that tended to *Origen*'s diſgrace, who had himſelf ſo bitter a zeal and ſpleen againſt him. I might further argue the improbability of this Story from hence, that this being a long time after his famous emaſculating of himſelf, which by this time was known all abroad, it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Heathens ſhould make the proſtituting himſelf in committing adultery one part of his choice, which his ſelf-contracted impotency and *Eunuchiſm* had long ſince made impoſſible to him. However ſuppoſing the matter of fact to be true, it ſounds not more (eſpecially conſidering how much there was of force and compulſion in it) to his diſparagement, then his ſolemn repentance afterwards made for his honour, and when the deſire to preſerve his chaſtity inviolable is laid in the Scale with his offering Sacrifice.

[a] *Ad Ann.* 253. [n] CXXIII.

[b] *Ibid. p.* 229.

XVI. *ANN.* CCXXXIII. [c] *Origen* left *Alexandria*, and directing his courſe for *Paleſtin*, went to his good Friend and Patron *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and from thence to *Jeruſalem* to ſalute *Alexander* Biſhop of it, and to viſit the venerable Antiquities of that place. And here *Epiphanius* in purſuance of the foregoing Story tells us, that being mightily importuned to preach, he ſtood up in the Congregation, and having pronounced thoſe words of penitent *David*, *But unto the wicked God ſaith, what haſt thou to do to declare my ſtatutes, and that thou ſhouldſt take my covenant in thy mouth?* he could go on no further, but ſhut the Book, and laid it down, and ſitting down burſt out into ſighs and tears, the whole Congregation bearing part with him in that mournful Scene. And to carry on the humour, and make the Story more compleat, after-Ages preſent us with a [d] Diſcourſe under his name, called *Origen's Complaint*, wherein he paſſionately reſents and laments his fall, as a deſperate wound to himſelf, a grief to good men, and an unconceivable diſhonour to God, and to Religion. And pitty it is, if the Story be true, that

[c] *Euſeb. lib. c. 26. p.* 228.

[d] *Extat inter Oper. Orig. Tom. 1. p.* 752. *Edit. Eraſm.*

this *Lamentation* were not genuine; but as it is, the best ground it has to support it self, is, that it is calculated to gratifie a pious fansie and a melting passion, there being nothing in it otherwise worthy of this great man, and I fear was first designed by him that made it, as a reflection upon him, and to give countenance to the report that was raised concerning him. From *Jerusalem* he not long after returned back to *Cæsarea*, where (as before he had done at *Alexandria*) he set up a [a] School both for divine and humane learning, and his great name quickly procured him Scholars from all parts, not onely of the Country thereabouts, but from the remotest Provinces. Among which of most remarque were *Gregory* called afterwards *Thaumaturgus*, and his Brother *Athenodorus*, who leaving the study of the Law, as being more delighted with Philosophy and humane Arts, committed themselves to his conduct and tutorage, who first instructed them in Philosophy, and then trained them up to a more accurate knowledge of the Christian Faith. Five years they remained under his Discipline, when being sufficiently enriched with the knowledge of Religion, they returned into *Pontus*, their own Countrey, where they both became *Bishops*, and proved eminent Lights and Governours of the Church. During his residence at *Cæsarea*, there was a firm intimacy and league [b] of friendship contracted between *Origen* and *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who had so great a kindness for him that sometimes he would prevail with him to come over into that Province for the edification of the Churches in those parts, sometimes he himself would go into *Judæa* to visit him, and stay a considerable while with him to perfect himself by his society and converse. This *Firmilian* was a Gentleman of *Cappadocia*, afterwards made Bishop of *Cæsarea* in that Countrey. A person of great name and note, and who held correspondence with most of the eminent men of those times. Few considerable affairs of the Church, wherein he was not concerned either by his presence or advice. Great contests were between him and *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* concerning the Baptism of heretical persons, wherein he took part with *Cyprian*. He was twice at *Antioch* to examine the case of *Paul* of *Samosata* Bishop of that Church, and coming a third time to a Synod convened there for that purpose, died at *Tarsus* by the way. Nor was *Origen* admired and courted onely by foreigners and young men who had been his Scholars, but by the grave and the wise at home: both *Alexander* and *Theoctistus*, though ancient Bishops, did not disdain in a manner to become his Disciples, committing to his single care the power of interpreting the holy Scriptures, and whatever concerned the Ecclesiastical Doctrin.

XVII. IT was now about the year CCXXXV. when *Maximinus* the *Thracian* succeeded in the Empire: a man fierce and ill-natured, and according to his education brutish and cruel. He hated whatever had relation to his Predecessor, and because the [c] Christians had found some favourable entertainment in his Family, he began first with them, and especially the Bishops, as the chief Pillars and promoters of their Religion, whom he every where commanded to be put to death. To contribute toward the consolation of Christians in this evil time, *Origen* wrote his Book concerning *Martyrdom*, which he jointly dedicated to his

[a] Id. ibid. c. 30. p. 229.

[b] Ibid. c. 27. p. 228.

[c] Id. ibid. c. 28.

Νῦν ὡσπερεὶ πομπεύσεις αἴρων τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἱερὲ Ἀμβρόσιε· καὶ ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ, προσάγῃ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλεῖς· ἵνα αὐτὸς σοι συμπορευθεὶς, αὐτός σοι δῷ καὶ στόμα καὶ σοφίαν· καί σοι τῷ συναγωνιστῇ αὐτοῦ Πρωτόκτητε· καὶ συμμαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν, τοῖς ἀναπληροῦσι τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, σὺν ἡμῖν γένηται ἐπὶ τὸν παράδεισον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr. pag. 200.

his dear *Ambroſius*, and to *Protoctetus* Presbyter of *Cæſarea*, as who had undergone a joint ſhare of impriſonment and ſufferings under the preſent Perſecution, and had made a glorious and illuſtrious confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith. As for *Origen* himſelf, he is ſaid to have taken ſanctuary in the houſe of *Juliana*, a wealthy and charitable Lady, who courteouſly entertained him, and furniſhed him with Books uſeful for him, particularly with *Symmachus* [a] his Verſion of the Old Teſtament, and his Commentaries in defence of the *Ebionites*, particularly levelled againſt S. *Matthews* Goſpel: Books which *Juliana* enjoyed as by right of inheritance devolved upon her.

[a] *Euſeb. ib. c. 17. p. 218.*

XVIII. WHILE he enjoyed the happy opportunity of this retirement, he more directly applied himſelf to what he had long ſince deſigned, the collecting and collating the ſeveral Editions and Verſions of the Old Teſtament with the Original Text, which he finiſhed by three ſeveral parts [b], the *Tetrapla*, the *Hexapla*, and the *Octapla*. In the firſt (which conſidered as a diſtinct part, was made laſt) were four Tranſlations, ſet one over againſt another, that of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*; theſe made up the *Tetrapla*. In the ſecond were theſe four Verſions diſpoſed in the ſame order, and two other columns ſet before them, thus; firſt the *Hebrew* Text in its own Letters, then in a column next adjoining the ſame *Hebrew* Text in *Greek* characters, that they who were ſtrangers to the one, might be able to read the other: next followed the ſeveral Verſions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*. And theſe conſtituted the *Hexapla*. Where the *Septuagint* being placed after that of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, gave ſome ignorant undiſcerning perſons occaſion to think, that it had been made after the two former: whereas it was placed in the middle (as *Epiphanius* [c] informs us) onely as a Standard, by which the goodneſs and ſincerity of the reſt were to be tried and judged. In the third, which made the *Octapla*, were all that were in the former, and in the ſame manner, and two more Verſions added at the end of them, one called the *Fifth Edition*, found by a Student at *Jeruſalem* in a Hogſhead at *Jericho* in the time of the *Emperour Caracalla*; and another ſtiled the *Sixth Edition*, found by one of *Origen*'s Scholars at *Nicopolis* near *Actium*, in the reign of *Alexander Severus*. All which in the *Octapla* were diſpoſed in ſeveral columns in this order: in the firſt column was the Original *Hebrew*, in its native characters, in the next the *Hebrew* in *Greek* Letters, in the third the tranſlation of *Aquila*, then that of *Symmachus*, next the *Septuagint*, in the ſixth that of *Theodotion*, and in the two laſt that of *Jericho*, and the other of *Nicopolis*. Indeed plain it is from what [d] S. *Hierom* tells us, that theſe two laſt were not compleat and intire Tranſlations, but contained only ſome parts of the Old Teſtament, eſpecially the Prophetical Books. But whether from hence we may conclude the *Hexapla* and the *Octapla* to have been but one and the ſame Work, onely receiving its different title according to thoſe Parts that had theſe two laſt Verſions annexed to them, I will not ſay. Beſides theſe there was a *Seventh Edition*; but this belonging onely to the Book of *Pſalms*, made no alteration in the title of the whole. The frame and order of this excellent contrivance, the Reader will better apprehend by this following *Scheme*, formed according to a *Specimen* of the *Hexapla* extant in *Cardinal Barberines* very ancient Manuſcript of the *Minor* Prophets, upon theſe words, *When Iſrael was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt.*

[b] *Id. ibid. c. 16. p. 217. Epiph. loc. ſupr. citat. de ponder. & menſur. p. m. 534, 539. Hier. de Script. in Orig. & Suid. in voc. Orig.*

[c] *Ibid. p. 539.*

[d] *comment. in Tit. c. 3. p. 256. T. 9.*

Hoſ. XI. 1.

Tetrapla.	*Aquila.* [d] Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτόν. καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	*Symmachus.* [d] Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγαπημένος, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.	*LXX.* Διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτόν. καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.	*Theodotion.* [d] Ὅτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐκάλεσα υἱόν μου.				
Hexapla.	*Heb. lit. Heb.* כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני	*Hebr. lit. Gr.* χι νερ Ἰσραηλ ουε ἄβη ου ου μεμμεσραϊμ καραθι βανι.	*Aquila.* [d] Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	*Symmachus.* [d] Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγαπημένος, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου	*LXX.* Διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ; ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.	*Theodotion.* [d] Ὅτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐκάλεσα υἱόν μου.		
Octapla.	*Text. Hebr. lit. Hebr.* " כי נער ut supra.	*Hebr. lit. Græc.* χι νερ, &c.	*Aquila.* [d] Ὅτι παῖς, &c.	*Symmachus.* [d] Ὅτι παῖς, &c.	*LXX.* Διότι νήπιος, &c.	*Theodotion.* [d] Ὅτι νήπιος, &c.	*Edit. V.* Hierich. *Desideratur.*	*Edit. VI.* Nicopol. *Desideratur.*

And to make the Work more compleat and useful, he distinguished the additions and deficiences by several marks [e], where any thing had been added by the LXX. besides the faith of the Original Text, he prefixed an *Obelus* before it; where any thing was wanting, which yet was in the *Hebrew*, he inserted the words with an *Asteric*, to distinguish them from the rest of the *Septuagint* Translation. Where

[e] *Vid. præter script. citat. Orig. Comment in in Matth. Edit. Huet. gr. l. p.* 381. *& Resp. ad. Epist. Afric. p.* 226, 227. *Edit. Basil. vid. Ruffin. Invect.* II. *in Hieron. inter oper. Hier. T.* 4. *p.* 230.

Where various Lections were confirmed by the greater number of Tranſlations, he added a note called *Lemniſcus*, where two of them onely concurred, an *Hypolemniſcus*. By which means he did right to truth, without doing wrong to any. A work of infinite labour and admirable uſe, and which was therefore peculiarly ſtiled by the Ancients *Opus Eccleſiæ*, the Work of the Church, upon the account whereof S. *Hierom* [a] calls him *Immortale illud ingenium*, as indeed had there been nothing elſe, this alone had been ſufficient to have eternized his name, and to have rendred him memorable to poſterity: and how happy had it been, had it been preſerved, the loſs whereof I can attribute to nothing more then the pains and charge, the trouble and difficulty of tranſcribing it. Though ſome part of it, *viz.* the *Septuagint* was taken out, and publiſhed more exact and correct from the faults which had crept into it by tranſcribing by *Euſebius* and *Pamphilus* afterwards. It was a Work of time, and not finiſhed by *Origen* all at once, begun by him at *Cæſarea*, and perfected at *Tyre*, as *Epiphanius* plainly intimates.

[a] *In Tit. loc. ſupr. cit.*

XIX. FROM *Cæſarea Origen*, upon what occaſion I know not, ſeems to have taken a ſecond journey to *Athens*. For during his ſtay there, we find him finiſhing his Commentaries [b] upon *Ezechiel*, and beginning his Expoſition upon the *Canticles*, five Books whereof he there perfected, making an end of the reſt at his return to *Cæſarea*. The opportunity of this journy, it's conceived by ſome, he took to go to *Nicomedia*, to viſit his friend *Ambroſius*, who with his wife and children at that time reſided there. While he continued here (which was not long) he returned an anſwer to the Letter which he had lately received from *Julius Africanus* concerning the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*, which *Africanus* by ſhort but very forcible arguments maintained to be a fictitious and ſpurious relation. *Origen* undertakes the caſe, and juſtifies the Story to be ſincere and genuine, but by arguments, which rather manifeſt the acuteneſs of his parts, then the goodneſs of his cauſe, and clearly ſhew how much men of the greateſt learning and abilities are put to it, when engaged to uphold a weak ſide, and which has no truth of its own to ſupport it ſelf. It happened about this time that *Beryllus* [c] Biſhop of *Boſtra* in *Arabia*, fell into abſurd and dangerous errours, aſſerting, that our Lord before his incarnation had no proper ſubſiſtence, no perſonal Deity, but onely a derivative divinity from his Father. The Biſhops of thoſe parts met about it, but could not reclaim the man, whereupon *Origen*'s aſſiſtance was requeſted, who went thither, and treated with him both in private conferences and in public Synods. His greateſt difficulty was to know what the man meant, which when he had once found out, he plied him ſo hard with cogent reaſonings and demonſtrations, that he was forced to let go his hold, recant his errours, and return back into the way of truth. Which done, *Origen* took his leave, and came back for *Paleſtin*. And *Beryllus* [d], as became a true Convert, in ſeveral Letters gave thanks to *Origen* for his kind pains in his conviction, kiſſing the hand that brought him back.

[b] *Euſeb. ib. c. 32. p. 231.*

[c] *Ibid. c. 33.*

[d] *Hieron. de Script. in Beryll.*

XX. *ORIGEN* was now advanced [e] above the age of threeſcore, and yet remitted nothing of his incredible induſtry either in preaching or writing. At *Ambroſius* his intreaty he took to task *Celſus* his Book againſt the Chriſtians. This *Celſus* was an *Epicurean* Philoſopher, contemporary with *Lucian*, the witty Atheiſt, who dedicated his *Pſeudomantis* to him, as indeed there ſeems to have been a more then ordinary ſympathy

[e] *Euſ. Ibid. c. 36. p. 232.*

ſympathy of humour and *genius* between theſe two perſons. *Celſus* was a man of Wit and Parts, and had all the advantages which Learning, Philoſophy, and Eloquence could add to him; but a ſevere and incurable enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, againſt which he wrote a Book entituled Ἀληθὴς λόγος, or *the true Diſcourſe*, wherein he attempted Chriſtianity with all the Arts of inſinuation, all the witty reflections, virulent aſperſions, plauſible reaſonings, wherewith a man of parts and malice was capable to aſſault it. To this *Origen* returns a full and ſolid anſwer in eight Books, wherein as he had the better cauſe, ſo he managed it with that ſtrength of Reaſon, clearneſs of Argument, and convictive evidence of truth, that were there nothing elſe to teſtifie the abilities of this great man, this Book alone were enough to do it. It was written probably about the beginning of the reign of *Philip* the Emperour, with whom *Origen* ſeems to have had ſome acquaintance, who [a] wrote one Letter to him, and another to the Empreſs. From whence, and ſome other little probabilities, *Euſebius* firſt, and after him the generality of Eccleſiaſtic Writers, have made that Emperour to have been a Chriſtian, and the firſt of the Imperial line that was ſo. The vanity of which miſtake, and the original from whence it ſprung, we have ſhewed elſewhere. Nor is the matter mended by thoſe, who ſay that *Philip* was privately baptized by *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſo his Chriſtian Profeſſion was known onely to the *Chriſtians*, but concealed from the *Gentiles*; which being but a conjecture, and a *gratis dictum*, without any authority to confirm it, may with the ſame eaſe and as much juſtice be rejected, as it is obtruded and impoſed upon us. Nor has the late learned publiſher [b] of ſome Tracts of *Origen* (who in order to the ſecuring the *Dialogue againſt the Marcionites* to belong to *Origen*, has newly enforced this argument) ſaid any thing that may perſuade a wiſe man to believe a Story, ſo improbable in all its circumſtances, and which muſt have made a louder noiſe in the World, and have had more and better witneſſes to atteſt it, then an obſcure and uncertain report, the onely authority which *Euſebius*, who gave the firſt hint of it, pretends in this matter.

[a] *Id. ibid. p.* 233

[b] *Rod. Wetſteinius Præfat. in Orig. Dial. contr. Marc. &c. à ſe Edit. Baſil.* 1674. 4

XXI. THE good ſucceſs which *Origen* lately had in *Arabia* in the cauſe of *Beryllus* made him famous in all thoſe parts, and his help was now again [c] deſired upon a like occaſion. For a ſort of Heretics were ſtart up, who affirmed, that at death both body and ſoul did expire together, and were reſolved into the ſame ſtate of corruption, and that at the reſurrection they ſhould revive and riſe together to eternal life. For this purpoſe a general Synod of thoſe parts was called, and *Origen* deſired to be preſent at it, who managed the cauſe with ſuch weighty Arguments, ſuch unanſwerable and clear convictions, that the adverſe party threw down their weapons, and relinquiſhed the ſentiments which they maintained before. Another heretical crew appeared at this time in the *Eaſt*, the impious and abominable Sect of the *Helceſaitæ*, againſt whom alſo *Origen* ſeems to have been engaged, concerning whom himſelf [d] gives us this account. They rejected a great part both of the Old and New Canon, making uſe onely of ſome few parts of Scripture, and ſuch without queſtion as they could make look moſt favourably upon their cauſe. S. *Paul* they wholly rejected, and held that it was lawful and indifferent to deny the faith; and that he was the wiſe man, that in his words would renounce Chriſtianity in a time of danger and Perſecution, but maintain

[c] *Ibid. c.* 37.

[d] *Homil. in Pſal.* 82. *ap. Euſeb. ibid. c.* 38. *p.* 233.

maintain the truth in his heart. They carried a Book about with them which they affirmed to have been immediately dropt down from Heaven, which whoever received and gave credit to, ſhould receive remiſſion of ſins, though different from that pardon which our Lord *Jeſus* beſtowed upon his followers. But how far *Origen* was concerned againſt this abſurd and ſenſleſs generation, is to me unknown. The beſt on't is, this Sect like a blazing Comet, though its influence was malignant and peſtilential, ſuddenly aroſe, and as ſuddenly diſappeared.

XXII. *PHILIP* the Emperour being ſlain by the Souldiers, *Decius* made a ſhift by the help of the Army to ſtep into the Throne; a mortal enemy to the Church, in whoſe ſhort reign more Martyrs, eſpecially men of note and eminency came to the Stake, then in thoſe who governed that Empire ten times his reign. In *Palæſtin* *Alexander* the aged and venerable Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was thrown into priſon, where after long and hard uſage, and an illuſtrious confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith before the public Tribunal, he died. This *Alexander* (whom we have often mentioned) had been firſt Biſhop in *Cappadocia* [b], where out of a religious curioſity he had reſolved upon a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem* to viſit the holy and venerable Antiquities of that place, whereto he was particularly excited by a divine revelation intimating to him that it was the will of God that he ſhould be aſſiſtant to the Biſhop of that place. It happened at this time that *Narciſſus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* being ſome years ſince returned to his See (which he had deſerted many years before) was become incapable through his great age and infirmity (being CXVI. years old) duly to manage his charge. *Alexander* approaching near *Jeruſalem*, they were warned by a Viſion and a Voice from Heaven, to go out of the City, and there receive him whom Heaven had deſigned to be their Biſhop. They did ſo, and finding *Alexander*, entertained and introduced him with all poſſible kindneſs and reſpect, where by the importunity of the People, and the conſent of all the neighbour-Biſhops, he was conſtrained to become Colleague with *Narciſſus* in the government of that Church. This I ſuppoſe is the firſt expreſs inſtance that we meet with in Church-antiquity of two Biſhops ſitting at once (and that by conſent) in one See. But the caſe was warranted by an extraordinary authority; beſides that, *Narciſſus* ſeems rather to have reſigned and quitted the place, retaining nothing but the title, nor intermedling any further, then by joining in prayers and devotions for the good of the Church, ſurviving not above three or four years at moſt. *Alexander* ſucceeding in the ſole Preſidency, governed his Church with ſingular prudence and fidelity, and among other memorable acts, erected a *Library* at *Jeruſalem* [c], which he eſpecially ſtored with Eccleſiaſtical Epiſtles and Records, from whence *Euſebius* confeſſes he furniſhed himſelf with many conſiderable *Memoirs* and materials for the compoſing of his Hiſtory. He ſate Biſhop XXXIX. years, and after ſeveral arraignments and various impriſonments and ſufferings, died now in priſon at *Cæſarea*, to the unconceivable loſs and reſentment of the whole Church, and eſpecially of *Origen*, who had been ordained by him, and whom he had ever found a faſt Friend and Patron. Nor did *Origen* himſelf, who was at this time at *Tyre*, eſcape without his ſhare. *Euſebius* does but briefly intimate his ſufferings, having given a larger account of them in another Book, long ſince loſt, he tells [d] us that the Devil muſtered up all his Forces againſt him, and aſſaulted him with

[a] *Ibid. c. 39. p. 234.*

[b] *Ibid. c. 11. p. 212.*

[c] *Ibid. c. 20. p. 222.*

[d] *ubi ſupr. p. 234.*

with all his Arts and Engins, ſingling him out above all others of that time to make him the object of his utmoſt rage and fury. He was caſt into the bottom of a loathſom and uncomfortable dungeon, loaded with irons, a chain about his neck, his feet ſet in the Stocks, with his legs ſtretched four holes diſtant from each other many days together; he was threatned with fire, and tried with all the torments that a mercileſs enemy could inflict. Which meeting with a perſon of his age, and a body broken with ſuch and ſo many cares and labours, muſt needs render it a very heavy burden. And yet he bore all with a generous patience, and was ready to ſubmit to the laſt fatal ſtroke, but that the Judge to give all poſſible accents to his miſery, ordered them ſo to torment him, that they ſhould not kill him.

XXIII. HUMANE Councils and reſolutions, when moſt active and violent, yet *he that is higher then the higheſt* can over-rule them, *and there be that are higher then they.* His enemies had hitherto exerciſed him onely with preparatory cruelties, reſerving him for a more ſolemn execution. But God, *to whom belongs the iſſues from death*, prevented their malice, and made way for him to eſcape, which in all probability was effected by the death of *Decius*, who was cut off, when he had reigned two years and an half. Being delivered out of priſon, [a] he improved his time to pious purpoſes, comforting the weak and the diſconſolate, and writing Letters to that end up and down the World. Some few years he out-lived the *Decian* Perſecution, and died at *Tyre* about the firſt year of *Valerian*. Indeed *Euſebius* intimates that he departed this life about the beginning of *Gallus* his reign. But I cannot ſee how that can ſtand: for ſeeing elſewhere he poſitively affirms that he was ſeventeen years old at the time of his Fathers Martyrdom, *Ann.* CCII. his death muſt happen the firſt of *Valerian*, *Ann. Chr.* CCLIV. which falls in with the ſixty nineth year of his age, in which *Euſebius* tells us he left this World. Otherwiſe he could not be more then LXVII. years old, whereas none make him leſs then LXIX. *Pamphilus* [b] the Martyr, and ſome others, from the relation of thoſe that had ſeen him, report that an honourable Martyrdom put a period to his life, when *Decius* raiſed the Perſecution at *Cæſarea*. But beſides that [c] *Epiphanius* expreſly denies that he died a Martyr, others (as *Photius* adds, and among them *Euſebius* [d] and S. *Hierom* [e]) tell us, that he continued till the time of *Gallus* and *Voluſian*, and being ſixty nine years old died, and was buried at *Tyre*. Which, as he obſerves, muſt needs be ſo, ſeeing he wrote many Epiſtles after the *Decian* Perſecution. And probable it is, that *Pamphilus* meant it, or at leaſt his miſtake thence aroſe, of that great and glorious confeſſion, a preparatory Martyrdom, which he made under the reign of *Decius*, which he ſurvived two or three years, peaceably ending his days at *Tyre*, where his body found a place of reſt, and where in a great Church dedicated to the memory of our Saviours Sepulchre, behind the high Altar his Remains were laid up, as the tradition [f] of the laſt Age informs us. Nay long before that *Brocard* [g] the *Monk* tells us that when he was there, he ſaw his Tomb, and read his Epitaph; and before both [h] *William*, who was himſelf *Archbiſhop* of *Tyre*, reckons *Origen*'s Tomb among the Monuments and venerable Antiquities of that City, his marble Monument being adorned with Gold and precious Stones.

XXIV. HAVING thus brought this great man to his Grave, let us a little

[a] *Euſeb. ibid. p.* 235.

[b] *Apud. Phot. Cod.* CXVIII. *col.* 297.

[c] *De pond. & menſur. p.* 539.

[d] *Lib.* 7. *c.* 1. *p.* 250.

[e] *De ſcript. in Origen.*

[f] *Cotovic. itiner. l.* 1. *c.* 19. *p.* 121.

[g] *Deſcript. Terr. S. c.* 2.

[h] *Guiliel. Tyr. H. ſacr. l.* 13. *non longe ab init. vid. etiam Adricom. Theatr. Terr. S. in Trib. Aſer. n.* 84. *in fin.*

little look back upon him, and we ſhall find him a more then ordinary perſon. His life was truly ſtrict and philoſophical [a], and an admirable inſtance of diſcipline and vertue; ſuch as his diſcourſes were, ſuch were his manners, and his life the image of his mind: that wiſe and good man, whom he was wont to deſcribe in his Lectures to his Scholars (as one [b] of the moſt eminent of them aſſure us) he himſelf had firſt formd, and drawn in the example of his own life. He had a mighty regard to the glory of God, and the good of ſouls, whoſe happineſs he ſtudied by all ways to promote, and thought nothing hard, nothing mean or ſervile that might advance it. He was modeſt and humble, chaſt and temperate; ſo exemplary his abſtinence and ſobriety, that he lived upon what was next door to nothing, for many years [c] abſtaining from Wine, and every thing but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of life, till by too much abſtinence he had almoſt ruined his health, and endangered the weakning of Nature paſt recovery. Singular his contempt of the World, literally making good that precept of our Lord to his Diſciples, not to have *two Cloaks*, to provide *no Shoes*, nor to be anxiouſly careful for to morrow. When many out of conſideration of his unwearied diligence would have communicated part of what they had towards his neceſſities, he would not, but rather then be needleſly burdenſom to any, ſold his Library, agreeing with the buyer to allow him four *oboli*, or five pence, for his daily maintenance. His diligence in ſtudy, in preaching, writing, travelling, confuting Heathens and Heretics, compoſing ſchiſms and differences in the Church was indefatigable, upon which account the titles of *Adamantius* and *Chalcenterus* are ſuppoſed by the Ancients to have been given to him, nothing but an induſtry of Braſs and Iron being able to hold out under ſuch infinite labours. The day he ſpent part in faſting, part in other religious exerciſes and imployments; the night he beſtowed upon the ſtudy of the Scripture, reſerving ſome little portion for ſleep and reſt, which he uſually took not in bed, but upon the bare ground. This admirably exerciſed and advanced his patience, which he improved by further auſterities, faſting, and enduring cold and nakedneſs, ſtudying ſtanding, and for many years together going barefoot, remitting nothing of his rigours and hardſhips, notwithſtanding all the counſels and perſuaſions of his friends, who were troubled at the exceſſive ſeverities of his life. Whereby notwithſtanding he gained upon men, and converted many of the *Gentile* Philoſophers, famous for learning and Philoſophy, not onely to the admiration but imitation of himſelf.

[a] *Euſeb. l. 6. c. 3. p. 205.*

[b] *Greg. Neocæſar. Orat. Panegyr. in Orig. p. 205.*

[c] *Euſeb. ib. p. 206.*

XXV. VIEW him in his natural parts and acquired abilities, and he had a quick piercing apprehenſion, a ſtrong and faithful memory, an acute judgment, a ready utterance. All which were adorned and accompliſhed with a prodigious furniture of learning, and all the improvements which *Rome* or *Greece* could afford; being incomparably ſkilled (as [d] S. *Hierom* and [e] *Suidas* obſerves) both in *Gentile* and Chriſtian learning, *Logic*, *Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, *Muſic*, *Philoſophy*, *Rhetoric*, and the ſeveral ſentiments and opinions of all the Sects of Philoſophy, and who always entertained his Auditors with ſomething above common obſervation. So great the force and acuteneſs of his parts (ſays *Vincentius Lerinenſis* [f]) ſo profound, quick and elegant, that none could come near him: ſo vaſt his ſtock of all ſorts of Learning, that there were few corners of divine, and perhaps none of humane Philoſophy,

[d] *De ſcript. in Orig.*

[e] *In Orig. p. 387.*

[f] *Contr. Hæreſ. c. 23. p. 55.*

which he had not accurately, ſearched into; and when the *Greeks* could lead him no further, with an unparallel'd induſtry he conquered the language and learning of the *Jews*. But no other character need be given him then what *Porphyry* [a], who knew him, (though a learned man [b], who from that paſſage in *Euſebius* makes him to have been his Scholar, proceeds doubtleſs upon a great miſtake) and was an enemy, beſtows upon him, that he was held in very great eſteem in thoſe times, and had purchaſed a more then ordinary glory and renown from the greateſt Maſters which Chriſtianity then had in the World, and that under the diſcipline of *Ammonius* he attained to an admirable skill in Learning and Philoſophy. The monuments and evidences whereof (as he there obſerves) were the Books and Writings which he left behind him, conſiderable not for their Subjects onely, but their multitude, ariſing to that vaſt number, that *Epiphanius* [c] tells us, it was commonly reported that he wrote ſix thouſand Volumes: The greateſt part of which being underſtood of Epiſtles, and ſingle Homilies, the account will not be above belief, nor give any juſt foundation for *Rufinus* and S. *Hierom* to wrangle ſo much about it, the latter of whom point-blank denies, that ever himſelf read, or that *Origen* himſelf wrote ſo many. [d] *Vincentius* affirms, that no man ever wrote ſo much as he, and that all his Books could not onely not be read, but not ſo much as be found out by any. So that it was not without reaſon that antiquity faſtned the title of *Syntacticus*, or *the Compoſer* upon him, his innumerable Diſcourſes upon all ſorts of Subjects juſtly appropriating that title to him. His Books were of old enumerated by many, and digeſted into their proper Claſſes, whether *Scholia*, ſhort ſtrictures upon obſcure difficult places, *Homilies* and *Tomes*, as the Ancients divided them; or *Exegetica* and *Syntagmata*, under which rank ſome Modern Writers comprehend them, the greateſt part whereof though they have long ſince periſhed through the careleſsneſs and ill will of ſucceeding Times, yet does a very large portion of them ſtill remain. His phraſe and way of writing is clear and unaffected, fluent and copious. [e] *Eraſmus* gives a high *encomium* of it, preferring it before moſt other Writers of the Church, that it is neither turgid and lofty, like that of S. *Hilary*, flying above the reach of ordinary Readers; nor ſet off with gaudy and far-fetcht ornaments, like that of S. *Hierom*; nor abounding with flowers of Rhetoric, and ſmart witty ſentences, like that of S. *Ambroſe*; nor over-ſeaſoned with tart and ſatyrical reflections, and obſcured with obſolete and antiquated terms, as that of *Tertullian*; not ſuperſtitious in the curious and accurate ſtructure of its ſeveral parts, like that of S. *Gregory*; nor running out into large digreſſions, nor affecting a chiming cadency of words, like that of St. *Auguſtin*: but always briſk and lively, eaſie and natural. But when he commends it for its conciſeneſs and brevity, he certainly forgot himſelf, or miſtook (and what wonder he ſhould, when tis like he took his meaſures not ſo much from the Original as Tranſlations.) For his ſtile though it be generally plain and perſpicuous, yet is it diffuſive and luxuriant, flowing with plenty of words, which might be often ſpared, and therefore charged by ſome of his critical adverſaries that he did *infinita verba multiplicare* [f], multiply an infinite crowd of words: and that κουφολογίᾳ περιηχήσας ἀπειροπληθεῖ τῶν κόσμον, he filled the World with a company of needleſs and idle words, which he unmeaſurably poured out, and that he did φλυαρίᾳ πολλῇ ταυτολογεῖν, exceedingly trifle with vain

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. l. 6. c. 19. p. 220.*
[b] *L. Holſten. de vit. & ſcript. Porphyr. c. 6. p. 27.*
[c] *ubi ſupr. p. 256. vid. Ruffin. Apol. pro Orig. inter Oper. Hier. T. 4. p. 197.*
[d] *Loc. citat.*
[e] *Cenſur. de Oper. Orig.*
[f] *Epiph. Ep. ad Joan. Hieroſol. ap. Hieron. T. 2. p. 158.*
[g] *Euſtath. Antioch. diſſert. de Engaſtrym. adv. Orig. inter. Crit. S. Tom. 8. col. 441, 453.*

vain tautologies and repetitions. A cenſure wherein envy and emulation muſt be ſuppoſed to have had the predominant and over-ruling ſtroke. For though abounding with words, he was always allowed to be eloquent, for which *Vincentius* highly commends him, affirming his phraſe to be ſo ſweet, pleaſant, and delightful, that there ſeemed to him to have dropt not words ſo much as honey from his mouth. *ubi ſup.*

XXVI. BUT that alas, which has caſt clouds and darkneſs upon all his glory, and buried ſo much of his fame in ignominy and reproach, is the dangerous and unſound doctrines and principles which are ſcattered up and down his writings, for which almoſt all Ages without any reverence to his parts, learning, piety, and the judgment of the wiſeſt and beſt of the times he lived in, have without any mercy pronounced him Heretic, and his ſentiments and ſpeculations raſh, abſurd, pernicious, blaſphemous, and indeed what not. The alarm began of old, and was purſued with a mighty clamour and fierceneſs, eſpecially by *Methodius* Biſhop of *Olympus*, *Euſtathius* of *Antioch*, *Apollinaris*, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and *Epiphanius*; and the cry carried on with a loud noiſe in after-ages, inſomuch that the very mention of his name is in the *Greek* Church abominable at this day. I had once reſolved to have conſidered the chief of thoſe notions and principles for which *Origen* is ſo heavily charged by the Ancients, but ſuperſeded that labor, when I found that the induſtry of the learned *Monſieur Huet* in his *Origeniana* had left no room for any to come after him, ſo fully, ſo clearly, ſo impartially, with ſuch infinite variety of reading has he diſcuſſed and canvaſſed this matter, and thither I remit the learned and capable Reader. And for thoſe that cannot or will not be at the pains to read his large and excellent Diſcourſes, they may conſult nearer hand the ingenious Author of the *Letter of Reſolution concerning* Origen, *and the chief of his opinions*; where they will find the moſt obnoxious of his *dogmata* reckoned up, and the Apologies and Defences which a ſincere lover of *Origen* might be ſuppoſed to make in his behalf, and theſe pleas repreſented with all the advantages with which Wit, Reaſon, and Eloquence could ſet them off. *Edit. Lond.* 1661. 4.

XXVII. NOR wanted there of old thoſe who ſtood up to plead and defend his cauſe, eſpecially *Pamphilus* the *Martyr*, and *Euſebius* who publiſhed an *Apology* in ſix Books in his behalf; the firſt five whereof were written by *Pamphilus* with *Euſebius* his aſſiſtance, while they were in priſon, the laſt finiſhed and added by *Euſebius* after the others Martyrdom. Beſides which, [a] *Photius* tells us there were many other famous men in thoſe times, who wrote Apologies for him, he gives us a particular account [b] of one, though without a name, where in five Books the Author endeavours to juſtifie *Origen* as ſound and Orthodox, and cites *Dionyſius*, *Demetrius*, and *Clemens*, all of *Alexandria*, and ſeveral others to give in evidence for him. The main of theſe Apologies are periſhed long ago, otherwiſe, probably *Origen*'s cauſe might appear with a better face, ſeeing we have now nothing but his notions dreſſed up and gloſſed by his profeſſed enemies, and many things aſcribed to him which he never owned, but were coined by his pretended followers. For my own part, I ſhall onely note from the Ancients ſome general remarques, which may be pleaded in abatement of the rigour and ſeverity of the ſentence uſually paſſed upon him. And *firſt*, many things were ſaid and written by him, not poſitively and dogmatically, but γυμνασίας χάριν, ſays the [c] Author of his Apology in *Photius*, by way of exercitation; [a] *Cod.* CXVIII. *col.* 297. [b] *Cod.* CXVII. *col.* 293. [c] *Ibid. col.* 296.

tion; and this he himſelf was wont to plead at every turn, and to beg the Readers pardon, and profeſs that he propounded theſe things not as Doctrins, but as diſputable Problems, and with a deſign to ſearch and find out the truth, as [a] *Pamphilus* aſſures us, and S. *Hierom* himſelf [b] cannot but confeſs: and if we had the teſtimony of neither, there is enough to this purpoſe in his Books ſtill extant, to put it beyond all juſt exception. Thus diſcourſing concerning the union of the two natures in the perſon of our bleſſed Saviour, he affirms [c] it to be a myſtery which no created underſtanding can ſufficiently explain; concerning which (ſays he) not from any raſhneſs of ours, but onely as the order of Diſcourſe requires, we ſhall briefly ſpeak rather what our Faith contains, then what humane Reaſon is wont to aſſert, producing rather our own conjectures, then any plain and peremptory affirmations. And to the ſame purpoſe he expreſſes himſelf at every turn. Not to ſay that he wrote many things in the heat of diſputation, which it may be his cooler and more conſidering thoughts would have ſet right. So the Apologiſt in *Photius* [d] pleads, that whatever he ſaid amiſs in the doctrin of the *Trinity*, proceeded meerly from a vehement oppoſition of *Sabellius*, who confounded the number and difference of perſons, and whoſe Sect was one of the moſt prevailing Hereſies of that time. The confutation whereof made him attempt a greater difference and diſtinction in the perſons, then the rules of Faith did ſtrictly allow. *Secondly*, thoſe Books of his [e], wherein he betrays the moſt unſound and unwarrantable notions, were written privately, and with no intention of being made public, but as ſecrets communicable among friends, and not as doctrines to diſturb the Church. And this he freely acknowledged in his Letter to *Fabian* [f] Biſhop of *Rome*, and caſt the blame upon his friend *Ambroſius*, *quod ſecretò edita in publicum protulerit*, that he had publiſhed thoſe things which he meant ſhould go no further then the breſts or hands of his deareſt friends. And there is always allowed a greater freedom and latitude in debating things among friends, the ſecrets whereof ought not to be divulged, nor the Public made Judges of that innocent liberty which is taken within mens private walls. *Thirdly*, the diſallowed opinions that he maintains are many of them ſuch as were not the Catholic and determined Doctrins of the Church, not defined by Synods, nor diſputed by Divines, but either Philoſophical, or Speculations which had not been thought on before, and which he himſelf at every turn cautiouſly diſtinguiſhes from thoſe propoſitions which were entertained by the common and current conſent and approbation of the Chriſtian Church. Sure I am he lays it down as a fundamental maxim, in the very entrance upon that [g] Book, wherein his moſt dangerous aſſertions are contained, that thoſe Eccleſiaſtic Doctrins are to be preſerved, which had been ſucceſſively delivered from the Apoſtles, and were then received, and that nothing was to be embraced for truth that any ways differed from the tradition of the Church.

XXVIII. FOURTHLY, Divers of *Origen's* works have been corrupted and interpolated by evil hands, and Heretics to add a luſtre and authority to their opinions by the veneration of ſo great a name, have inſerted their own aſſertions, or altered his, and made him ſpeak their language. An argument which however laughed at by S. *Hierom* [i], is yet ſtiffly maintained by *Rufinus* [k], who ſhews this to have been an old and common art of Heretics, and that they dealt thus with the writings of

[a] *Apolog. ap. Hieron. Tom. 4. p. 172.*
[b] *Ad Avit. p. 151. Tom. 2.*
[c] Περὶ ἀρχ. *l. 2. c. 6. p. 698.*
[d] *Cod. CXVII. col. 296.*
[e] *Pamph. Apol. ubi ſupr. p. 174, 177.*
[f] *Ap. Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Pammach. de err. Orig. p. 193. T. 2.*
[g] *Præf. ad lib.* Περὶ ἀρχ. *p. 665.*
[i] *Ad Pammach. ubi ſupr.*
[k] *Apol. pro Orig. apud Hier. Tom. 4. p. 194, 195. &c. & Præf. ad lib.* Περὶ ἀρχ. *ib. Tom. 2. p. 188.*

of *Clemens Romanus*, of *Clemens*, and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, of *Athanaſius*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and many more. *Dionyſius* [c] the famous Biſhop of *Corinth*, who lived many years before *Origen*, aſſures us he was ſerved at this rate; that at the requeſt of the brethren he had written ſeveral Epiſtles, but that the Apoſtles and Emiſſaries of the Devil had filled them with weeds and tares, expunging ſome things, and adding others. The *Apologiſt* in *Photius* [d] tells us *Origen* himſelf complained of this in his life time; and ſo indeed he does in his [e] Letter to them of *Alexandria*, where he ſmartly reſents that charge of blaſphemy had been aſcribed to him and his doctrine, of which he was never guilty, and that it was leſs wonder if his doctrine was adulterated, when the great S. *Paul* could not eſcape their hands; he tells them of an eminent Heretic, that having taken a Copy of a diſpute which he had had with him, did afterwards cut off, and add what he pleas'd, and change it into another thing, carrying it about with him, and glorying in it. And when ſome friends in *Paleſtin* ſent it to him then at *Athens*, he returned them a true and authentic Copy of it. And the ſame foul play he lets them know he had met with in other places, as at *Epheſus* and at *Antioch*, as he there particularly relates. And if they durſt do this while he was yet alive, and able (as he did) to right himſelf, what may we think they would do after his death, when there were none to controul them? And upon this account moſt of thoſe aſſertions muſt eſpecially be diſcharged, wherein *Origen* is made to contradict himſelf, it being highly improbable (as *Ruſinus* [f] well urges) that ſo prudent and learned a perſon, one far enough from being either fool or mad man, ſhould write things ſo contrary and repugnant to one another. And that not only in divers, but in one and the ſame Book.

[c] *Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 23. p. 145.*

[d] *ubi ſupr.*

[e] *Ap. Ruffin. ib. Tom. 4. p. 195.*

[f] *Loc. cit. p. 194.*

XXIX. I might further obſerve his conſtant zeal againſt Heretics, his oppoſing and refuting of them wherever he came both by word and writing, his being ſent for into foreign Countries to convince gainſayers, his profeſſing to abominate all heretical doctrines, and his refuſing ſo much as to communicate in prayer with *Paul* the Heretic of *Antioch*, though his whole maintenance did depend upon it. And methinks it deſerves to be conſidered, that *Athanaſius* in all the heat of the *Arrian* controverſies (then whom certainly none was ever more diligent to ſearch out heretical perſons and opinions, or more accurate in examining and refuting the chief of thoſe doctrines, that are laid at *Origen*'s door) ſhould never charge him upon that account. Nay he particularly quotes him [g] to to prove our Lords coeternity and coeſſentiality with the Father exactly according to the deciſions of the *Nicene* Synod, diſmiſſing him with the honourable character of θεωμάσιος & φιλοπονώτατος, the *moſt admirable, and infinitely induſtrious perſon*. Nor is there any heterodox opinion of his, that I know of, once taken notice of in all his works, but only that concerning the duration of future torments, and that too but [h] obliquely mentioned. Whence I am apt to conclude, either that *Origen*'s writings were not then ſo notoriouſly guilty, or that this great man, and zealous defender of the Churches doctrin (who being Biſhop of *Alexandria* could not be ignorant of what *Origen* had taught or written, nay aſſures us, he had read his Books) did not look upon thoſe dangerous things that were in them, as his ſenſe. And indeed ſo he ſays expreſly; that what things he wrote by way of controverſie and diſputation, are not to be looked upon as his own words and ſen-

[g] *Decret. Synod. Nic. contr. Hæreſ. Arrian. p. 277. T. 1. vid. de Blaſph. in S. S. p. 971. & Socr. H. E. l. 6. c. 13. p. 320.*

[h] *De Com. eſſent. Patr. F. & SS. p. 236. T. 1.*

ſentiments, but as thoſe of his contentious adverſaries whom he had to deal with, which accordingly in the paſſages he cites he carefully diſtinguiſhes from *Origen*'s own words and ſenſe. To all which I may add, that when the controverſie about the condemnation of his Books was driven [a] on moſt furiouſly by *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius*, *Theotimus* the good *Scythian* Biſhop plainly told *Epiphanius*, that for his part he would never ſo much diſhonour a perſon ſo venerable for his piety and antiquity, nor durſt he condemn what their Anceſtors never rejected, eſpecially when there were no ill and miſchievous Doctrins in *Origen*'s Works; therewithall pulling out a Book of *Origen*'s, which he read before the whole Convention, and ſhewed it to contain Expoſitions agreeable to the Articles of the Church. With theſe two excellent perſons let me join the judgment of a Writer of the middle Ages of the Church, [b] *Haymo* Biſhop of *Halberſtad*, who ſpeaking of the things laid to *Origen*'s charge: "For my part (ſays he) ſaving the faith of the "Ancients, I affirm of him, either that he never wrote theſe things, but "that they were wickedly forged by Heretics, and fathered upon his "name; or if he did write them, he wrote them not as his own judg"ment, but as the opinion of others. And if, as ſome would have it, "they were his own ſentiments, we ought rather to deal compaſſionately "with ſo learned a man, who has conveyed ſo vaſt a treaſury of Learn"ing to us. What faults there are in his Writings, thoſe orthodox and "uſeful things which they contain, are abundantly ſufficient to over"ballance.

[a] *Socrat. H. Eccl. l.6. c.12. p.319.*

[b] *Breviar. H. Eccl. l.6. c.3. p.108,109.*

XXX. THIS and a great deal more is, and may be pleaded in *Origen*'s defence. And yet after all it muſt be confeſſed, that he was guilty of great miſtakes, and raſh propoſitions, which the largeſt charity cannot excuſe. He had a natural warmth and fervor of mind, a comprehenſive wit, an inſatiable thirſt after knowledge, and a deſire to underſtand the moſt abſtruſe and myſterious ſpeculations of Theology, which made him give himſelf an unbounded liberty in inquiring into, and diſcourſing of the nature of things, he wrote much, and dictated apace, and was ingaged in infinite variety of buſineſs, which ſeldom gave him leiſure to review and correct his writings, and to let them paſs the cenſure of ſecond and maturer thoughts; he traded greatly in the writings of the Heathens, and was infinitely ſolicitous to make the doctrines of Chriſtianity look as little unlike as might be to their beſt and beloved notions. And certainly what *Marcellus* [c] Biſhop of *Ancyra* long ſince objected againſt him, is unqueſtionably true (notwithſtanding what *Euſebius* has ſaid to ſalve it) that coming freſh out of the philoſophic Schools, and having been a long time accurately trained up in the principles and books of *Plato*, he applied himſelf to divine things, before he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to receive them, and fell upon writing concerning them, while ſecular learning had yet the predominancy in his mind, and ſo unwarily mingled philoſophic notions with Chriſtian principles, further than the analogy of the Chriſtian faith would allow. And I doubt not but whoever would paralell his and and the *Platonic* principles, would find that moſt of the πεῤῥίας δόξας he is charged with, his maſter-notions were brought out of the School of *Plato*, as the above mentioned *Huetius* has in many things particularly obſerved. S. *Hierom* himſelf (whom the torrent of that time made a ſevere enemy to *Origen*) could but have ſo much tenderneſs for him, even in that very Tract [b] wherein he paſſes

[c] *Ap. Euſeb. contr. Marcel. l.1. p.23.*

[b] *Ad Pammach. de error. Orig. p. 192. Tom.2.*

the

the deepeſt cenſures upon him, after he had commended him for his parts, zeal, and ſtrictneſs of life; "Which of us (ſays he) is able to read "ſo much as he has written? who would not admire the ardent and "ſprightly temper of his mind towards the holy Scriptures? But if any "envious Zealot ſhall object his errours to us, let him freely hear what "was ſaid of old:

—— Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.
Verum opere in longo fas eſt obrepere ſomnum.

Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 359. p. 815.

In a long Work each ſlip the *Cenſors* Rod
Does not deſerve. *Homer* does ſometimes nod.

"Let us not imitate his Faults, whoſe Vertues we cannot reach. Others "both *Greeks* and *Latines* have erred in the faith as well as he, whom "it's not neceſſary to name, leſt we might ſeem to defend him, not by "his own merit, but by the miſtakes of other men. To all that has been hitherto ſaid, I may add this, that ſuppoſe him guilty of as peſtilent and dangerous errours as the worſt of his enemies lay to his charge, yet he afterwards repented of what he had raſhly and unadviſedly written, as appears by his Epiſtle to *Fabian* [a] Biſhop of *Rome*. And is it not intolerable rudeneſs and incivility at leaſt, perpetually to upbraid and reproach a man with the faults of his paſt life, and which he himſelf has diſowned? Sorrow for what is paſt in ſome meaſure repairs the breach, and Repentance muſt be allowed next door to Innocence.

[a] *Ap. Hier. ubi ſupr. p. 193. vid. Ruff. Invect. I. in Hieron. inter oper. Hier. T. 4. p. 219. Primus ſælicitatis gradus eſt, non delinquere: Secundus, delicta cognoſcere. Illic currit innocentia integra & illibata quæ ſervet, hîc ſuccedit medela quæ ſanet. Cypr. ad Cornel. Epiſt. 55. p. 83.*

His Writings mentioned by the Ancients, and which of them extant at this day.

Homiliarum myſticarum in Geneſ. Lib. II.
Commentar. in Geneſ. Lib. XIII.
Extant Latine Homiliæ XVII.
Commentar. Tomi in Exodum.
Ext. Latine Homiliæ XII.
Scholia in Leviticum
Ext. Homiliæ XVI.
In Numeros extant Lat. Homiliæ XXVIII.
In Deuteronomium Homiliæ.
In Libr. Jeſu Nave ext. Homil. XXVI *Lat.*
In Libr. Judicum ext. Hom. IX. *Lat.*
In I. *Lib. Regum Homil.* IV.
In Lib. II. *extat Homilia una.*
In Lib. Paralipom. Homil. I.
In duos Eſdræ Libros Homiliæ.
In Libr. Job Tractatus.
In Pſalmos { *Commentarii.* *Homiliæ.* *Scholia.*
Ext. Lat. in Pſalm. 36. *Hom.* V. *in Pſal.* 37. *Hom.* II. *in Pſal.* 38. *Hom.* II.
In Proverbia Salom. Commentar.
Explicatio Eccleſiaſtis.
In Canticum Cantic. Commentarii.
Ext. Lat. Homiliæ II.
In Eſaiam { *Commentar. Libri* XXX. *Homiliæ* XXV. *Scholia.*
Ext. Lat. Homiliæ IX.
In Jeremiam Homiliæ XLV.
Extant Gr. Lat. Homil. XVII.
In Threnos Tomi IX.
In Ezechielem Tomi XXV.
Ext. Lat. Homil. XIV.

In

In Danielem Expoſitio.
In XII. *Prophetas Tomi* XXV.
In Matthæum { *Comment. Lib.* XXV. / *Homiliæ* XXV. / *Scholia.*
Ext. Gr. Lat. Tomi VII.
In Lucam Commentar. Tomi V.
Ext. Lat. Homiliæ XXXIX.
In Joannem Commentar. Tom. XXXII.
Ext. Gr. Lat. Tom. IX.
In Acta Apoſtolorum Homil. aliquot.
In Epiſtolam ad Romanos Explanationum Lib. XX.
Ext. Lat. Libri X.
In I. *ad Corinthios Commentarii.*
In Epiſt. ad Galatas { *Commentarii.* / *Homiliæ.* / *Scholia.*
In Epiſt. ad Epheſ. Comment. Lib. III.
In Epiſt. ad Coloſſ. Commentarii.
In I. *ad Theſſ. Vol. (ut minimum)* III.
In Epiſt. ad Titum.
In Epiſt. ad Hebræos { *Commentarii* / *Homiliæ.*
Tetrapla.
Hexapla.
Octapla.
Commentarii in Veteres Philoſophos.
De Reſurrectione Libri II.
De Reſurrectione Dialogi.
Stromatum Libri X.
Diſputationes cum Beryllo.
Περὶ ἀρχῶν, *ſeu de Principiis Lib.* IV. *Ext. Lat.*
Contra Celſum Lib. VIII. *Ext. Gr. L.*
De Martyrio. Ext. Gr. L.
Homil. de Engaſtrimytho. Ext. Gr. L.
De Oratione. Ext. Gr. Ms.
Philocalia de aliquot præcipuis Theologiæ locis & quæſtionibus ex Origenis ſcriptis à S. Baſilio & Gregor. Naz. excerptis, cap. XXVII. *ext. Gr. L.*
Epiſtolæ fere infinitæ, ex his hodie ext.
Epiſtola ad Jul. Africanum de Hiſtor. Suſannæ, Gr. L.
Epiſtola ad Gregorium Thaumaturgum. Ext. Gr. L. in Philocalia.
Doubtful.
Dialogus contra Marcionitas, de recta in Deum fide. Ext. Gr. L.
Suppoſititious.
In Libri Job Tract. III. *& Comment. in eundem.*
Commentarius in Evangel. S. Marci.
Homiliæ in diverſos.
De Philoſophorum Sectis & dogmatibus.
Lamentum Origenis.
Scholia in Orationem Dominicam, & in Cantica B. Virginis, Zachariæ, & Simeonis.

The End of ORIGEN's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. BABYLAS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

S. BABYLAS ANTIOCHENUS.

His Originals obſcure. His education and accompliſhments enquired into. Made Biſhop of Antioch, *when.* Antioch *taken by the King of* Perſia. *Recovered by the* Roman *Emperour.* Babylas *his fidelity in his charge.*

The Decian *Perſecution, and the grounds of it: ſeverely urged by the Emperours Edicts.* Decius *his coming to* Antioch. *His attempt to break into the Chriſtian Congregation.* Babylas *his bold reſiſtance. This applied to* Numerianus, *and the ground of the miſtake. The like reported of* Philip *the Emperour.* Decius *his bloudy act related by* S. Chryſoſtom. *His rage againſt* Babylas, *and his examination of him. The Martyrs reſolute anſwer. His impriſonment and hard uſage. The different accounts concerning his death. Three Youths his fellow-ſufferers, in vain attempted by the Emperour. Their Martyrdom firſt, and why.* Babylas *beheaded. His command that his chains ſhould be buried with him. The tranſlation of his body under* Conſtantius. *The great ſweetneſs and pleaſantneſs of the* Daphne. Apollo's *Temple there. S.* Babylas *his bones tranſlated thither by* Gallus Cæſar. *The Oracle immediately rendered dumb. In vain conſulted by* Julian. *The confeſſion of the* Dæmon. Julian's *command for removing* Babylas *his bones. The Martyrs Remains triumphantly carried into the City. The credit of this Story ſufficiently atteſted. The thing owned by* Libanius *and* Julian. *Why ſuch honour ſuffered to be done to the Martyr.* Julian *afraid of an immediate vengeance. His Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians at* Antioch. *The ſufferings of* Theodorus. *The Temple of* Apollo *fired from Heaven.*

I. SO great and general is the ſilence of Church-Antiquity in the Acts of this holy Martyr, eſpecially the former part of his life, that I ſhould wholly paſs him over, did not his latter times furniſh us with ſome few memorable paſſages concerning him. His Countrey, Parents, Education, and way of life, are all unknown, as alſo whether he was born and bred a *Gentile*, or a Chriſtian. No doubt he was trained up under the advantages of a liberal and ingenuous education, living in places that opportunely miniſtred unto it, and in times when none but men of known parts and eminency both for Learning and Piety were advanced to the Government of the Church: and when great meaſures of Arts and Learning were not onely commendable, but neceſſary, both to feed and preſerve the Flock of God, to reſiſt and convince gainſayers, and to defend Chriſtianity againſt the attempts both of ſecret and open Enemies. For as the Chriſtian Church never wanted profeſſed Adverſaries from without, who endeavoured both by Sword and Pen to ſtifle and ſuppreſs its growth, nor pretended Friends from within, who by Schiſms and Hereſies diſturbed its Peace, and tore out its very Bowels; ſo never were theſe more predominant then in thoſe Times, and parts of the World wherein this good man lived.

II. *ANN. Chr.* CCXXXIX. *Gordian Imper.* I. died [a] *Zebinus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, in whoſe room *Babylas* ſucceeded. He was a ſtout and prudent Pilot, who (as S. *Chryſoſtom* [b] ſays of him) guided the holy Veſſel of that Church in the midſt of Storms and Tempeſts, and the many Waves that beat upon it. Indeed in the beginning of his Preſidency over that Church he met not with much trouble from the *Roman* Powers, the old Enemies of Chriſtianity, but a fierce ſtorm blew from another quarter. For *Sapor* King of [c] *Perſia* had lately invaded the *Roman* Empire, and having over-run all *Syria*, had beſieged and taken *Antioch*, and ſo great a dread

[a] *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l.* 6. *c.* 29. *p.* 229.
[b] *Homil. de S. Babyl. p.* 641. *Tom.* I.
[c] *Capitol. in Gordian.* III. *c.* 26. *p.* 669.

dread did his Conqueſts ſtrike into all parts, that the terrour of them flew into *Italy*, and ſtartled them even at *Rome* it ſelf. He grievouſly oppreſſed the People of *Antioch*, and what treatment the Chriſtians there muſt needs find under ſo mercileſs and inſolent an Enemy (at no time favourable to Chriſtians) is no hard matter to imagine. But it was not long before God broke this yoke from off their necks. For *Gordian* the Emperour raiſing a mighty Army, marched into the *Eaſt*, and having cleared the Countries as he went along, came into *Syria*, and went directly for *Antioch*, where he totally routed the *Perſian* Army, recovered *Antioch* and the conquered Cities, and gained ſome conſiderable places belonging to *Sapor*, whom he forced to retire back into his own Countrey: of all which he gives an account in a * Letter to the *Senate*, who joyfully received the news, and decreed him a triumph at his return to *Rome*. * *Ibid. c.* 27. *p.* 670.

III. THE Church of *Antioch* being thus reſtored to its former tranquillity, *Babylas* attended his charge with all diligence and fidelity, inſtructing, feeding, and governing his Flock, preparing both young and old to undergo the hardeſt things, which their Religion might expoſe them to, as if he had particularly foreſeen that black and diſmal Perſecution that was ſhortly to overtake them. Having quietly paſſed through the reign of *Philip* (who was ſo far from creating any diſturbance to the Chriſtians, that he is generally, though groundleſly, ſuppoſed to have been a Chriſtian himſelf) he fell into the troubleſome and ſtormy times of *Decius*, who was unexpectedly advanced, and in a manner forced upon the Empire. One, whoſe character might have paſſed among none of the worſt of Princes, if he had not ſo indelebly ſtained his memory with his outragious violence againſt the Chriſtians. The main cauſe whereof the generality of Writers, taking the hint from *Euſebius* [a], make to have been hatred to his Predeceſſor *Philip*, a Chriſtian, as they account him, and whom he reſolved to puniſh in his ſpleen and malice againſt them. But methinks much more probable is the account which *Gregory Nyſſen* [b] gives of this matter, *viz.* the large ſpread and triumphant prevalency of the Chriſtian Faith, which had diffuſed it ſelf over all parts, and planted every corner, and filled not Cities onely, but Countrey Villages; the Temples were forſaken, and Churches frequented, Altars overthrown, and Sacrifices turned out of doors. This vaſt increaſe of Chriſtianity, and great declenſion of Paganiſm, awakened *Decius* to look about him: he was vexed to ſee the Religion of the Empire trodden under foot, and the worſhip of the gods every where ſlighted and neglected, oppoſed and undermined by a novel and upſtart Sect of Chriſtians, which daily multiplied into greater numbers. This made him reſolve with all poſſible force to check and control this growing Sect, and to try by methods of cruelty to weary Chriſtians out of their Profeſſion, and to reduce the People to the Religion of their Anceſtors. Whereupon he iſſued out Edicts to the Governours of Provinces, ſtrictly commanding them to proceed with all ſeverity againſt Chriſtians, and to ſpare no manner of torments, unleſs they returned to the obedience and worſhip of the gods. Though I doubt not but this was the main Spring that ſet the rage and malice of their enemies on work, yet *Cyprian* [c] like a man of great piety and modeſty, ſeeks a cauſe nearer home, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that their own ſins had ſet open the Flood-gates for the divine diſpleaſure to break in upon them, while

[a] *H. Eccl. l. 6. c.* 39. *p.* 234.

[b] *De vit. Greg. Thaum. p.* 999. *Tom.* 2.

[c] *Epiſt.* VII. *p.* 16.

Pride, and Self-ſeeking, Schiſm and Faction reigned ſo much among them, the very Martyrs themſelves, who ſhould have been a good example unto others, caſting off the order and diſcipline of the Church; and being ſwelled with ſo vain and immoderate a tumor, it was time God ſhould ſend them a thorn in the fleſh to cure it.

IV. THE Provincial Governours forward enough to run of themſelves upon ſuch an errand, made much more haſte, when they were not onely encouraged, but threatned into it by the Imperial Edicts, ſo that the Perſecution was carried on in all parts with a quick and a high hand, concerning the ſeverity whereof we ſhall ſpeak more elſewhere. At preſent it may ſuffice to remarque that it ſwept away many of the moſt eminent Biſhops of the Church, *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, and ſeveral others. Nor was it long before it came to S. *Babylas* his door. For *Decius* probably about the middle of his reign, or ſome time before his *Thracian* expedition, wherein he loſt his life, came into *Syria*, and ſo to *Antioch*, to take order about his affairs that concerned the *Perſian* War. I confeſs his coming into theſe parts is not mentioned in the *Roman* Hiſtories, and no wonder, the accounts of his life either not having been written by the *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores*, or if they were, having long ſince periſhed, and few of his Acts are taken notice of in thoſe Hiſtorians that yet remain. However the thing is plainly enough owned by Eccleſiaſtical Writers. While * he continued here, either out of curioſity, or a deſign to take ſome more plauſible advantage to fall upon them, he would needs go into the Chriſtian Congregation, when the public Aſſembly was met together. This *Babylas* would by no means give way to, but ſtanding in the Church Porch, with an undanted courage and reſolution oppoſed him, telling him, that as much as lay in his power, he would never endure that a Wolf ſhould break in upon Chriſts Sheepfold. The Emperour urged it no further at preſent, either being unwilling to exaſperate the rage and fury of the People, or deſigning to effect it ſome other way. This paſſage there are, and *Nicephorus* among the reſt, (with whom accord exactly the *Menæa* and *Menologies* of the *Greek* Church) that aſcribe not to *Decius*, but *Numerianus* (whom *Suidas* his Tranſlator corruptly ſtiles *Marianus*) who reigned at leaſt thirty years after. A miſtake without any pillar or ground of truth to ſupport it, there being at that time no *Babylas* Biſhop of *Antioch*, whom all agree to have ſuffered under the *Decian* Perſecution. And it is not improbable what *Baronius* † conjectures, but the miſtake might at firſt ariſe from this, that there was under *Decius* one *Numerius*, one of the Generals of the Army, a violent perſecutor of the Chriſtians, whom 'tis not to be doubted the firſt miſtakers of the report confounded with *Numerianus*, and applied to him what belonged to the Emperour, under whom he ſerved.

V. *EUSEBIUS* relates a like paſſage to this, but attributes it to the Emperour *Philip*, *Decius* his Predeceſſor, telling us, that when on the *Vigils* of *Eaſter* he would have gone with the reſt of the Chriſtians into the Church, to be preſent at their Prayers, the Biſhop of the place would by no means ſuffer him, unleſs he would make public confeſſion of his ſins, and paſs through the Order of the Penitents, for that he had been guilty of many hainous and enormous crimes, which he readily ſubmitted to. But beſides that, this is laid as the main foundation of *Philip*'s falſly ſuppoſed Chriſtianity, *Euſebius* juſtifies it by no better authority

then

* *Chryſoſt. lib. de S. Babyl. Tom. 6. pag. 658. & paſſim. Philoſt. H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 8. p. 94. Suid. in voc.* Βαβυλᾶς, *Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 10. c. 28. p. 63.*

† *Ad Ann. 253. n.* CXXVI. *vid. S. Metaphr. in Martyr. S. Iſidor. apud. Sur. Feb. V. p. 48.*

‡ *H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 34. p. 232.*

then Fame and meer Report. And indeed ſtands alone in this matter. For though ſome of the Ancients referred it to *Numerian*, yet none but he entitled *Philip* to it. S. *Chryſoſtom* in a large [a] *Encomiaſtic* (wherein he deſcribes this Act of *Babylas* in all the colours wherein Wit and Eloquence could repreſent it, particularly equalling it with the ſpirit and freedom of *Elias* and *John* the *Baptiſt*) tells us, that when the Emperour made this attempt, he had newly waſhed his hands in innocent bloud, having barbarouſly, and againſt the faith of his moſt ſolemn Oath, and the Laws of Nations, put to death the little Son of a certain King, whom his Father had given in hoſtage to ſecure a Peace made between them. This probably was either the ſon of ſome petty Prince in thoſe parts, who entered into a League with him while he was at *Antioch*, or ſome young Prince of *Perſia*, pawned as a pledge to enſure the Peace between thoſe two Crowns, and whom he had no ſooner received, but either to gratifie his cruelty, or elſe pretending ſome fraud in the Articles, he inhumanely butchered. The Author of the [b] *Alexandrin Chronicon*, tells us, and vouches *Leontius* Biſhop of *Antioch* for the relation, that *Philip* (in the *Greek* is added ὁ Ἰωνίωρ, probably for ὁ Ἰούλιος, the ſirname of that Emperour, and not *Junior*, the Younger, as the Tranſlator renders it, and elſewhere corrects it by Πρεσβύτερος, the *Elder*) being Governour of a Province in the reign of *Gordianus*, *Gordian* had committed the care of his young ſon to him, whom after his Fathers death he ſlew, and uſurped the Empire: that being thus guilty of murther, though he was a Chriſtian, yet S. *Babylas* would not admit him or his Wife into the Church; for which affront offered to ſo great perſons, and not meerly becauſe he was a Chriſtian himſelf, *Decius* afterwards put S. *Babylas* to death. A ſtrange medley of true and falſe, as indeed 'tis the cuſtom of that Author to confound times, things, and perſons. However moſt evident it is from *Chryſoſtom*, that it was the ſame Emperour by whom this young Prince was murdered, and S. *Babylas* put to death, which could be no other then *Decius*; who with hands thus reeking in the bloud of the innocent, would have irreverently ruſhed into the holy place of the Chriſtian Sanctuary, where none but pure hands were lift up to Heaven.

[a] *ubi ſupr. p. 655.*

[b] *Olymp. CCLVII. 4. Decii 1. Indict. XIV. p. 630. vid. ibid. p. 628.*

VI. *DECIUS*, though for the preſent he diſſembled [c] his anger and went away, yet inwardly reſented the affront, and being returned to the Palace, ſent for *Babylas*, and having ſharply expoſtulated with him for the boldneſs and inſolency of the Fact, commanded him to do Sacrifice to the gods, aſſuring him that this was the onely expedient to expiate his crime, divert his puniſhment, and to purchaſe him honour and renown. The Martyr anſwered to all his enquiries with a generous confidence, deſpiſed his profers, and defied his threats, told him, that as to the offence wherewith he charged him, he was obliged as a Paſtor readily to do whatever was conducive to the benefit of his Flock; and for his command, he was reſolved never to apoſtatize from the ſervice of the true God and ſacrifice to Devils, and thoſe who falſly uſurped the name and honour of Deities. The Emperour finding his reſolutions firm and inflexible, gave order that chains and fetters ſhould be clapt upon him, with which he was ſent to priſon, where he endured [d] many ſevere hardſhips and ſufferings, but yet rejoiced in his bonds, and was more troubled at the miſery that attended him that ſent him thither, then at the weight of his own chains, or the ſharpneſs of thoſe torments that

[c] *Philoſt. & Suid. ubi ſupr.*

[d] *Chryſoſt. loc. cit. p. 667, 668. martyr. Rom. ad Januar. XXIV.*

that were heaped upon him. So naturally does Chriſtianity teach us *to bleſs them that curſe us, to pray for them that deſpightfully uſe and perſecute us*, and *to overcome evil with good.*

VII. THERE is ſome little difference in the accounts of the Ancients, concerning the manner of his Martyrdom. [a] *Euſebius* and ſome others make him after a famous confeſſion to die in Priſon; while [b] *Chryſoſtom* (whom I rather incline to believe in this matter, as more capable to know the Traditions and examine the Records of that Church) and *Suidas* affirm, that being bound he was led forth out of Priſon to undergo his Martyrdom, the one plainly intimating, the other poſitively expreſſing it, that he was beheaded. The fatal ſentence being paſſed, as he was led to execution, he began his Song of triumph, *Return unto thy reſt, O my ſoul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with me.* Together with him were led along three Youths Brothers, (whoſe names the *Roman Martyrology* * tells us, were *Urbanus*, *Prilidianus*, and *Epolonius* whom he had carefully inſtructed in the Faith, and had trained up for ſo ſevere a trial. The Emperour not doubting to prevail upon their tender years, had taken them from their Tutor, and treated them with all kinds of hardſhip and cruelty, as methods moſt apt to make impreſſion upon weak and timorous minds. But perceiving them immovably determined not to ſacrifice, he commanded them alſo to be beheaded. Being arrived at the place of execution, *Babylas* placed the Children firſt, giving them the precedency of Martyrdom, leſt the ſpectacle of his bloudy fate ſhould relax their conſtancy, and make them deſert their ſtation. As the Officer was taking off their heads, he cried aloud, *Behold, I and the children which the Lord hath given me*; and after that laid down his own neck upon the Block, having firſt [b] given order to his friends, to whom he had committed the care of his body, that his Chains and Fetters ſhould be buried in the ſame grave with him, that they might there remain as Enſigns of honour, and the badges of his ſufferings, and as evidences how much he accounted thoſe things which ſeem moſt ignominious among men, to be for Chriſts ſake moſt ſplendid and honourable: imitating therein the great S. *Paul*, who took pleaſure in bonds, chains, impriſonments, reproaches, profeſſing to rejoice and glory in nothing ſo much as in his ſufferings, and in the Croſs of Chriſt. Accordingly his chains were laid up with him in the Grave, where *Chryſoſtom* aſſures us they remained in his time.

[a] *Lib. 6. c. 39. p. 234.*
[b] *Loc. cit. p. 669.*
* *Loc. citat.*
[b] *Chryſoſt. Suid. Martyr. Rom. ubi ſupra.*

VIII. WHERE his body was firſt buried, we are not told; but whereever it was, there it reſted till the reign of *Conſtantius*, when it had a more magnificent interment, which proved the occaſion of one of the moſt remarkable occurrences that Church-antiquity has conveyed to us. There was a [c] place in the *Suburbs* of *Antioch* called *Daphne*, a place that ſeemed to be contrived by nature on purpoſe as the higheſt Scene of pleaſure and delight. It was a delicate Grove thick ſet with *Cypreſs*, and other Trees which according to the ſeaſon afforded all manner of fruits and flowers. Furniſhed it was with infinite variety of ſhady Walks, the Trees joining their buſhy heads forbad the approaches of the Sun to annoy and ſcorch them; watered with plenty of Chryſtal Fountains and pleaſant Rivulets, the air cool and temperate, and the wind playing within the boughs of the Trees, added a natural harmony and delightful murmur. It was the uſual Scene of the Poets amorous and wanton fancies, and indeed ſo great a temptation to intemperance

[c] *Chryſoſt. ibid. p. 671. Sozom. l. 6. c. 19. p. 625. Niceph. l. 10. c. 28. p. 61.*

temperance and riot, that it was accounted ſcandalous for a good man to be ſeen there. But that which was the greateſt glory of the place was a ſtately and magnificent Temple, ſaid to be erected there by *Seleucus* Father to *Antiochus*, who built *Antioch*, and by him dedicated to *Apollo Daphnæus*, who alſo had a very coſtly and ancient Image placed within the Temple, where Oracles were given forth, which gave not the leaſt addition to the renown and honour of it. And in this condition it remained, till *Gallus*, *Julian*'s elder Brother, being lately created *Cæſar* by his Couſin *Conſtantius*, was ſent to reſide at *Antioch*, to ſecure thoſe frontier parts of the Empire againſt the incurſions of the Enemy. He having a ſingular veneration for the memories of Chriſtian Martyrs, reſolved to purge this place from its lewd Cuſtoms and Pagan Superſtitions. Which he thought he could not more effectually compaſs then by building a Church over againſt *Apollo*'s Temple; which was no ſooner finiſhed and beautified, but he cauſed S. *Babylas* his Coffin to be tranſlated thither.

IX. THE Devil it ſeems liked him not for ſo near a neighbour, his preſence ſtriking him dumb, ſo that henceforth not one ſyllable of an Oracle was given out. This ſilence was at firſt [a] looked upon as the effect onely of neglect, that the ſullen *Dæmon* would not anſwer, becauſe he had not his uſual tribute of Sacrifices, Incenſe, and other Ritual honours paid to him; but was found afterwards to ariſe from the neighbourhood of S. *Babylas* his aſhes, which cauſed their ſecond removal upon this occaſion. *Julian* having ſucceeded *Conſtantius* in the Empire, came to *Antioch* in order to his expedition into *Perſia*, and being intolerably overgrown with ſuperſtition, preſently went up to *Apollo*'s Temple, to conſult [b] the Oracle about the ſucceſs of the War, and ſome other important affairs of the Empire, offering the choiceſt Sacrifices, and making very rich and coſtly Preſents. But alas all in vain, his Prayers, and Gifts, and Sacrifices availed nothing, the *Dæmon* giving him to underſtand that the *dead* kept him from ſpeaking, and that till the place was cleared from the Corps that lay hard by, he could return no anſwers by the Oracle. *Julian* quickly perceived his meaning, and though many dead bodies had been buried there, he ſuſpected 'twas *Babylas* his Remains that were particularly aimed at, and therefore commanded the Chriſtians to remove them thence. Who thereupon aſſembled in infinite numbers, perſons of all Ages and Sexes, and laying the Coffin upon an open Chariot, brought it into the City with the moſt ſolemn triumph, ſinging Pſalms of joy all the way they went; and at the end of every period, adding this tart ſtinging *Verſicle*, *Confounded be all they that worſhip carved Images.*

[a] *Chryſoſt. p. 674 & ſcriptores ſupra citat.*

[b] *Chryſ. Homil. de S. Babyl. p. 644. & l. de S. Babyl. p. 671, 677, 679. Soz. & Niceph. ubi ſupr. Socrat. l. 3. c. 18. p. 191. Theodor. H. E. l. 3. c. 10. p. 132. Conf. Philoſt. loc. ſupr. citat.*

X. THE Reader 'tis like may be apt to ſcruple this ſtory, as ſavouring a little of ſuperſtition, and giving too much honour to the Reliques of Saints. To which I ſhall ſay no more, then that the credit of it ſeems unqueſtionable, it being reported not onely by *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* (who all lived very near that time) but by *Chryſoſtom*, who was born at *Antioch*, and was a long time Presbyter of that Church, and was Scholar there to *Libanius* the *Sophiſter* at that very time when the thing was done, and an [c] eye-witneſs of it, and who not onely preached the thing, but wrote a Diſcourſe againſt the *Gentiles* upon this very Subject, wherein he appeals [d] to the knowledge both of young and old then alive, who had ſeen it, and challenges them to ſtand up, and contradict,

[c] *Vid. lib. citat. p. 654. & Hom. de Bab. p. 641.*

[d] *Ibid. p. 676.*

tradict, if they could, the truth of what he related. Nay, which further puts the caſe paſt all peradventure, [a] *Libanius* the Orator evidently confeſſes it, when he tells us, that *Apollo Daphnæus*, though before neglected and forgotten, yet when *Julian* came with Sacrifices and Oblations to kiſs his foot, he appeared again in his Rites of Worſhip, after that he had been freed from the unwelcom neighborhood of a certain *dead man*, who lay hard by, to his great trouble and diſturbance. And *Julian* himſelf [b] tells the Chriſtians that he had ſent back ὃν νεκρὸν ἐκ Δάφνης, *their dead man that had been buried in Daphne*. Nor is it improbable that God ſhould ſuffer ſuch an extraordinary paſſage to happen, eſpecially at this time, to demonſtrate the vanity of the *Gentile* Religion, to correct the infidelity of the Emperour, and to give teſtimony to that Religion, which he ſcorned with ſo much inſolence and ſarcaſm, and purſued with ſo much vigour and oppoſition. If any enquire why *Julian* ſhould ſo far gratifie the Chriſtians, as to beſtow the Martyrs bones upon them, and ſuffer them to convey them with ſo much pomp and honour into the City, and not rather ſcatter the aſhes into the air, throw them into the fire, or drown the Coffin in the River? [c] *Chryſoſtom* anſwers, that he durſt not, he was afraid leſt the divine vengeance ſhould overtake him, leſt a thunderbolt from heaven ſhould ſtrike him, or an incurable diſeaſe arreſt him, as ſuch kind of miſerable fates had overtaken ſome of his predeceſſors in the height of their activity againſt the Chriſtians, and he had lately ſeen ſad inſtances of it that came very near him; his Uncle *Julian* Præfect of the *Eaſt*, a petulant ſcorner and apoſtate derider of Chriſtians, who having broken into the great Church at *Antioch*, had treated their Communion Plate with the greateſt irreverence and contempt, throwing it upon the ground, ſpurning, and ſitting upon it, and after all carrying it away into the Emperours Exchequer, was immediately ſeized with a loathſom diſeaſe, which I am not willing to mention, which within a few days, in ſpight of all the Arts of Phyſic, put an end to his miſerable life. And *Fælix* the *Treaſurer*, a man of the ſame ſpirit and temper, and engaged with him in the ſame deſign, coming up to the Palace, on a ſudden fell down upon the top of the ſteps and burſt aſunder. *Ammianus Marcellinus* * himſelf confeſſing that he died of a ſudden Flux of bloud. Others there were, who about that time came to wretched and untimely ends, but theſe two onely are particularly noted by *Chryſoſtom.* Examples, which, 'tis probable had put an awe and reſtraint upon him.

XI. BUT *evil men wax worſe and worſe.* *Julian*, however awed at preſent, yet his rage quickly found a vent, which all his Philoſophy could not ſtop. Vexed [d] to ſee the Chriſtians pay ſo ſolemn a veneration to the Martyr, and eſpecially ſtung with the hymns which the Chriſtians ſung, the very next day he gave order againſt the advice of his Privy Council, to *Saluſt* the *Præfect*, to perſecute the Chriſtians, many of whom were accordingly apprehended, and caſt into Priſon. And among the reſt one *Theodorus* a Youth, was caught up in the ſtreets, and put upon the Rack, his fleſh torn off with iron Pincers, ſcourged and beaten, and when no tortures could ſhake his conſtancy, or ſo much as move his patience, he was at length diſmiſſed. *Rufinus* afterwards met with this *Theodorus*, and asking him whether in the midſt of his torments he felt any pain, he told him, at firſt he was a little ſenſible, but that one in the ſhape of a young man ſtood by him, who gently wiped off the ſweat from

[a] *Monod. ſup. Apoll. fanum igni exuſt. p.* 185.

[b] *Miſopog. p.* 96.

[c] *Ibid. p.* 681.

* *Lib.* 23. *p.* 1641.

[d] *Socr. c.* 19. *p.* 191. *Sozom. & Theod. ibid.*

from his face, refreſhed him with cold water, and ſupported his ſpirit with preſent conſolations, ſo that his Rack was rather a pleaſure then a torment to him. But to return.

XII. HEAVEN ſhewed it ſelf not well pleaſed with the proceedings of the Emperour. For immediately the Temple of *Apollo* in the *Daphne* took fire, which in a few hours burnt the famed image of the god, and reduced the Temple, excepting onely the Walls and Pillars, into aſhes. This the Chriſtians aſcribed to the divine vengeance, the *Gentiles* imputed it to the malice of the Chriſtians; and though the Prieſts and Warders of the Temple were racked to make them ſay ſo, yet could they not be brought to affirm any more, then that it was fired by a light from Heaven. This conflagration is mentioned not onely by Chriſtian Writers, but by [a] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and by [b] *Julian* himſelf, but eſpecially by *Libanius* the Orator, who in an Oration on purpoſe made to the People, elegantly bewails its unhappy fate; whoſe Diſcourſe S. *Chryſoſtom* takes to task, and makes witty and eloquent remarques upon it. If the Reader ask what became of *Babylas* his Remains after all this noiſe and buſtle, they were entombed within the City in a Church dedicated to his name and memory, and in after-Ages are [c] ſaid to have been tranſlated (by ſome Chriſtian Princes, probably, during their Wars in the holy Land) to *Cremona* in *Italy*, where how oft they have been honourably repoſed, and with how much pomp and ceremonious veneration they are ſtill entertained; they who are curious after ſuch things may enquire.

[a] *Lib.* 22. *p.* 1629.
[b] *Loc. ſupr. cit.*
[c] *Vid. Bolland. ad Jan.* XXIV. *p.* 580.

The End of S. BABYLAS's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. CYPRIAN BISHOP OF CARTHAGE.

His Birth-place. The Nobility of his Family exploded. The confounding him with another Cyprian *Biſhop of* Antioch. *Theſe two vaſtly diſtinct.* S. Cyprian's *education. His profeſſing Rhetoric. His converſion to Chriſtianity*

ſtianity by the perſuaſions of Cæcilius. *Their mutual endearment. His great charity to the Poor. His Baptiſm. Made Presbyter, and Biſhop of* Carthage. *His modeſt declining the honour. His proſcription, receſs, and care of his Church during that retirement. The caſe of the* Lapſed. *A brief account of the riſe of the* Novatian *Sect. The fierceneſs of the Perſecution at* Carthage *under* Decius. *The courage and patience of the Chriſtians.* Cyprian's *return. A Synod at* Carthage *about the caſe of the* Lapſed, *and the cauſe of* Novatian. *Their determination of theſe matters. Ratified by a* Synod *at* Rome: *and another at* Antioch. *A ſecond Synod about the ſame affair. Moderation in the Eccleſiaſtic Diſcipline uſed in the time of Perſecution. The great Peſtilence at* Carthage. *The miſerable ſtate of that City. The mighty charity of S.* Cyprian *and the Chriſtians at that time. Theſe evils charged upon the Chriſtians. S.* Cyprians *vindication of them. The time of baptizing Infants determined in a Synod. Another Synod to decide the caſe of the* Spaniſh *Biſhops that had lapſed in the time of Perſecution. The Controverſie concerning the Rebaptizing thoſe who had been baptized by Heretics. This reſolved upon in a Synod of* LXXXVII. African *Biſhops. The immoderate heat between* Cyprian, Firmilian, *and* Stephen *Biſhop of* Rome *about this matter.* Cyprian *arraigned before the* Proconſul. *His reſolute carriage. His baniſhment to* Curubis. *His Martyrdom foretold him by a Viſion. His Letters during his exile. The ſevere uſage of the Chriſtians. His withdrawment, and why. His apprehenſion and examination before the* Proconſul. *The ſentence paſſed upon him. His Martyrdom, and place of burial. His piety, fidelity, chaſtity, humility, modeſty, charity,* &c. *His natural parts. His learning wherein it mainly conſiſted. The politeneſs and elegancy of his ſtile. His quick proficiency in Chriſtian ſtudies. His frequent converſe with* Tertullian's *Writings. His Books. The excellency of thoſe aſcribed to him. The great honours done to his memory.*

I. THASCIUS *Cæcilius Cyprian* was born at *Carthage*, in the declining part of the foregoing *Sæculum*, though the particular year cannot be aſcertained. Who or what his Parents were is unknown. [a] *Cardinal Baronius* (not to mention others) makes him deſcended of a rich honourable Family, and himſelf to have been one of the chief of the *Senatorian* Order; and this upon the authority of *Nazianzen*, who indeed affirms it; but then certainly forgot that in very few lines before he had exploded as a fabulous miſtake, the confounding our *Cyprian* with another of the ſame name, of whom *Nazianzen* unqueſtionably meant it. For beſides our *Carthaginian Cyprian*, there was another born at *Antioch*, a perſon of great learning and eminency, who travelled through *Greece*, *Phrygia*, *Egypt*, *India*, *Chaldæa*, and where not? famous for the Study and the Arts of *Magic*, by which he ſought to compaſs the affections of *Juſtina*, a noble Chriſtian Virgin at *Antioch*, by whoſe prayers and endeavours he was converted, baptized, made firſt *Sexton*, then *Deacon* of that Church, was indued with miraculous powers, and afterwards conſecrated Biſhop of that Church, (though I confeſs I find not his name in the Catalogue of the Biſhops of that See, drawn up by *Nicephorus* of *Conſtan-*

[a] *Ad Ann.* 250. *n.* V. *vid. not. ad Martyrol. Rom. Sept.* XXVI. *p.* 60c.

[b] *Orat. in laud. S. Cypr. p.* 275.

Conſtantinople) and at laſt having been miſerably tormented at *Antioch*, was ſent to *Diocleſian* himſelf then at *Nicomedia*, by whoſe command together with *Juſtina*, ſent thither alſo at the ſame time from *Damaſcus*, he was beheaded. The Hiſtory of all which was largely deſcribed in three Books in Verſe, written by the noble Empreſs *Eudocia*, the *excerpta* whereof are ſtill extant in [a] *Photius*. This account *Simeon* the *Metaphraſt*, *Nicephorus* and the later *Greeks* without any ſcruple attribute to S. *Cyprian* of *Carthage*, nay ſome of them make him to ſuffer Martyrdom under the *Decian* Perſecution. Though in the whole miſtake the more to be pardoned, in that not onely *Prudentius*, but *Nazianzen* had long before manifeſtly confounded theſe two eminent perſons, who finding ſeveral paſſages of the *Antiochian Cyprian* very near a kin to the other, carried all the reſt along with them; as two perſons very like are oft miſtaken the one for the other. To prove that our *Cyprian* was not him deſcribed by *Nazianzen*, were a vain and needleſs attempt, the accounts concerning them being ſo vaſtly different, both as to their Countrey, Education, manner of Life, Epiſcopal charge, the time, place, and companions of their death, that it is plainly impoſſible to reconcile them. But of this enough.

[a] *Cod.* CLXXXIV *col.* 416.

II. S. *CYPRIAN*'s education was ingenuous [b], poliſhed by Study and the Liberal Arts, though he principally addicted himſelf to the Study of Oratory and Eloquence, wherein he made ſuch vaſt improvements, that publicly and with great applauſe he taught Rhetoric at [c] *Carthage*. All which time he lived in great pomp and plenty, in honour and power, his garb ſplendid, his retinue ſtately; never going abroad (as himſelf tells us [d]) but he was thronged with a crowd of Clients and Followers. The far greateſt part of his life he paſſed among the errours of the *Gentile* Religion, and was at leaſt upon the borders of old Age when he was reſcued from the Vaſſalage of inveterate Cuſtoms, the darkneſs of Idolatry, and the errours and vices of his paſt life, as [e] himſelf intimates in his Epiſtle to *Donatus*. He was converted to Chriſtianity by the arguments and importunities of *Cæcilius* [f] a Presbyter of *Carthage*, a perſon whom ever after he loved as a friend, and reverenced as a father. And ſo mutual an endearment was there between them, that *Cyprian* in honour to him aſſumed the title of *Cæcilius*; and the other at his death made him his Executor, and committed his Wife and Children to his ſole care and tutelage. Being yet a *Catechumen* [g], he gave early inſtances of a great and generous piety: profeſſed a ſtrict and ſevere temperance and ſobriety, accounting it one of the beſt preparations for the entertainment of the truth, to ſubdue and tread down all irregular appetites and inclinations. His eſtate, at leaſt the greateſt part of it, he ſold, and diſtributed it among the neceſſities of the Poor, at once triumphing over the love of the World, and exerciſing that great duty of Mercy and Charity, which God values above all the Ritual Devotions in the World. So that by the ſpeedy progreſs of his piety (ſays *Pontius* his Friend and Deacon) he became almoſt a perfect Chriſtian, before he had learnt the rules of Chriſtianity.

[b] *Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. non longe ab init.*

[c] *Hier. deſcript. in Cypriano.*

[d] *Ad Donat. Epiſt.* 1. *p.* 2.

[e] *ubi ſupra.*

[f] *Pont. ibid. p.* 12.

[g] *Id. ibid. p.* 11.

III. BEING fully inſtructed in the rudiments of the Chriſtian Faith, he was baptized [h], when the mighty aſſiſtances which he received from above, perfectly diſpelled all doubts, enlightned all obſcurities, and enabled him with eaſe to do things, which before he looked upon as impoſſible to be diſcharged. Not long after, he was called to the inferiour Eccle-

[h] *Epiſt.* 1. *p.* 2, 3

of torment being many times imployed about the man at once, then there were limbs and members of his body: they were ſpoiled and plundred, chained and impriſoned, thrown to wild Beaſts, and burnt at the ſtake. And when they had run over all their old methods of execution, they ſtudied for more, *excogitat novas pœnas ingenioſa crudelitas*, as he complains. Nor did they onely vary, but repeat the torments, and where one ended another began; they tortured them without hopes of dying, and added this cruelty to all the reſt, to ſtop them in their journey to heaven; many who were importunately deſirous of death, were ſo tortured, that they might not die, they were purpoſely kept upon the Rack, that they might die by piece-meals, that their pains might be lingring, and their ſenſe of them without intermiſſion, they gave them no intervals, or times of reſpite, unleſs any of them chanced to give them the ſlip and expire in the midſt of torments. All which did but render their faith and patience more illuſtrious, and make them more earneſtly long for Heaven. They tired out their tormentors, and overcame the ſharpeſt engins of execution, and ſmiled at the buſie Officers that were raking in their wounds, and when their fleſh was wearied, their faith was unconquerable. The multitude beheld with admiration theſe heavenly conflicts, and ſtood aſtoniſhed to hear the ſervants of Chriſt in the midſt of all this with an unſhaken mind making a free and bold confeſſion of him, deſtitute of any external ſuccour, but armed with a divine power, and defending themſelves with *the ſhield of Faith.*

VII. TWO full years S. *Cyprian* had remained in his retirement, when the Perſecution being ſomewhat abated by the death of *Decius*, he returned to *Carthage*, *An.* CCLI. where he ſet himſelf to reform diſorders, and to compoſe the differences that diſturbed his Church. For which purpoſe he conven'd a Synod of his neighbor-Biſhops to conſult about the cauſe of the *lapſed*. Who were no ſooner met, but there arrived Meſſengers with Letters from *Novatian*, ſignifying his Ordination to the See of *Rome*, and bringing an accuſation and charge againſt *Cornelius*. But the men no ſooner appeared, but were diſowned, and rejected from Communion, eſpecially after that *Pompeius* and *Stephanus* were arrived from *Rome*, and had brought a true account and relation of the caſe. The Synod therefore adviſed and charged them to deſiſt from their turbulent and ſchiſmatical proceedings, not to rend the Church by propagating a pernicious Faction, that it was their beſt way and the ſafeſt counſel they could take to ſhew themſelves true Chriſtians, by returning back to the Peace of the Church. As for the *lapſed*, having diſcuſſed their caſe according to the Rules of the holy Scripture, they concluded upon this wiſe and moderate expedient, that neither all hopes of Peace and communion ſhould be denied them, leſt looking upon themſelves as in a deſperate caſe, they ſhould ſtart back into a total apoſtacy from the Faith, nor yet the cenſures of the Church be ſo far relaxed, as raſhly to admit them to Communion: but that the cauſes being examined, and regard being had to the will of the Delinquents, and the aggravations of particular caſes, their time of penance ſhould be accordingly prolonged, and the divine clemency be obtained by acts of a great ſorrow and repentance. Their meaning is, that the lapſed being of ſeveral ſorts, ſhould be treated according to the nature of their crimes; the *Libellatici*, who had onely purchaſed libels of ſecurity and diſmiſſion from the Heathen Magiſtrate to excuſe them from doing ſacrifice in time of Perſecution,

ſhould

[a] *Ad Cornel. Epiſt.* 41. *p.* 55.

[b] *Ad Anton. Epiſt.* 52. *p.* 67.

ſhould have a ſhorter time of penance aſſigned them, the *Sacrificati*, who had actually ſacrificed to Idols, ſhould not be taken in till they had expiated their offence by a very long penance, and (as they ſometimes call it) *ſatisfaction*. This Synodical determination *was preſently ſent to *Rome*, and ratified by *Cornelius* and a Council of ſixty Biſhops, and above as many Presbyters and Deacons, concluding (and the Decree examined, aſſented to, and publiſhed by the Biſhops in their ſeveral Provinces) that *Novatus* and his inſolent Party, and all that adhered to his inhumane and mercileſs opinion, ſhould be excluded the Communion of the Church; but that the Brethren who had fallen into that calamity, ſhould be gently dealt with, and reſtored by methods of repentance. About the ſame time there was a Synod alſo held at *Antioch* by the *Eaſtern* Biſhops about the ſame affair. For ſo *Dionyſius* [a] Biſhop of *Alexandria* in his Letter to *Cornelius* of *Rome*, tells him, that he had been ſummoned by *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, *Firmilian* of *Cappadocia*, and *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtin*, to meet in Council at *Antioch*, to ſuppreſs the endeavours of ſome, who ſought there to eſtabliſh the *Novatian* Schiſm.

*Id.ibid.Euſeb. l.6.c.43.p.242.

[a] *Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl.l.6.c.46. p.247.

VIII. THE next Year *May* XV. *Ann.*CCLII began another [b] Council at *Carthage* about this matter, and wherein they ſteered the ſame courſe they had done before, being rather ſwayed to moderate counſels herein, becauſe frequently admoniſhed by divine revelations of an approaching Perſecution, and therefore did not think it prudent and reaſonable, that men ſhould be left naked and unarmed in the day of battel, but that they might be able to defend themſelves with the ſhield of Chriſts body and bloud. For how ſhould they ever hope to perſuade them to ſhed their own bloud in the cauſe of Chriſt, if they denied them the benefit of his bloud? how could it be expected they ſhould be ready to drink of the cup of Martyrdom, whom the Church debarred the priviledge to drink of the cup of Chriſt? While peace and tranquillity ſmiled upon the Church, they protracted the time of penance, and allowed not the *Sacrificati* to be readmitted, but at the hour of death. But that now the enemy was breaking in upon them, and Chriſtians were to be prepared and heartned on for ſuffering, and encouragement to be given to thoſe who by the ſincerity of their repentance had ſhewed themſelves ready to reſiſt unto bloud, and to contend earneſtly for the Faith. This they did not to patronize the Lazy, but excite the Diligent, the Churches Peace being granted not in order to eaſe and ſoftneſs, but to conflict and contention. And if any improved the indulgence to worſer purpoſes, they did but cheat themſelves, and ſuch they remitted to the divine *Tribunal*. At this Synod appeared one [c] *Privatus*, who having ſome years ſince been condemned for Hereſie and other crimes by a Council of XC. Biſhops, deſired that his cauſe might be heard over again, but was rejected by the Synod, whereupon gathering a Party of the lapſed, or the Schiſmatics, he ordained at *Carthage* one *Fortunatus* Biſhop, giving out that no leſs then five and twenty Biſhops were preſent at the conſecration. But the notorious falſhood and vanity of their pretences being diſcovered, they left the place and fled over to *Rome*.

[b] *Epiſt.Synod. ad Cornel. Ep. 54.p.76. & Ep. 55. p.82.

[c] *Ibid.p.82.*

IX. ABOUT this time happened that miſerable Plague, that ſo much afflicted the *Roman* World, wherein *Carthage* had a very deep ſhare. [d] Vaſt multitudes were ſwept away every day, the fatal Meſſen-

[d] *Pont.Diac. in vit.Cypr.p.13.*

fenger knocking as he went along at every door. The ſtreets were filled with the carcaſſes of the dead, which ſeemed to implore the aſſiſtance of the living, and to challenge it as a right by the Laws of Nature and Humanity, as that which ſhortly themſelves might ſtand in need of. But alas all in vain, every one trembled, and fled, and ſhifted for himſelf, deſerted their deareſt friends and neareſt relations; never conſidered what might be his own caſe, nor how reaſonable it was that he ſhould do for another, what he would another ſhould do for him; and if any ſtaid behind, it was onely to make a prey. In this calamitous and tragic Scene, S. *Cyprian* calls the Chriſtians together, inſtructs them in the duties of Mercy and Charity, and from the Precepts and Examples of the holy Scripture ſhews them what a mighty influence they have to oblige God to us; that it was no wonder if their charity extended onely to their own Party, the way to be perfect, and to be Chriſtians indeed, was to do ſomething *more* then *Heathens* and *Publicans*, *to overcome evil with good*, and in imitation of the divine benignity to *love our enemies*, and according to our Lords advice, to pray for the happineſs of them that perſecute us; that God conſtantly makes his Sun to riſe and his rain to fall upon the Seeds and Plants, not onely for the advantage of his own children, but of all other men; that therefore they ſhould act as became the nobility of their new birth, and imitate the example of ſuch a Father, who profeſſed themſelves to be his children. Perſuaded by this and much more that he diſcourſed to the ſame effect, enough to convince the very *Gentiles* themſelves, they preſently divided their help according to each ones rank and quality. Thoſe who by reaſon of poverty could contribute nothing to the charge, did what was infinitely more, perſonally laboured in the common calamity, an aſſiſtance infinitely beyond all other Contributions. Indeed every one was ambitious to engage under the conduct of ſuch a Commander, and in a ſervice wherein they might ſo eminently approve themſelves to God the Father, and Chriſt the Judge of all, and in the mean time to ſo pious and good a Biſhop. And by this large and abundant charity great advantage redounded not to themſelves onely, who were *of the houſhold of Faith*, but univerſally to all. And that he might not be wanting to any, he penned at this time his excellent Diſcourſe *concerning Mortality*, wherein he ſo eloquently teaches a Chriſtian to triumph over the fears of death, and ſhews how little reaſon there is exceſſively to mourn for thoſe friends and relations, that are taken from us.

X. THIS horrible peſtilence, together with the Wars which of late had, and even then did, over-run the Empire, the *Gentiles* generally charged upon the Chriſtian Religion, as that for which the gods were implacably angry with the World. To vindicate it from this common objection, *Cyprian* addreſſes himſelf in a Diſcourſe to *Demetrian* the *Proconſul*, wherein he proves that theſe evils that came upon the World, could not be laid at the door of Chriſtianity, aſſigning other reaſons of them, and among the reſt their wild and brutiſh rage againſt the Chriſtians, which had provoked the deity to bring theſe calamities upon them, as a juſt puniſhment of their folly and madneſs in perſecuting a Religion, ſo innocent and dear to heaven. The Perſecution being over, a controverſie aroſe concerning the time of baptizing Infants, ſtarted eſpe-

Exoritur ultio violati nominis Chriſtiani, & uſquequo ad proſtigandas Eccleſias edicta Decii cucurrerunt, tatenus incredibilium morborum peſtis extenditur. Nulla fere provincia Romana, nulla Civitas, nulla domus fuit, quæ non illa generali peſtilentia correpta atque vaſtata ſit. P. *Oroſius Hiſt. adv. Pagan. l. 7. c. 21. fol. 310. p. 2.*

eſpecially by *Fidus* [a] an *African* Biſhop, who aſſerted that Baptiſm was not to be adminiſtred on the third or fourth, but as Circumciſion under the *Jewiſh* ſtate to be deferred till the eighth day. S. *Cyprian* in a Synod of ſixty ſix Biſhops determined this queſtion, that it was not neceſſary to be deferred ſo long, nor the grace and mercy of God to be denied to any as ſoon as born into the World; that it was their univerſal ſentence and reſolution, that none ought to be prohibited baptiſm and the grace of God; which as it was to be obſerved and retained towards all, ſo much more towards Infants and new born children. Not long after which, another Council was held by [b] *Cyprian*, (importuned thereunto by the Biſhops of *Spain*) to conſult concerning the caſe of *Baſilides* Biſhop of *Aſturica*, and *Martial* of *Emerita* in *Spain*, who had lapſed into the moſt horrible idolatry in the late Perſecution, and yet ſtill retained their places in the Church. The Synod reſolved, that they were fallen from their Epiſcopal Order, and the very loweſt degree of the Miniſtry, and that upon their repentance they were to be reſtored to no more then the capacity of *Laics* in the Communion of the Church.

[a] *Vid. Epiſt. Synod. ad Fid. Ep.* 59. *p.* 94.

[b] *Epiſt.* 68. *p.* 112. *& ſeq.*

XI. IN this Synod, or another called not long after, the famous conteſt about rebaptizing thoſe who had been baptized by Heretics, received its firſt approbation. It had been ſometime ſince by occaſion of the *Montaniſts* and *Novatians* canvaſſed in the *Eaſtern* parts, thence it flew over to *Numidia*, by the Biſhops whereof it had been brought before *Cyprian*, and the Council at *Carthage*, who determined that the thing was neceſſary to be obſerved, and that this was no novel ſentence, but had been ſo decreed by his Predeceſſors, and the thing conſtantly practiſed and obſerved among them, as he aſſures them in the Synodical [c] Epiſtle about this matter. Among others to whom they ſent their Decrees, the Synod [d] eſpecially wrote to *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome* (who had ſo far eſpouſed the contrary opinion, as to excommunicate the Synod at *Iconium* for making the like determination) him they acquaint with the ſentence they had paſſed, and the reaſons of it, which they hoped he alſo would aſſent to, however did not magiſterially impoſe it upon him, every Biſhop having a proper authority within the juriſdiction of his own Church, whereof he is to render an account to God. Pope *Stephen* (with whom ſtood a great part of the Church) liked not their proceedings; whereupon a more general Council was ſummoned, where no leſs then LXXXVII. Biſhops from all parts of the *African* Churches met together, who unanimouſly ratified the former ſentence, whoſe names and particular votes are extant in the [e] *Acts* of that Council. But numbers made the cauſe never the better reſented at *Rome*, and indeed the controverſie aroſe to that height between theſe two good men, that *Stephen* gave *Cyprian* very rude and unchriſtian language [f], ſtiling him *falſe Chriſt*, *falſe Apoſtle*, *deceitful worker*, and ſuch like: while on the other hand *Cyprian* treated him with more then ordinary ſharpneſs and ſeverity, charging [g] him with pride and impertinence, and ſelf-contradiction, with ignorance and indiſcretion, with childiſhneſs and obſtinacy, and other expreſſions, far enough from that reverence and regard, which S. *Stephen*'s ſucceſſors claim at this day. And no better uſage did he find from *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, as may be ſeen in his Letter to *Cyprian* [h], charging *Stephen* with ſacrificing the Churches Peace to a petulant humour, where inhumanity, audaciouſneſs, inſolence, wickedneſs, are ſome of the characters beſtowed

[c] *Epiſt.* 69. *p.* 117.

[d] *Epiſt.* 72. *p.* 121.

[e] *Apud Cypr. p.* 282. *& Concil. Tom.* 1. *col.* 786. *Edit. noviſſ.*

[f] *Firmil. Epiſt. ad Cypr. p.* 150.

[g] *Ad Pompei. Epiſt.* 74. *p.* 129.

[h] *Apud. Cypr. p.* 143.

upon him. A great inſtance how far paſſion and prejudice may tranſport wiſe and good men beyond the merits of the cauſe, and what the Laws of Kindneſs and Charity do allow. I note no more concerning this, then that *Cyprian* and his Party [a] expreſly diſowned *Anabaptiſm*, or rebaptization, they freely confeſſed that there was but one Baptiſm, and that thoſe who came over from Heretical Churches, where they had had their baptiſm, were not rebaptized, but baptized, their former baptiſm being *ipſo facto* null and invalid, and they did then receive, what (lawfully) they had not before.

[a] *Ad Quint. Epiſt.71.p.119.*

XII. IT was now the Year CCLVII. when *Aſpaſius Paternus* the *Proconſul* of *Afric* ſent [b] for *Cyprian* to appear before him, telling him, that he had lately received orders from the Emperours (*Valerian* and *Gallienus*) commanding that all that were of a Foreign Religion, ſhould worſhip the gods according to the *Roman* Rites, deſiring to know what was his reſolution? *Cyprian* anſwered, *I am a Chriſtian and a Biſhop, I acknowledge no other gods, but one onely true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and all that therein is. This is he whom we Chriſtians ſerve, to whom we pray day and night, for our ſelves and for all men, and for the happineſs and proſperity of the Emperours.* And is this then thy reſolution? ſaid the *Proconſul*. *That reſolution*, replied the Martyr, *which is founded in God, cannot be altered.* Then he told him, that he was to ſearch out the *Presbyters* as well as *Biſhops*, requiring him to diſcover them. To which *Cyprian* gave no other anſwer, then that according to their own Laws, they were not bound to be Informers. The *Proconſul* then acquainted him, that he was commanded to prohibit all private Aſſemblies, and to proceed with capital ſeverity againſt them that frequented them. Whereat the good man told him, that his beſt way was to do as he was commanded. The *Proconſul* finding 'twas in vain to treat with him, commanded him to be baniſhed, and accordingly he was tranſported to *Curubis*, a little City ſtanding in a *Peninſula* within the *Lybian* Sea, not far from *Pentapolis*; a [c] place pleaſant and delightful enough, and where he met with a kind and a courteous uſage, was frequently viſited by the brethren, and furniſhed with all conveniences neceſſary for him.

[b] *Act. Paſſ. S.Cypriani. ap. Cypr. p. 16, 17, 24.*

[c] *P. Diac. in vit.Cypr.p.14.*

XIII. BUT the greateſt entertainment in this retirement, were thoſe divine and heavenly Viſions with which God was pleaſed to honour him, by one whereof the very firſt day of his coming thither he was particularly forewarned of his approaching Martyrdom, whereof *Pontius* the *Deacon*, who accompanied him in his baniſhment, gives us this account from the Martyrs own mouth. There appeared to him as he was going to reſt, a young man of a prodigious ſtature, who ſeemed to lead him to the *Prætorium* and to preſent him to the *Proconſul* then ſitting upon the Bench: who looking upon him, began to write ſomething in a Book, which the young man who looked over his ſhoulder, read, but not daring to ſpeak, intimated by ſigns what it was: for extending one of his hands at length, he made a croſs ſtroke over it with the other, by which *Cyprian* preſently gueſſed the manner of his death. Whereupon he importunately begged of the *Proconſul* but one days reſpit to diſpoſe his affairs, and partly by the pleaſingneſs of the Judges countenance, partly by the ſigns which the young man made of what the *Proconſul* was noting in his Book, he immediately gathered that his requeſt was granted. And juſt ſo it accordingly came to paſs, both as to the time and

Loc.citat.

man-

manner of his Martyrdom, that very day twelve-moneth, whereon he had this viſion, proving the period of his life.

XIV. HOW active and diligent he was to improve his opportunities to the beſt advantage, appears from the ſeveral Letters he wrote during his confinement, eſpecially to the Martyrs in priſon, whoſe ſpirit he refreſhed by proper conſolations, and preſſed them to perſevere unto the Crown. While he was here he had news brought [a] him of the daily increaſe of the Perſecution, the Emperor *Valerian* having ſent a *Reſcript* to the *Senate*, that Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons ſhould be put to death without delay; that Senators, and perſons of rank and quality ſhould loſe their honours and preferments, forfeit their eſtates, and if ſtill they continued Chriſtians, loſe their heads; and that Matrons having had their goods confiſcated, ſhould be baniſhed: that *Xyſtus* and *Quartus* had already ſuffered in the *Cœmetery*, where their ſolemn aſſemblies were held; and that the Governours of the City carried on the Perſecution with might and main, ſpoiling and putting to death all that they could meet with. This ſad and uncomfortable news [c] gave the good man juſt reaſon to expect and provide for his own fate, which he waited and wiſhed for every day. Indeed ſome perſons of the higheſt rank and quality his ancient friends came to him, and perſuaded him for the preſent to withdraw, offering to provide a ſecure place for his retreat. But the deſire of that Crown which he had in his eye, had ſet him above the World, and made him deaf to their kind offers and intreaties. True it is that when news was brought that the Officers were coming for him, to carry him to *Utica* to ſuffer there, by the advice of his friends he ſtept aſide, being unwilling to ſuffer any where but at *Carthage*, in the eye of the people, where he had ſo long, and ſo ſucceſsfully preached the Chriſtian Faith, the truth whereof he was deſirous to ſeal with his bloud; it being very fit and congruous, that a Biſhop ſhould ſuffer for our Lord in that place where he had governed his Church, and by that eminent confeſſion edifie and encourage the Flock committed to him, as he tells [c] the People of his charge in the laſt Letter that ever he wrote. As for themſelves, he adviſed them to peace and unity, not to create trouble to one another, not to offer themſelves to the *Gentiles*, but if any was apprehended, to ſtand to it, and freely confeſs, as God ſhould enable him to declare himſelf.

[a] *Ad Succeſſ. Epiſt.* 82. *p.* 160.

[b] *P. Diac. ubi ſupr. p.* 15.

[c] *Epiſt.* 82. *p.* 161.

XV. *GALERIUS Maximus* the new *Proconſul* being returned to *Carthage* [d], *Cyprian* (who reſolved but till then to conceal himſelf) came home, and took up his reſidence in his own Gardens. Where Officers were preſently ſent to apprehend him, who putting him into a Chariot, carried him to the place where the *Proconſul* was retired for his health, who commanded him to be kept till the next day, which was done in the houſe of one of the Officers that ſecured him, the People alarm'd with the news of his return and apprehenſion, flocking to the doors, and watching there all night. The next morning being *Septemb.* XIV. *Ann. Chr.* CCLVIII. he was led to the *Proconſuls* Palace, who not being yet come forth, he was carried aſide into a by-place, where he reſted himſelf upon a ſeat, which by chance was covered with a linnen cloth, that ſo (ſays my Author) even in the hour of his Paſſion he might enjoy ſome part of Epiſcopal honour. The length and hurry of his walk, had put the infirm and aged man into a violent ſweat, which being obſerved by a Military Meſſenger, who had formerly been a Chriſtian, he came to him

[d] *Pont. ib. p.* 15. *Act. Paſſion. ib. p.* 16, 18, 19, 24.

him and offered to accommodate him with dry linnen in ſtead of that wet and moiſt that was about him: this he did in a pretended civility, but really with deſign to have ſecured ſome monument of the Martyrs laſt agony and labour, who returned no other anſwer, then, *We ſeek to cure complaints and ſorrows, which perhaps to day ſhall be no more for ever.* By this time the *Proconſul* was come out, who looking upon him, ſaid, *Art thou* Thaſcius Cyprian, *who haſt been Biſhop and Father to men of an impious mind? the ſacred Emperours command thee to do ſacrifice. Be well adviſed, and do not throw away thy life.* The holy Martyr replied, *I am* Cyprian, *I am a Chriſtian, and I cannot ſacrifice to the gods; do as thou art commanded; as for me, in ſo juſt a cauſe there needs no conſultation.* The *Proconſul* was angry at his reſolute conſtancy, and told him, that he had been a long time of this ſacrilegious humour, had ſeduced abundance into the ſame wicked conſpiracy with himſelf, and ſhewn himſelf an enemy to the gods and religion of the *Roman* Empire, one whom the pious and religious Emperours could never reduce to the obſervance of their holy Rites: that therefore being found to be the Author and Ring-leader of ſo hainous a crime, he ſhould be made an example to thoſe whom he had ſeduced into ſo great a wickedneſs, and that diſciplin and ſeverity ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his bloud. Whereupon he read his ſentence out of a Table-book, *I will that Thaſcius Cyprian be beheaded.* To which the Martyr onely anſwered, *I heartily thank Almighty God, who is pleaſed to ſet me free from the chains of the body.*

XVI. SENTENCE being paſſed, he was led away from the *Tribunal* with a ſtrong guard of Souldiers, infinite numbers of people crouding after, the Chriſtians weeping and mourning, and crying out, *let us alſo be beheaded with him.* The place of Execution was *Sextus* his Field, a large Circuit of ground, where the Trees (whereof the place was full) were loaded with perſons to behold the Spectacle. The *Martyr* preſently began to ſtrip himſelf, firſt putting off his cloak, which he folded up, and laid at his feet, and falling down upon his knees, recommended his ſoul to God in prayer; after which he put off his *Dalmatic*, or under-coat which he delivered to the Deacons, and ſo ſtanding in nothing but a linnen veſtment, expected the headſman, to whom he commanded the ſum of about VI. pounds to be given, the Brethren ſpreading linnen cloths about him to preſerve his bloud from being ſpread upon the ground. His ſhirt ſleeves being tied by *Julian* (or as one of the Acts calls him, *Tullian*) the Presbyter, and *Julian* the Sub-deacon, he covered his eyes with his own hand, and the Executioner did his Office. His body was by the Chriſtians depoſited not far off, but at night for fear of the *Gentiles*, removed, and with abundance of lights and torches ſolemnly interred in the *Cœmetery* of *Macrobius Candidus* a *Procurator*, near the Fiſh-ponds in the *Mappalian* way. This was done *Ann.* CCLVIII. *Valeriani & Gallien.* V. ſo extravagantly wide is the account of the [a] *Alexandrin Chronicle* (if it means the ſame perſon) when it tells us, that S. *Cyprian* ſuffered Martyrdom *Ann. Alexandri Imp.* XIII. that is *Ann. Chr.* CCXXXIV. though the *Conſuls* under which he places it (and this agrees better with his other accounts, both of the *Olympiads*, and of Chriſts *Aſcenſion*) aſſign it to the laſt year of *Maximinus*, *Ann. Chr.* CCXXXVII. for ſo he ſays, that

Cum veniſſet Spiculator, juſſit ſuis, ut eidem Spiculatori XXV. (*alia Acta habent* XX.) *aureos darent.* Act. Cypr. p. 18. *Aureus ſub imperatoribus Romanis valuit de noſtro* 15 s. *ſed ſub Alexandro Severo primo cuſi ſunt Semiſſis Aurei* (*de noſtro* 7 s. 6 d.) *& Tremiſſis Aurei, qui valuit de noſtro* 5 s. *vid. Brierw. de Num. cap.* 14. *de ultimo hunc ex Actis Cypriani locum intelligendum puto.*

[a] *Ann.* 4. *Olympiad.* CCLIII. *Indict.* XIII. *p.* 626.

that it was CCV. years after our Lords aſcenſion into Heaven. Which was however far enough from truth. Indeed elſewhere [a] he places S. *Cyprian*'s Martyrdom *Valeriani* II. which (as appears by the *Conſuls*) ſhould be V. that is, *Ann. Chr.* CCLVIII. But it is no new thing with that Author to confound times and perſons, and aſſign the ſame events to different years. Thus died this good man, the firſt Biſhop of his See that ſuffered Martyrdom, as [b] *Pontius* his Deacon informs us, who was a true lover of him, and followed him to the laſt, and profeſſes himſelf not to rejoice ſo much at the glory and triumph of his Maſter, as to mourn that he himſelf was left behind.

[a] *An.* I. *Olymp.* 259. *Ind.* IV. *Valer.* II.

[b] *Ibid. pag.* 16.

XVII. S. *CYPRIAN* though ſtarting late, ran apace in the Chriſtian race. He had a ſoul inflamed with a mighty love and zeal for God, whoſe honour he ſtudied by all ways to promote. A wiſe and prudent Governour, a great aſſerter of the Churches Rights, a reſolute Patron and defender of the Truth, a faithful and vigilant Overſeer of his flock, powerful and diligent in preaching, prudent in his determinations, moderate in his counſels, grave and ſevere in his admonitions, pathetical and affectionate in his perſuaſives, indulgent to the Penitent, but inflexible to the obſtinate and contumacious. Infinite pains he took to reclaim the *lapſed*, and to reſtore them to the Church by methods of penance [c] and due humiliation: he invited them kindly, treated them tenderly; if their minds were honeſt, and their deſires ſincere, he would not rigorouſly examine their crimes by over-nice weights and meaſures; ſo prone to pity and compaſſion, that he was afraid leſt he himſelf offended in remitting other mens offences. He valued the good of ſouls above the love of his own life, conſtant in the profeſſion of Religion, from which neither by hopes nor fears could he be drawn aſide. How ſtrictly chaſt and continent he was, even in his firſt entrance upon Chriſtianity, we have noted in the beginning of his life. His humility eminently appeared in his declining the honour of the Epiſcopal Order, and deſire that it might be conferred upon a more deſerving perſon; and when ſome factious and ſchiſmatical perſons traduced him as taking too much upon him, becauſe he controlled their wild and licentious courſes, he vindicates his humility at large in a Letter to *Pupianus* [d], who had made himſelf Head of the Party that appeared againſt him. So modeſt, that in all great tranſactions concerning the Church, he always conſulted both his Colleagues and his Flock, himſelf aſſuring us [e], that from the very entrance upon his Biſhoprick he determined, not to adjudge any thing by his own private Order, without the counſel of the Clergy, and the conſent of the People. His behaviour was compoſed and ſober [f], his countenance grave, yet chearful, neither guilty of a frowning ſeverity, nor an over-pleaſant mirth, but an equal *decorum* and temperament of both, it being hard to ſay, whether he more deſerved to be loved or feared, but that he equally deſerved both. And the very ſame he was in his garb, ſober and moderate, obſerving a juſt diſtance both from ſlovenlineſs and ſuperfluity, ſuch as neither argued him to be ſwelled with pride and vanity, nor infected with a ſordid and penurious mind. But that which ſet the Crown upon the head of all his other Vertues, was his admirable and exemplary Charity, he was of a kind and compaſſionate tem-

Quæcunque bona in multis libris tuis intuliſti, neſcius ipſum te nobis deſignaſti: es enim omnibus in tractatu major, in ſermone facundior, in conſilio ſapientior, in patientia ſimplicior, in operibus largior, in abſtinentia ſanctior, in obſequio humilior, & in actu bono innocentior. Nemeſ. &c. Martyr. Epiſt. ad Cypr. p. 157.

[c] *Vid. ad Cornel. Epiſt.* 55. *p.* 85.

[d] *Epiſt.* 69. *p.* 116.

[e] *Ad Presb. & Diac. Epiſt.* 5. *p.* 14.

[f] *P. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p.* 12.

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per, and he gave it vent. Upon his firſt embracing the Chriſtian Religion he ſold his eſtate (which was not mean and inconſiderable) and gave almoſt all of it to the Poor, from which he ſuffered no conſiderations to reſtrain him. His hand, and tongue, and heart, were open upon all occaſions; we find him at one time not onely earneſtly * preſſing others to contribute towards the redemption of Chriſtians taken captive by the *Barbarians*, but himſelf ſending a collection of a great many thouſand Crowns. Nor was this a ſingle act done once in his life, but his ordinary practice; his doors [a] were open to all that came, the Widow never returned empty from him; to any that were blind, he would be their guide to direct them; thoſe that were lame, he was ready to lend his aſſiſtance to ſupport them; if any were oppreſſed by might, he was at hand to reſcue and protect them. Which things, he was wont to ſay, they ought to do, who deſired to render themſelves truly acceptable and dear to God.

* *Ad Epiſc. Numid. Epiſt. 60. p. 97.*

[a] *Pont. ubi ſupr.*

XVIII. HIS natural parts ſeem to have been ready and acute enough, which how far he improved by ſecular and *Gentile* Learning, is unknown. He ſeems to have laid no deep foundations in the Study of Philoſophy, whereof few or no footſteps are to be ſeen in any of his Writings: his main excellency was eloquence, Rhetoric being his proper profeſſion before his converſion to Chriſtianity; wherein he attained to ſo great a pitch, that *Eraſmus*, a competent judge of theſe matters, ſticks not to affirm [b], that among all the Eccleſiaſtics he is the onely *African* Writer, that attained the native purity of the *Latin* Tongue. *Tertullian* is difficult and obſcure, S. *Auguſtin* ſtrangely perplexed and dry; but *Cyprian* (as S. *Hierom* [c] long ſince truly cenſured) like a pure Fountain is ſmooth and ſweet. And *Lactantius* [d] long before him paſſed this judgment, that *Cyprian* alone was the chief and famous Writer, eminent for his teaching Oratory, and writing Books admirable in their kind: that he had a facile, copious, pleaſant, and (which is the greateſt grace of Speech) clear and perſpicuous wit, that a man can hardly diſcern, whether he be more eloquent in his expreſſions, eaſie in his explications, or potent in his perſuaſives. Indeed his ſtile is very natural and eaſie, nothing elaborate or affected in it, or which ſavours of craft and oſtentation, but ſuch every where the tenor of his language (I ſpeak * *Eraſmus* his ſenſe as well as my own) that you will think you hear a truly Chriſtian Biſhop, and one deſigned for Martyrdom ſpeaking to you. His mind was inflamed with piety, and his ſpeech was anſwerable to his mind: he ſpake elegantly, and yet things more powerful then elegant, nor did he ſpeak powerful things ſo much as live them. After his coming over to the Church, he made ſuch quick and vaſt proficiencies in Chriſtian Theology, that [e] *Baronius* thinks it not improbable to ſuppoſe either that before his converſion he had been converſant in the Books of Chriſtians, or that he was miraculouſly inſtructed from above. 'Tis certain that afterwards he kept cloſe to *Tertullians* Writings, without which he ſcarce ever paſſed one day, often ſaying to his Notary, *Reach hither my Maſter*, meaning *Tertullian*. A paſſage which S. *Hierom* [f] tells us he received from *Paulus* of *Concordia* in *Italy*, who had

[b] *Præf. in Cypr. inter Eraſm. Ep. l. 28. Epiſt. 6. col. 1616.*

[c] *Epiſt. ad Paulin. p. 104. Tom. 1*

[d] *De Juſtit. l. 5 c. 1. p. 459.*

Incubat in Lybia ſanguis, ſed ubique lingua pollet:
Sola ſuperſtes agit de corpore, ſola obire neſcit.
Dum genus eſſe hominum Chriſtus ſinet & vigere mundum,
Dum liber ullus erit, dum ſcrinia ſacra literarum,
Te leget omnis amans Chriſtum, tua, Cypriane, diſcet.
Spiritus ille Dei, qui fluxerat autor in Prophetas,
Fontibus eloquii te cœlitus actus irrigavit.
O nive candidius linguæ genus! O novum ſaporem!
Ut liquor ambroſius, cor mitigat, imbuit palatum,
Sedem animæ penetrat, mentem fovet, & pererrat artus:
Sic Deus interius ſentitur, & inditur medullis.
Prudent. Περὶ Στεφαν. *Hymn.* XII. in Paſſion. Cypr. Martyris, & Epiſc. Carthag.

* *Loc. citat.*

[e] *Ad ann. 250. n. XI.*

[f] *De ſcript. in Tertull.*

had it from the mouth of *Cyprian*'s own *Amanuenſis* at *Rome*. And certainly it founds not a little to the commendation of his judgment, that he could drink ſo freely at that great mans Fountain, and ſuck in none of his odd and uncouth opinions, that he could pick the Flowers, and paſs by the uſeleſs or noxious weeds; as a wiſe man many times is ſo far from being corrupted, that he is the more warned and confirmed in the right by another mans errours and miſtakes. As for his Writings, S. *Hieron.*[a] paſſes them over with this character, that it was ſuperfluous to reckon them up, being clearer and more obvious then the Sun. Many of them are undoubtedly loſt, the greateſt part of what remain, are Epiſtles, and all of them ſuch, as admirably tend to promote the peace and order of the Church, and advance piety and a good life. A great number of *Tracts*, either dubious or evidently ſuppoſititious, are laid at his door, ſome of them very ancient, and moſt of them uſeful, it being his happineſs above all other Writers of the Church (ſays [b] *Eraſmus*) that nothing is fathered upon him but what is learned, and what was the iſſue of ſome conſiderable Pen.

[a] *Ibid. in Cypr.*

[b] *ubi ſupr.*

XIX. HE was highly honoured while he lived, not onely by men, conſulted and appealed to in all weighty caſes by foreign Churches, but by frequent viſions and divine condeſcenſions (as he was wont to call them) whereby he was immediately warned and directed in all important affairs and exigences of the Church. After his death his memory was had in great veneration, the people of *Carthage* [c] erecting two eminent Churches to it, one in the place of his Martyrdom, the other in the *Mappalian* way, where he was buried. The former was ſtiled *Menſa Cypriani*, *Cyprian*'s Table, becauſe there he had been offered up a Sacrifice acceptable unto God. And here they had their anniverſary commemorations of him. Whether this was the Church mentioned by *Procopius* [d], I cannot tell, who informs us, that the *Carthaginians* above all people in the World honoured S. *Cyprian*, building a magnificent Church to his memory without the City Walls near the Sea ſide, and beſides other expreſſions of honour done to him, they kept a yearly feſtival, which they called *Cypriana*. This Church *Honoricus* King of the *Vandals* afterwards took from the *Catholics*, caſting out the Orthodox Clergy with diſgrace and contempt, and beſtowed it upon the *Arrians*, which XCV. years after was recovered by the Emperour *Juſtinian* under the conduct of *Beliſarius*, who beſieged and took *Carthage*, and drove the *Vandals* out of all thoſe parts.

[c] *Vict. de Perſec. Vandal. l.* 1. *inter Oothod. PP. p.* 801. *Tom.* 2.

[d] *De Bell. Vandal. l.* 1. *vid. Niceph. l.* 17. *c.* 12. *p.* 751.

His Writings.

Genuine.

Epiſtola ad Donatum ſtatim à Baptiſmo conſcripta.
Epiſtolæ in Seceſſu toto biennio conſcriptæ XXXVIII.
Epiſtolæ ſub Pontificatu Cornelii & Lucii XVIII.
Epiſtolæ Miſcellaneæ in pace variis temporibus conſcriptæ VIII.
Epiſtolæ ſub Pontificatu Stephani, & de rebaptizandis Hæreticis X.
Epiſtolæ in exilio ſcriptæ ſub finem vitæ VII.
De diſciplina & habitu Virginum.
De Lapſis.
De Unitate Eccleſiæ Catholicæ.
De Oratione Dominica.
Ad Demetrianum.
De Idolorum vanitate.
De Mortalitate.
De Opere & Eleemoſynis.
De Bono Patientiæ.

De Zelo & Livore.
De exhortatione Martyrii ad Fortunatum.
Teſtimoniorum Adverſus Judæos Lib. III.
Concilium Carthaginenſe, de baptizandis Hæreticis.

Suppoſititious.

De Spectaculis.
De Diſciplina & bono pudicitiæ.
De Laude Martyrii ad Moſen, &c.
Ad Novatianum, quod Lapſis ſpes veniæ non ſit deneganda.
De Cardinalibus Chriſti operibus.
De Nativitate Chriſti.
De ratione Circumciſionis.
De Stella & Magis, ac innocentium nece.
De baptiſmo Chriſti, & manifeſtatione Trinitatis.
De jejunio & tentationibus Chriſti.
De Cœna Domini.
De Ablutione pedum.
De unctione Chriſmatis, & aliis Sacramentis.
De Paſſione Chriſti.
De Reſurrectione Chriſti.
De Aſcenſione Chriſti.
De Spiritu Sancto.
De Aleatoribus.
De montibus Sina & Sion contr. Judæos.
Carmen, Geneſis.
Carmen, Sodoma.
Carmen, ad Senatorem Apoſtatam.
Hymnus de Paſcha Domini.
Oratio pro Martyribus.
Oratio in die Paſſionis ſuæ.
De ſingularitate Clericorum.
In Symbolum Apoſtolorum Expoſitio.
De Judaica incredulitate,
Adv. Judæos, qui Chriſtum inſecuti ſunt.
De revelatione Capitis B. Joan. Baptiſtæ.
De duplici Martyrio, ad Fortunatum.
De XII. *Abuſionibus Sæculi.*
Diſpoſitio Cœnæ.

The End of S. CYPRIAN's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S. GREGORY BISHOP OF NEOCÆSAREA.

S. GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS

S. Gregory *where born.* *His Kindred and Relations.* *The rank and quality of his Parents.* *His youthful ſtudies.* *His ſtudy of the Laws.* *His travels to* Alexandria. *The calumny there fixed upon him, and his*

miraculous vindication. His return through Greece. *His ſtudying the Law at* Berytus, *and upon what occaſion. His fixing at* Cæſarea, *and putting himſelf under the tutorage of* Origen. *The courſe of his ſtudies. His Panegyric to* Origen *at his departure.* Origen's *Letter to him, and the importance of it. His refuſal to ſtay at* Neocæſarea, *and retirement into the Wilderneſs. His ſhunning to be made Biſhop of* Neocæſarea. *Conſecrated Biſhop of that City during his abſence. His acceptance of the charge, and the ſtate of that place at his entrance upon it. His miraculous inſtruction in the great myſteries of Chriſtianity. His Creed. The miracles wrought by him in his return. His expelling* Dæmons *out of a* Gentile *Temple, and the ſucceſs of it. His welcome entrance into the City, and kind entertainment. His diligent preaching to the people. His erecting a Church for divine worſhip, and its ſignal preſervation. An horrible plague ſtopped by his prayers. The great influence of it upon the minds of the people. His judging in civil cauſes. His drying up a Lake by his prayers, which had been the cauſe of an implacable quarrel between two Brothers; And his reſtraining the overflowings of the River* Lycus. *A ſignal vengeance inflicted upon two* Jews, *counterfeit beggars. The fame and multitude of his miracles, and the authorities to juſtifie the credibility of them. The rage and cruelty of the* Decian *Perſecution in the Regions of* Pontus *and* Cappadocia. *His perſuading the Chriſtians to withdraw. His own retirement. The narrow ſearch made for him, and his miraculous eſcape. His betrayer converted. His return to* Neocæſarea, *and inſtituting ſolemnities to the memories of the Martyrs, and the reaſons of it. The inundations of the* Northern *Nations upon the* Roman *Empire. His Canonical Epiſtle to rectifie the diſorders committed by occaſion of thoſe inroads. His meeting with others in the Synod at* Antioch, *about the cauſe of* Paulus Samoſatenus. *His return home, age, and death. His ſolemn thanks to God for the flouriſhing ſtate of his Church, and command concerning his burial. The excellent character given of him by* S. Baſil. *His Writings. The charge of* Sabellianiſm. S. Baſil's *Apology for him in that behalf. Modeſty to be uſed in cenſuring the ancient Fathers, and why.*

I. GREGORY, called originally *Theodorus*, was born at [a] *Neocæſarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, ſituate upon the River *Lycus*. His Parents were *Gentiles*, but eminent for their birth and fortunes. He had a Brother called *Athenodorus*, his fellow-pupil, and afterwards Colleague in the Epiſcopal Order in his own Countrey, and one Siſter at leaſt, married to a Judge under the Governour of *Paleſtin*. His Father [b] was a Zealot for his Religion, wherein he took care to educate him, together with the Learning of the *Gentile* World. When he was fourteen years of age his Father died, after which he took a greater liberty of enquiring into things, and as his reaſon grew more quick and manly, and was advantaged by the improvements of education, he ſaw more plainly the folly and vanity of that Religion, wherein he had been brought up, which preſently abated his edge, and turned his inclinations towards Chriſtianity. But though he had loſt his Father, his Mother [c] took care to compleat his breeding, placing him and his brother under Maſters of Rhetoric and Eloquence.

[a] *Greg. Nyſſ. in vit. Gr. Thaum. p. 969. Tom. 2.*

[b] *Gr. Thaum. Panegyr. ad Orig. p. 182.*

[c] *Ibid. p. 184.*

By

By one of which, who was appointed to teach him the *Latin* Tongue, as a neceſſary piece of noble and ingenious education, he was perſuaded to the ſtudy of the *Roman* Laws, as what would be a mighty advantage to him in what way ſoever he ſhould make uſe of his Rhetorical Studies afterwards. And the man himſelf being no inconſiderable Lawyer, read Lectures to him with great accuracy and diligence, which he as ſedulouſly attended to, rather to gratifie his humour and his fanſie, then out of any love to thoſe Studies, or deſign to arrive at perfection in them. Which however ſufficiently commends his induſtry, thoſe Laws (as himſelf obſerves [a]) being vaſt and various, and not to be learned without trouble and difficulty. And which above all encreaſed the labour was, that they were all written in *Latin*, a Language (as he confeſſes) great indeed and admirable, and ſuited to the Majeſty of the Empire; but which he found troubleſom enough to make himſelf but a competent Maſter of.

[a] *Ibid. p.* 171.

II. HAVING laid the foundations of his firſt and moſt neceſſary ſtudies at home, he deſigned yet further to accompliſh himſelf by foreign travels, going probably firſt for *Alexandria*, grown more then ordinarily famous by the *Platonic* School lately erected there. Indeed I am not confident of the preciſe aſſigning this period of his life, but know that I cannot be much wide the mark, *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* [b] aſſuring us, that he came thither in his Youth, where by the cloſeneſs of his Studies, but eſpecially by the admirable ſobriety and ſtrictneſs of his life, he viſibly reproached the debaucheries of his fellow-Students, who were of more wanton and diſſolute manners. They preſently fall a meditating revenge, confederating with a common ſtrumpet to put an abuſe and affront upon him. Accordingly dreſſed in a looſe wanton garb, ſhe came to him one day as he was engaged in a ſerious and grave diſcourſe with ſome learned and peculiar friends, impudently charging him with over-familiar converſes, relating what ſhe thought good to affirm had either been ſaid, or had paſſed between them; charging him moreover with cheating her of the reward of their lewd embraces. The company, who knew him to be a perſon of quite another temper, ſtormed at the boldneſs and impudence of the woman, while he regardleſs of the affront, ſaid nothing to it, calmly deſiring a friend to give her the money that ſhe asked, that they might be no longer interrupted in their diſcourſes. But behold how ready Heaven is to vindicate the cauſe of injured innocence. The money was no ſooner paid into her hand, but as if acted by a furious *Dæmon*, ſhe fell into fits of the moſt wild and extravagant madneſs, roaring out the moſt horrid noiſe, throwing her ſelf upon the ground, pulling and tearing of her hair, diſtorting her eyes, and foming at the mouth, nor could ſhe be freed from the rude treatments of the mercileſs *Dæmon*, till he whom ſhe had wronged had forgiven her, and interceded with Heaven for her.

[b] *ubi ſupr. p.* 972.

III. DEPARTING from *Alexandria*, he came back, as we may probably ſuppoſe through *Greece*, and ſtaid a while at *Athens*, where [c] *Socrates* tells us he ſtudied, and thence returned to his own Country, applying himſelf to his old ſtudy of the Law, which he had now a great opportunity to improve by going to *Berytus*, a City of *Phœnicia*, and a famous Univerſity for the Profeſſion of the *Roman* Laws, whence *Eunapius* [d] ſays of *Anatolius*, 'twas no wonder if he was incomparably skill'd in the Laws, being born at *Berytus*, the Mother of thoſe Studies. Hither

[c] *H. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 27. *p.* 244.

[d] *In vit. Proæreſ. p.* 117.

he

[a] *Panegyr. ad Orig. p.* 186. he came upon this occaſion[a]. The *Preſident* of *Paleſtin* had taken his Brother-in-law, an eminent Lawyer, along with him to be his *Aſſeſſor* and aſſiſtant in governing the affairs of that Province, who not long after ſent for his Wife, and a requeſt that he alſo would come along with her. All things conſpired to make him willing to undertake this journey, the gratifying his Siſter with his company, the importunity and perſuaſion of his friends, the conveniency of reſiding at *Berytus*, for the ſtudy of the Law, and the advantage of conveyance, and the public carriages that were ſent to fetch his ſiſter and her retinue into thoſe parts. Whether he actually ſtudied at *Berytus*, cannot be gathered from

[b] *Id. ibid. p.* 188. any account that he himſelf gives of it, nay rather the contrary[b], though *S. Hierom* and others expreſly affirm it. If he did, he ſtaid not long, quickly growing weary of his Law-ſtudies, being tempted with the more pleaſant and charming ſpeculations of Philoſophy. The fame of *Origen*, who at that time had opened a School at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtin*, and whoſe renown no doubt he had heard ſufficiently celebrated at *Alexandria*, ſoon reached him, to whom he immediately betook himſelf,

[c] *Gr. Nyſſ. ib. p.* 974. where meeting [c] accidentally with *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Gentleman, and afterwards Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in that Countrey, and finding a more then ordinary ſympathy and agreeableneſs in their tempers and ſtudies, they entered into a League of friendſhip, and jointly put themſelves, together with his Brother *Athenodorus*, under the tutorage of that ſo much

[d] *Vit. Orig. Præf. Orig. Oper.* celebrated Maſter. Where [d] *Eraſmus* his miſtake muſt be pardoned, making our *Gregory* and *Theodorus* two diſtinct Scholars of *Origen*, when 'tis ſo notoriouſly known they were but two names of the ſame perſon.

[e] *H. Eccl. l.* 5 *c.* 20. *p.* 369. Though herein the more eaſily to be excuſed, that [e] *Nicephorus Calliſtus* long before him, had beſides ours, made another *Theodorus* Scholar alſo to *Origen* at that ſame time at *Cæſarea*, who was, as he tells us, an eminent Biſhop in *Paleſtin*. But herein there is an univerſal ſilence in all other Writers, not the leaſt intimation of it in *Euſebius*, from whom he derives his accounts of things. So plain it is, that of two ſeveral names he made two different perſons.

IV. GLAD he was to have fallen under ſo happy an inſtitution, *Origen* by the moſt apt and eaſie methods leading him through the whole region and circumference of Philoſophy. By how many Stages he brought him through the ſeveral parts of Diſcipline, *Logic*, *Phyſics*, *Mathematics*, *Ethics*, *Metaphyſics*, and how he introduced him into the myſteries of

[f] *Paneg. p.* 197. *&c.* Theology, S. *Gregory* himſelf has given us [f] large and particular accounts, which it is not material here to inſiſt upon. Above all he endeavoured to ſettle him in the full belief and perſuaſion of the Chriſtian Religion, whereinto he had ſome inſight before, and to ground him in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, as the beſt *Syſtem* of true Wiſdom and Philoſophy. Five years he continued *Origen*'s Diſciple, when he was recalled into his own Countrey. Being to take his leave, he made an Oration before his Maſter, and in a numerous Auditory, wherein as he

[g] *Ibid. p.* 178, 181. gives *Origen* his juſt commendations, ſo he particularly bleſſes God [g] for the happy advantages of his inſtructions, and return thanks to his tutelar and guardian *Angel*, which as it had ſuperintended him from his birth, ſo had eſpecially conducted him to ſo good a Maſter: elegantly bewail-

[h] *Ibid. p.* 218. *&c.* ing [h] his departure from that School, as a kind of baniſhment out of *Paradiſe*, a being turned like the Prodigal out of his Fathers houſe, and a being carried captive as the *Jews* were into *Babylon*: concluding, that

of

of all things upon earth, nothing could give ſo great an eaſe and conſolation to his mind, as if his kind and benign Angel would bring him back to that place again.

V. HE was no ſooner returned to *Neocæſarea*, but *Origen* followed him with a Letter [a], commending his excellent parts, able to render him either an eminent Lawyer among the *Romans*, or a great Philoſopher among the *Greeks*, but eſpecially perſuading him to improve them to the ends of Chriſtianity, and the practice of Piety and Vertue. For which purpoſe he lets him know, that he inſtructed him mainly in thoſe Sciences and parts of Philoſophy, which might be introductory to the Chriſtian Religion, acquainting him with thoſe things in Geometry and Aſtronomy, which might be uſeful for the underſtanding and explaining the holy Scriptures, theſe things being as previouſly advantageous to the knowledge of the Chriſtian Doctrin, as Geometry, Muſic, Grammar, Rhetoric, and Aſtronomy, are preparatory to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Adviſing him before all things to read the Scripture, and that with the moſt profound and diligent attention, and not raſhly to entertain notions of divine things, or to ſpeak of them without ſolemn premeditation; and not onely to *ſeek* but *knock*, to pray with faith and fervency, it being in vain to think that the door ſhould be opened where prayer is not ſent before-hand to unlock it. At his return [b] all mens eyes were upon him, expecting that in public meetings he ſhould ſhew himſelf and let them reap ſome fruit of all his ſtudies; and to this he was univerſally courted and importuned, and eſpecially by the wife and great men of the City, intreating him to reſide among them, and by his excellent precepts and rules of life to reform and direct the manners of men. But the modeſt young man knowing how unfit they generally were to entertain the dictates of true Philoſophy, and fearing leſt by a great concourſe and applauſe he might be inſenſibly enſnared into pride and vain-glory, reſiſted all addreſſes, and withdrew himſelf into the Wilderneſs, where he reſigned up himſelf to ſolitude and contemplation, converſing with God and his own mind, and delighting his thoughts with the pleaſant ſpeculations of nature, and the curious and admirable works of the great Artificer of the World.

[a] *Extat in Orig. Philocal. c.13.p.41.*

[b] *Gr.Nyſſ.ibi p. 975.*

VI. *NEOCÆSAREA* was a place large and populous, but miſerably over-grown with Superſtition and Idolatry, ſo that it ſeemed the place where *Satans ſeat* was, and whither Chriſtianity had as yet ſcarce made its entrance, to the great grief and reſentment of all good men, who heartily wiſhed that Religion and the fear of God were planted in that place. [c] *Phædimus* Biſhop of *Amaſea*, a neighbour City in that Province, a man indued with a Prophetic ſpirit, had caſt his eye upon our young Philoſopher, as one whoſe ripe parts and piety did more then weigh down his want of age, and rendred him a perſon fit to be a Guide of Souls to the place of his Nativity, whoſe relation to the place would more endear the imployment to him. The notice hereof being intimated to him, he ſhifted his Quarters, and as oft as ſought for, fled from one Deſert and ſolitary ſhelter to another, ſo that the good man by all his arts and induſtry could not lay hold of him, the one not being more earneſt to find him out, then the other was vigilant to decline him. *Phædimus* at laſt deſpairing to meet with him, reſolved however to go on with his deſign, and being acted ὁρμῇ τινι θειοτέρᾳ, by a divine and immediate *impetus*, betook himſelf to this pious ſtratagem (the like preſident

[c] *Id.ib.p.976.*

ſident probably not to be met with in the Antiquities of the Church) not regarding *Gregorius* his abſence (who was at that time no leſs then three days journy diſtant from him) he made his addreſs and prayer to God, and having declared that both himſelf and *Gregory* were at that moment equally ſeen by God, as if they were preſent, in ſtead of impoſition of hands, he directed a Diſcourſe to S. *Gregory*, wherein he ſet him apart to God, and conſtituted him Biſhop of that place, and God who ſteers the hearts of men, inclined him, how averſe ſoever before, to accept the charge, when, probably, he had a more formal and ſolemn Conſecration.

VII. THE Province he entered upon was difficult, the City and parts thereabouts being wholly given to the worſhip of *Dæmons*[a], and enſlaved to the obſervance of Diabolic Rites, there not being above ſeventeen Chriſtians in thoſe parts, ſo that he muſt found a Church before he could govern it; and which was not the leaſt inconvenience, Hereſies had ſpread themſelves over thoſe Countries, and he himſelf though accompliſhed with a ſufficient furniture of humane Learning, yet altogether unexerciſed in Theological ſtudies, and the myſteries of Religion. For remedy whereof he is ſaid to have had an immediate aſſiſtance from Heaven. For while one night he was deeply conſidering of theſe things, and diſcuſſing matters of Faith in his own mind, he had a viſion, wherein two auguſt and venerable perſons (whom he underſtood to be S. *John* the *Evangeliſt* and the bleſſed *Virgin*) appeared in the Chamber where he was, and diſcourſed before him concerning thoſe points of Faith, which he had been before debating with himſelf. After whoſe departure he immediately penned that *Canon* and rule of Faith which they had declared, and which he ever after made the Standard of his Doctrin, and bequeathed as an ineſtimable Legacy and *depoſitum* to his Succeſſors, the Tenor whereof we ſhall here inſert, together with the Original *Greek*; which being very difficult to be exactly rendred into our Language, the learned Reader (if he likes not mine) may tranſlate for himſelf.

[a] *Id. ubi ſupr. p.* 977.

Εἷς Θεὸς πατὴρ λόγου ζῶντος, σοφίας ὑφεστώσης καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τέλειος τελείου γεννήτωρ· πατὴρ υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς. Εἷς κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ· χαρακτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς θεότητος, λόγος ἐνεργός, σοφία τοῦ τὰ ὅλων συστάσεως περιεκτική, καὶ δύναμις τοῦ ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητική, υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινοῦ πατρός· ἀόρατος ἀοράτου, καὶ ἄφθαρτος ἀφθάρτου, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτου, καὶ ἀΐδιος ἀϊδίου. Καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, καὶ δι' υἱοῦ πεφηνός, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εἰκὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία ζωή, ζώντων αἰτία· πηγὴ ἁγία, ἁγιότης, ἁγιασμοῦ ἐξηρημένου· ἐν ᾧ φανερώται Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ ὢν πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι· Καὶ Θεὸς ὁ υἱὸς, ὁ διὰ πάντων· Τελεία τριὰς, δόξῃ καὶ ἀϊδιότητι

There is one God, the Father of the living Word, and of the ſubſiſting Wiſdom and Power, and of Him who is his Eternal Image, the perfect begetter of Him that is perfect, the Father of the onely begotten Son. There is one Lord, the onely [Son] of the onely [Father] God of God, the Character and Image of the Godhead, the powerful Word, the comprehenſive Wiſdom, by which all things were made, and the Power that gave Being to the whole Creation, the true Son of the true Father, the Inviſible of the Inviſible, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, and the Eternal of Him that is Eternal. There is one Holy Ghoſt, having its ſubſiſtence of God, which appeared through

&

ἡ βασιλεία, μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀ-πολογουμένη. *the Son to mankind, the perfect Image of the perfect Son, the Life-giving Life, the holy Fountain, the Sanctity, and the Author of Sanctification: by whom God the Father is made manifeſt, who is over all, and in all; and God the Son, who is through all. A perfect Trinity, which neither in Glory, Eternity, or Dominion is divided, or ſeparated from it ſelf.*

To this Creed he always kept himſelf, the Original whereof written with his own hand, my Author aſſures us was preſerved in that Church in his time.

VIII. THUS incomparably furniſhed, he began to apply himſelf more directly to the charge committed to him, in the happy ſucceſs whereof he was infinitely advantaged by a power of working miracles (ſo much talked of among the Ancients) beſtowed upon him. As he was [a] returning home from the Wilderneſs, being benighted, and overtaken with a ſtorm, he together with his company turned aſide to ſhelter themſelves in a *Gentile* Temple, famous for Oracles and Divinations, where they ſpent the night in prayers and hymns to God. Early in the morning came the *Gentile* Prieſt to pay the accuſtomed devotions to the *Dæmons* of the place, who had told them, it ſeems, that they muſt henceforth relinquiſh it by reaſon of him that lodged there; he made his luſtrations, and offered his Sacrifices, but all in vain, the *Dæmons* being deaf to all importunities and invocations. Whereupon he burſt out into a rage and paſſion, exclaiming againſt the holy man, and threatning to complain of him to the Magiſtrates, and the Emperour. But when he ſaw him generouſly deſpiſing all his threatnings, and inveſted with a power of commanding *Dæmons* in and out at pleaſure, he turned his fury into admiration, and intreated the Biſhop as a further evidence of that divine authority that attended him, to bring the *Dæmons* once more back again into the Temple. For whoſe ſatisfaction he is ſaid to have torn off a piece of Paper, and therein to have written theſe words, *Gregory to Satan, enter.* Which Schedule was no ſooner laid upon the Altar, and the uſual incenſe and oblations made, but the *Dæmons* appeared again as they were wont to do. Whereby he was plainly convinced that it was an Authority ſuperiour to all infernal powers, and accordingly reſolved to accompany him; but being unſatisfied in ſome parts of the Chriſtian Doctrin, was fully brought over, after he had ſeen S. *Gregory* confirm his diſcourſes by another evident miracle; whereupon he freely forſook houſe and home, friends, and relations, and reſigned up himſelf to the inſtructions of his divine Wiſdom and Philoſophy.

[a] *Ibid. p. 980.*

IX. THE fame of his ſtrange and miraculous actions had prepared [b] the People of *Neocæſarea* to entertain him with a prodigious reverence and regard, the people generally flocking out of the City to meet him, every one being ambitious to ſee the perſon of whom ſuch great things were ſpoken. He unconcerned in the applauſe and expectations of all the Spectators that were about him, without ſo much as caſting his eye on the one ſide or the other, paſſed directly through the midſt of the crowds into the City. Whither being come, his friends that had accompanied him out of his ſolitudes, were very ſolicitous where and by whom he ſhould be entertained. But he reproving their anxiety, asked

[b] *Id. ibid. p. 983.*

them, whether they thought themſelves baniſhed the divine Protection? whether Gods providence was not the beſt and ſafeſt refuge and habitation? that whatever became of their bodies, it was of infinitely more importance to look after their minds, as the onely fit and proper habitations, which were by the Vertues of a good life to be trimmed and prepared, furniſhed, and built up for Heaven. But there wanted not many, who were ready enough to ſet open their doors to ſo welcom a gueſt, among which eſpecially was *Muſonius*, a perſon of greateſt honour, eſtate, and power in the City, who intreated him to honour his houſe with his preſence, and to take up his lodging there: whoſe kindneſs, as being firſt offered he accepted, diſmiſſing the reſt with a grateful acknowledgment of that civility and reſpect which they had offered to him.

X. IT was no little abatement to the good mans joy to think in what a prophane and idolatrous place his lot was fallen, and that therefore it concerned him to loſe no time. Accordingly that very day he fell to preaching, and with ſo good ſucceſs, that before night he had converted a little Church. Early the next morning the doors were crowded, perſons of all ranks, ages, infirmities and diſtempers flocking to him, upon whom he wrought two cures at once, healing both ſoul and body, inſtructing their minds, convincing their errours, reclaiming and reforming their manners, and that with eaſe, becauſe at the ſame time ſtrengthening the infirm, curing the ſick, healing the diſeaſed, baniſhing *Dæmons* out of the poſſeſſed; men greedily embracing the Religion he taught, while they beheld ſuch ſenſible demonſtrations of its power and divinity before their eyes, and heard nothing reported but what was verified by the teſtimony of their own ſenſes. Having thus prepared a numerous Congregation, his next care was to erect a Church where they might aſſemble for the public ſolemnities of Religion, which by the chearful contributions of ſome, and the induſtrious labour of others, was in a little time both begun and finiſhed. And the foundations of it ſeem to have been laid upon a firmer baſis then other buildings, ſeeing it out-ſtood not onely Earthquakes, frequent in thoſe parts, but the violent ſtorm of *Diocleſian*'s reign, who commanded the Churches of the Chriſtians in all places to be demoliſhed; and was ſtill ſtanding in *Gregory Nyſſen*'s time, who further tells us, that when a terrible Earthquake lately happened in that place, wherewith almoſt all the buildings both public and private were deſtroyed and ruined, this Church onely remained entire, and not the leaſt ſtone was ſhaken to the ground.

[a] *ubi ſupr. p. 985.*

XI. S. *Gregory Nyſſen*[b] reports one more memorable paſſage then the reſt; which at his firſt coming to the place made his converſion of the people much more quick and eaſie. There was a public feſtival held in honour of one of the gods of that Country, whereto not onely the *Neocæſareans*, but all the inhabitants of the neighbour-Countrey came in, and that in ſuch infinite numbers, that the *Theater* was quickly full, and the crowd ſo great, and the noiſe ſo confuſed and loud, that the Shews could not begin, nor the ſolemn rites be performed. The People hereupon univerſally cried out to the *Dæmon*, *Jupiter, we beſeech thee make us room.* S. *Gregory* being told of this, ſent them this meſſage, that their prayer would be granted, and that greater room would be quickly made them, then they deſired. Immediately a terrible Plague brake in upon them, that turned their Muſic into Weeping, and filled all places

[b] *Ibid. p. 1007.*

with

with cries and dying groans. The diſtemper ſpread like Wild-fire, and perſons were ſick and dead in a few moments. The Temples, whither many fled in hopes of cure, were filled with carcaſſes; the Fountains and the Ditches, whither the heat and fervour of the infection had led them to quench their thirſt, were dammed up with the multitudes of thoſe that fell into them; ſome of their own accord went and ſate among the Tombs, ſecuring a Sepulchre to themſelves, there not being living enough to perform the laſt offices to the dead. The cauſe of this ſad calamity being underſtood, that it proceeded from their raſh and fooliſh invocation of the *Dæmon*, they addreſſed themſelves to the Biſhop, intreating him to intercede with his God (whom they believed to be a more potent and ſuperiour Being) in their behalf, that he would reſtrain that violent diſtemper that raged amongſt them. He did ſo, and the Peſtilence abated, and the deſtroying Angel took his leave. And the iſſue was, that the people generally deſerted their Temples, Oracles, Sacrifices, and the idolatrous Rites of their Religion, and took Sanctuary in Chriſtianity, as the ſecureſt refuge, and the beſt way to oblige Heaven to protect them.

XII. HIS known prudence, and the reputation of his mighty and (as my Author [a] calls them) *Apoſtolical* miracles advanced him into ſo much favour and veneration with the People, that they looked upon whatever he ſaid or did, as the effect of a divine power. And even in ſecular cauſes, where the caſe was any thing knotty and difficult, it was uſually brought to him, whoſe ſentence was accounted more juſt and impartial, more firm and valid then any other deciſion whatſoever. It happened that two Brothers were at Law about a Lake, which both challenged as belonging to that part of their inheritance their Father had left them. The Umpirage of the caſe was left to him, who by all the perſuaſive arts of inſinuation firſt endeavoured to reconcile them, and peaceably to accommodate the difference between them. But his pains proved fruitleſs and ineffectual, the young men ſtormed, and reſolved each to maintain his right by force of Arms, and a day was ſet when they were to try their titles by all the power which their tenants of each ſide could bring into the field. To prevent which the holy Biſhop went the night before to the place, where he continued all night in the exerciſes of devotion, and by his prayers to Heaven procured the Lake to be turned into a parcel of dry and ſolid ground, removing thereby the bone of contention that was between them, the remains of which Lake were ſhewed many Ages after. Thus [b] alſo he is ſaid to have miraculouſly reſtrained the violence of the River *Lycus*, which coming down from the Mountains of *Armenia* with a ſwift rapid torrent, and ſwelled by the tributary concurrence of other Rivers, fell down into a plain Champain Countrey, where over-ſwelling and ſometimes breaking down its banks, it overflowed the Countrey thereabouts, to the irreparable dammage of the inhabitants, and very often to the hazard and loſs of their lives. Unable to deal with it any other way, they apply themſelves to S. *Gregory* to improve his intereſt in Heaven, that God, who alone *rules the raging of the Sea*, would put a ſtop to it. He goes along with them to the place, makes his addreſs to him, who has *ſet a bound to the Waters, that they may not paſs over, nor turn again to cover the Earth*, thruſts his Staff down into the Bank, and prayed that that might be the boundary of the inſolent and raging ſtream, and ſo de-

[a] *Id. lib. p. 986.*

[b] *Ibid. p. 990.*

departed. And it took effect, the River ever after mannerly keeping within its Banks, and the Tradition adds, that the Staff it ſelf grew up into a large ſpreading Tree, and was ſhewed to Travellers together with the relation of the miracle in my Authors days. In his return from *Co-*
[a] *Ibid. p. 997.* *mana*[a] (whither he had been invited and importuned both by the Magiſtrates and People, to conſtitute a fit perſon Biſhop of that City) he was eſpied by two *Jews*, who knowing his charitable temper, either out of covetouſneſs, or a deſign to abuſe him, agreed to put a trick upon him. To that purpoſe one of them lies along upon the ground and feigns himſelf dead, the other deplores the miſerable fate of his companion, and begs of the holy Biſhop as he paſſed by to give ſomewhat towards his burial, who taking off his coat that was upon him, caſt it upon the [illegible], and went on his way. No ſooner was he gone out of ſight, but [illegible] *Impoſtor* came laughing to his fellow, bad him riſe, and let them make themſelves merry with the cheat. He called, pulled, and kicked him, but alas in vain, the comical ſport ended in a real Tragœdy, the man was dead indeed, his breath expiring that very moment the garment was caſt upon him, and ſo the Coat really ſerved for what he intended it, as a covering to his burial.

XIII. IN an Age ſo remote from the miraculous Ages of the Church, and after that the World has been ſo long abuſed by the impoſtures of a Church, pretending to miracles as one of the main notes and evidences of its Catholiciſm and Truth, theſe paſſages may poſſibly ſeem ſuſpicious, and not obtain a very eaſie belief with the more ſcrupulous Reader. To which perhaps it may be enough to ſay, at leaſt to juſtifie my relating them, that the things are reported by perſons of undoubted credit and integrity, eſpecially S. *Baſil* and his brother *Gregory*, both of them wiſe and good men, and who lived themſelves within leſs then an hundred years after our S. *Gregory*; and what is more conſiderable, were capable of deriving their intelligence from a ſurer hand then ordinary, their aged Grandmother *Macrina*, who taught them in their youth, and ſuperintended their education, having in her younger years been Scholar and Auditor of our S. *Gregory*, and from her I doubt not they received the moſt material paſſages of his life, and the account of his miracles, of many whereof ſhe her ſelf was capable of being an eye-witneſs, and wherewith ſhe acquainted them, as ſhe alſo did with the
[b] *Ad Neocæſar. Epiſt.* LXXV. *p.* 131. *Tom.* 3. doctrin that he taught, wherein S. *Baſil*[b] particularly tells us ſhe inſtructed them, and told them the very words which ſhe had heard from him, and which ſhe perfectly remembred at that age. Beſides, that his
[c] *ubi ſupr. p.* 985. Brother ſolemnly[c] profeſſes in recounting this great mans miracles, to ſet them down in a plain and naked relation, without any Rhetorical
Ib. p. 995. arts to amplifie and ſet them off, and to mention onely ſome few of thoſe great things that had been done by him, and purpoſely to ſuppreſs
[d] *Ibid. p.* 1009. many yet in memory, leſt men of incredulous minds ſhould disbelieve them, and count all Fables which were above the ſtandard of their ſentiments and apprehenſions. Indeed as to the main of the thing, I might challenge the faith of all Ages ever ſince, who have unanimouſly believed, and conveyed the report of it down to us, and upon this account the title of *Thaumaturgus*, the Wonder-worker, is conſtantly and uncontrollably aſcribed to him in the Writings of the Church. And
[e] *De Spir. S. c.* 29. *p.* 360. *Tom.* 2. S. *Baſil*[e] aſſures us, that upon this very account the *Gentiles* were wont to call him a *Second Moſes*, and that in his time he was had in ſuch uni-

verſal

verſal admiration among the People of that Countrey, and his memory ſo freſh among them, that no time would be able to blot it out.

XIV. IN this faithful and ſucceſsful management of his place, he quietly continued till about the year CCL. when the Emperour *Decius* [a] vexed to ſee the Chriſtian Religion ſo much yet the ground of declining Paganiſm, publiſhed very ſevere edicts againſt the Chriſtians, commanding the Governours of Provinces as they valued their heads, to put them into a ſtrict and rigorous execution; wherein *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* ſhared if not deeper, to be ſure equal with the reſt. All other buſineſs ſeemed to give way to this, perſecuting the Chriſtians was the debate of all public Councils, and the great care of Magiſtrates, which did not vent it ſelf in a few threatnings, and hard words, but in ſtudying methods of cruelty, and inſtruments of torment, the very apprehenſion whereof is dreadful and amazing to humane nature, Swords and Axes, Fire, Wild Beaſts, Stakes, and Engines to ſtretch and diſtend the limbs, iron Chairs made red hot, frames of Timber ſet up ſtrait, in which the bodies of the tormented, as they ſtood were raked with nails that tore off the fleſh: and innumerable other arts daily invented, every great man being careful that another ſhould not ſeem to be more fierce and cruel then himſelf. Some came in as Informers, others as Witneſſes, ſome ſearched all private corners, others ſeized upon them that fled, and ſome who gaped for their Neighbours Eſtates, took hold of the opportunity to accuſe and perſecute them for being Chriſtians. So that there was a general confuſion and conſternation, every man being afraid of his neareſt relatives, the Father not conſulting the ſafety of his Child, nor the Child regarding its duty to its Parents; the *Gentile* Son betraying his Chriſtian Father, and the Infidel Father accuſing his Son for embracing Chriſtianity, and the Brother accounting it a piece of Piety to violate the Laws of Nature in the cauſe of Religion, and to condemn his own Brother, becauſe a Chriſtian. By this means the Woods became full, and the Cities empty, and yet no ſooner were many houſes rid of their proper owners, but they were turned into common Goals, the public Priſons not being able to contain the multitudes of Chriſtians, that were ſent to them. You could not go into the Markets, or places of uſual concourſe, but you might have ſeen ſome apprehended, others led to trial or execution, ſome weeping, others laughing and rejoicing at the common miſery: no regard had to Age, or Sex, or Vertue or Merit, but as in a City ſtormed by a proud and potent Conquerour, every thing was without mercy expoſed to the rage and rudeneſs of a barbarous and inhumane enemy.

[a] *Id. ibid. p. 995*

XV. S. *GREGORY* beholding the ſad and calamitous ſtate of the preſent time, and having conſidered [b] ſeriouſly with himſelf the frailty and imbecillity of humane nature, and how few (of his new Converts eſpecially) would be able to bear up under thoſe fierce conflicts which the cauſe of Religion would engage them in, timely adviſed his Church a little to decline the force of the preſent ſtorms, telling them 'twas better by flying to ſave their ſouls, then by abiding thoſe furious trials to hazard their falling from the Faith. And to let them ſee that this might be done, and that herein there was no prejudice to their ſouls, he reſolved to ſhew them the way by his example, himſelf firſt retiring out of danger, retreating to a Deſert Mountain, accompanied with none but the *Gentile* Prieſt whom he had converted, and who miniſtred to him in

[b] *Ibid. p. 1001.*

the

capacity of a Deacon. And it was but time he ſhould withdraw, the enemy chiefly aiming at him as the head of the Party, and laying all poſſible ſnares to take him. Being informed where he lay concealed, they went in vaſt numbers to hunt him out, ſome beſetting round the foot of the Mountain, that he might not eſcape, others going up ſearched every place till they came very near him. He perſuading his Deacon to a firm confidence of the divine protection, preſently fell to prayer, as the other alſo did by his example, with eyes and hands lift up to Heaven. The Perſecutors in the mean time pried into all places, examined every buſh and ſhrub, every creviſe of a Rock, every nook and hole, but finding nothing, returned back to their companions at the bottom, hoping that by this time he might be fallen into their hands. And when the Informer deſcribed the very place where he lay, they affirmed they ſaw nothing there but a couple of trees a little diſtant from each other. The company being gone, the Informer ſtaid behind, and went directly to the place, where finding them at their devotions, and concluding their eſcape to be the immediate effect of a divine preſervation (God having blinded their eyes that they ſhould not ſee them) fell down at the Biſhops feet, gave up himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and a companion of his ſolitudes and dangers.

Ibid. p. 1002. XVI. DESPAIRING now of meeting with the Shepherd, the Wolves fell with the fiercer rage upon the Flock that ſtaid behind, and not there onely, but ran up and down all parts of the Province, ſeizing upon Men, Women, and Children, that had but any reverence for the name of Chriſt, dragging them to the City, and caſting them into Priſon, where they were ſure to be entertained with variety of tortures. S. *Gregory* in the mean time remained in his ſolitary retirement, till God having mercifully commanded the Storm to blow over, and the tyranny of the Perſecution to ceaſe, he quitted his ſhady and melancholy Walks, and came back to *Neocæſarea*, and viſiting his Dioceſs all about, eſtabliſhed in every place anniverſary Feſtivals and Solemnities, to do honour to the memory of the Martyrs, that had ſuffered in the late Perſecution. A great inſtance of his wiſdom and prudence at that time, not onely in doing right to the memory of the Martyrs, but by this means training up people to a readier embracing of Religion, when they ſaw that it indulged them a little mirth and freedom in the midſt of thoſe ſevere Yokes that it put upon them. He had obſerved what advantage the idolatry of the *Gentiles* made by permitting its Votaries liberty (indeed licentiouſneſs) in their religious ſolemnities, and he reaſonably preſumed it would be no little encouragement to ſome to deſert their ſuperſtitions, and come over to Chriſtianity, if they were ſuffered to rejoice, and uſe a little more innocent freedom then at other times, which could not be better done then at the *Memorials* of the Martyrs, though it cannot be denied, but that this cuſtom produced ill effects afterwards.

XVII. IN the reign of the Emperour *Gallienus* about the year CCLX. and for ſome years before, God being (as *Oſorius* [a] truly enough conjectures) offended with the cruel uſage which the Chriſtians met withall from the preſent Powers, was reſolved to puniſh the World. And to that end did not onely ſuffer *Valerian* the Emperour (friendly enough at firſt, but afterwards a bitter Perſecutor of the Chriſtians) to be betrayed into the hands of *Sapor* King of *Perſia* (who treated him with the higheſt inſtances of ſcorn and inſolence) but permitted the *Northern* [b] Nations like

[a] *Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 22. *fol.* 311.
[b] *Treb. Poll. in vit. Gallien. c.* 4, 5. *p.* 717, 718. *vid. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *p.* 352. *&c.* 359. *& Treb. Poll. in vit. Claud. c.* 8. *p.* 806.

like a mighty inundation to break down the Banks, and overflow moſt parts of the *Roman* Empire. The *Germans* betook themſelves ſome into *Spain*, others paſſed the *Alps*, and came through *Italy* as far as *Ravenna*; the *Alemanni* forraged *France*, and invaded *Italy*; the *Quades* and *Sarmatæ* waſted *Pannonia*, the *Parthians* fell into *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and the *Goths* broke in upon *Pontus*, *Aſia*, and ſome parts of *Greece*. Intollerable were the outrages which theſe barbarous people committed where-ever they came, but eſpecially upon the Chriſtians, whoſe goods they plundred, raviſhed their Wives and Daughters, tortured their perſons and compelled them to offer ſacrifice, and communicate in their Idol-Feaſts: many of the *Renegadoes* ſpoiling their fellow-Chriſtians, and ſome under a pretence of finding, ſtole, or at leaſt kept their neighbours goods to their own uſe. In this general confuſion, a neighbour Biſhop of thoſe parts writes to S. *Gregory* of *Neocæſarea* to beg his advice what to do in this ſad ſtate of affairs. Who by *Euphroſynus* ſent back a *Canonical* Epiſtle (ſo often cited and magnified by the Ancients, and ſtill extant) to rectifie theſe irregularities and diſorders, wherein he preſcribes the ſeveral ſtations and orders of Penitents, but eſpecially reproves and cenſures their inordinate avarice, ſhewing how uncomely it is in it ſelf, how unſutable to Chriſtians, how abhorrent to God and all good men to covet and graſp what is another mans; and how much more barbarous and inhumane in this calamitous time to ſpoil the oppreſſed, and to enrich themſelves by the bloud and ruines of their miſerable Brethren. And becauſe ſome might be apt to plead they did not ſteal, but onely take up what they accidentally met with, he lets them know, that whatever they had found of their neighbours, nay though it were their enemies, they were bound by Gods Law to reſtore it, much more to their Brethren, who were fellow-ſufferers with them in the ſame condition. And if any thought it were warrant enough to keep what they had found, though belonging to others, having been ſuch deep loſers themſelves, he tells them, this is to juſtifie one wickedneſs with another, and becauſe the *Goths* had been enemies to them, they would become *Goths* and Barbarians unto others. Nay many (as he tells us) joined in with the Barbarians in open perſecuting, captivating, and tormenting of their Brethren. In all which caſes he pronounces them fit to be excluded the communion of the Saints, and not to be readmitted till by a juſt penance according to the various circumſtances of the caſe, they had made public and ſolemn ſatisfaction to the Church.

XVIII. NOT long after this, *Paulus* of *Samoſata* Biſhop of *Antioch* began to broach very pernicious Doctrins concerning the perſon of our bleſſed Saviour. To prevent the infection whereof, the moſt eminent of the Biſhops and Clergy of all thoſe parts frequently met in Synod at *Antioch*, the chief of whom [a] were *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, our S. *Gregory* and his brother *Athenodorus* Biſhop alſo in *Pontus*, and ſome others. The Synod being ſate, and having canvaſſed the matter, the crafty Heretic ſaw 'twas in vain to contend, and therefore diſſembling his errours as well as he could, he confeſſed what could not be hid, and by a feigned repentance ſalved his credit for the preſent, and ſecured his continuance in that honourable place he held in the Church. This Council was held *Ann. Chr.* CCLXIV. which our S. *Gregory* ſeems not long to have ſurvived, dying either this, or moſt probably the following

[a] *Euſeb. H. E. l. 7. c. 27. p. 278.*

[a] *Lib.6.c.17. p.* 408.
[b] *In voc.* Γρηγόριος. *p* 628.

lowing year. [a] *Nicephorus* makes him to have lived to a very great age, which he muſt, if (as he affirms) he died under *Diocleſian*; and [b] *Suidas* by a miſtake much more prodigious, makes him to deceaſe in the reign of *Julian*. A little before his death, being ſenſible that his time drew near, he ſent [c] up and down the City and the Vicinage to make a ſtrict enquiry whether there were any that yet were ſtrangers to the Chriſtian Faith. And being told that there were but ſeventeen in all, he ſighed, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, appealed to God how much it troubled him, that he ſhould leave any part of mens ſalvation incompleat, but that withall it was a mercy that challenged the moſt grateful reſentment, that when he himſelf had found but ſeventeen Chriſtians at his firſt coming thither, he ſhould leave but ſeventeen Idolaters to his ſucceſſor. Having heartily prayed for the converſion of Infidels, and the increaſe and conſummation of thoſe that were converted, he calmly and peaceably reſigned up his ſoul to God: having firſt enjoyned his friends to make no trouble about his Funeral, nor procure him any proper and peculiar place of burial, but that as in his life time he had accuſtomed himſelf as a Pilgrim and Foreigner in the World, claiming nothing for himſelf, ſo after death he might enjoy the portion of a Stranger, and be caſt into the common lot.

[c] *Gr. Nyſſ. ubi ſupr. p.* 1006.

[d] *De Spir. S. c.* 29. *p.* 359. *Tom.* 2.
[e] *Id. ad Cler. Neocæſ. Epiſt.* LXIII. *p.* 97. *T.*3.

XIX. HE was a man (ſays [d] S. *Baſil*) of a Prophetical and Apoſtolic temper, and who in the whole courſe of his life expreſſed the height and accuracy of an Evangelical converſation. In all his [e] devotions he was wont to ſhew the greateſt reverence, never covering his head in prayer, as accounting that of the Apoſtle moſt proper and rational, that *every one praying or prophecying with his head covered, diſhonoureth his head.* All Oaths he avoided, making *Yea* and *Nay* the uſual meaſure of his communication. Out of regard to our Lords threatning he durſt never call his Brother *Fool*; no anger, wrath, or bitterneſs proceeded out of his mouth. Slandering and reproaching others he greatly hated, as a quality oppoſite to a ſtate of ſalvation. Envy and Pride were ſtrangers to his innocent and guileleſs ſoul. Never did he approach the holy Altar, till firſt reconciled to his Brother. He ſeverely abominated lies and falſhood, and all cunning and artificial methods of detraction; well knowing that every lie is the ſpawn and iſſue of the Devil, and that God will deſtroy all thoſe that ſpeak lies.

[f] *De Script. in Theodor.*

XX. HIS Writings are firſt particularly mentioned by [f] S. *Hierom*, who reckons up his *Euchariſtical Panegyric* to *Origen*, his ſhort and (as he calls it) very uſeful *Metaphraſe* upon *Eccleſiaſtes*, ſeveral Epiſtles (in which doubtleſs his Canonical Epiſtle had the firſt place) and his *Creed* or ſhort expoſition of Faith, which though not taken notice of in ſome, is extant in other Editions of S. *Hieroms Catalogue.* All which (ſome of his Epiſtles excepted) are ſtill extant, and probably are all he ever wrote. For though there are other Tracts commonly aſcribed to him, yet without any great reaſon or evidence to warrant their legitimacy, whereof their ſtrongeſt aſſertors are not very confident. It appears from [g] S. *Baſil* that he was by ſome of old ſuſpected as inclining to *Sabellianiſm*, which confounded the perſons in the holy Trinity, and that many ſheltered themſelves under his authority from an expreſſion of his, affirming that *the Father and Son are two in the conſideration of the mind, but one in perſon.* For this S. *Baſil* makes a large Apology, and ſhews that it was ſpoken in the heat of diſputation againſt *Ælian* a Gen-

[g] *Ad Doct. Eccleſ. Neocæſar. Epiſt.* LXIV. *p.* 101.

tile

tile, ὡ δογμαλικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς, not dogmatically as a point of Doctrin, but in haſt and in the fervency of diſputation, when judgment and conſideration is not at leiſure to weigh every thing by nice ſcruples; that his earneſt deſire to gain the *Gentile* made him leſs cautious and ſolicitous about exactneſs of words, and that he indulged ſomething to the apprehenſions of his adverſary, that ſo he might get the better advantage upon him in the greater and more important principles; that this betraid him into ſome unwary expreſſions, which the Heretics of after-times improved to bad purpoſes, and ſtrained to another ſenſe then what was originally intended by him that ſpake them: That as to the particular charge of the *Sabellian* errour [a], he was ſo far from it, that it had been chiefly confuted and laid aſleep by the evidence of that very doctrin which S. *Gregory* had preached, the memory whereof was preſerved freſh among them. However nothing can be more true and modeſt then what S. *Hierom* obſerves in ſuch caſes, that it's great raſhneſs and irreverence preſently to charge the Ancients with Hereſie for a few obnoxious expreſſions, ſince it may be, they erred with a ſimple and an honeſt mind, or wrote them in another ſenſe, or the paſſages have been ſince altered by ignorant Tranſcribers, or they took leſs heed and care to deliver their minds with the utmoſt accuracy and exactneſs, while as yet men of perverſe minds had not ſown their tares, nor diſturbed the Church with the clamour of their diſputations, nor infected mens minds with their poiſonous and corrupt opinions.

[a] *Ibid. p. 99.*

[b] *Apol. adv. Ruffin. lib. 2. p. 219. Tom. 2.*

His Writings.

Genuine.	Suppoſititious.
	Ἡ κατὰ μέρος Πίστις.
Παννυχικὸν ὁμιλία ad Origenem.	*Capita* XII. *de fide, cum Anathematiſmis.*
Metaphraſis in Eccleſiaſtem.	*In Annunciationem S. Dei Genitricis Sermones* III.
Brevis expoſitio fidei.	*Sermo in Sancta Theophania.*
Epiſtola Canonica.	*Ad Tatianum de Anima* λόγος κεφαλαιώδης.
Aliæ Epiſtolæ plures, quæ non extant.	

The End of S. GREGORY Thaumaturgus's *Life.*

THE LIFE OF S. DIONYSIUS BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

S. DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS.

The place of his nativity. His Family and Relations. His conversion how. His studies under Origen. *Whether a professed* Rhetorician. *His succeeding* Heraclas *in the Catechetic School. His being constituted Bishop*

of Alexandria, *and the time of it. A preparatory Perſecution at* Alexandria, *how begun. The ſeverity of it. The Martyrdom of* Apollonia, *and the fond honours done her in the Church of* Rome. *The Perſecution continued and promoted by* Decius *his Edicts. The miſerable condition of the Chriſtians. The ſudden Converſion and Martyrdom of a Guard of Souldiers.* Dionyſius *apprehended and carried into baniſhment, there to be beheaded. A pleaſant account of his unexpected deliverance by means of a drunken rout. His retirement into the Deſarts. His return to* Alexandria. *The great number and quality of the* Lapſed *in the late Perſecution. The conteſts about this matter.* Dionyſius *his judgment and practice herein. The caſe of* Serapion. *His dealing with* Novatian *about his Schiſm, and the copy of his Letter to him. His being engaged in the controverſie about Rebaptization, and great moderation in it. His Letter to Pope* Sixtus *about a perſon baptized by Heretics.* Valerianus *the Emperours kindneſs to Chriſtians. How turned to cruelty.* Dionyſius *brought before* Æmilian. *His diſcourſe with him, and reſolute conſtancy. He is condemned to be baniſhed. His tranſportation into the Deſarts of* Lybia. *The ſucceſs of his Miniſtry there. Innumerable Barbarians converted to the Faith.* Gallienus *his relaxing the Perſecution. His Letter to* Dionyſius *granting liberty to the Chriſtians.* Alexandria *ſhut up by the uſurpation of* Æmilian. *The Diviſions within, and Siege without. The horrible Peſtilence at* Alexandria; *and the ſingular kindneſs and compaſſion of the Chriſtians there above the Heathens.* Dionyſius *his confutation of* Sabellius. *His unwary expreſſions, and the charge againſt him. His vindication, both by himſelf and by* S. Athanaſius. *His writing againſt* Nepos. Nepos *who, and what his Principles and Followers.* Dionyſius *his encounter with the heads of the Party; His convincing and reducing them back to the Orthodox Church. His engaging in the Controverſie againſt* Paulus Samoſatenus. *The looſe, extravagant, and inſolent temper and manners of that man.* Dionyſius *his Letter to the Synod at* Antioch *concerning him. The ſucceſs of that affair.* Dionyſius *his death. His Writings and Epiſtles. The loſs of them bewailed.*

I. DIONYSIUS was in all probability born at *Alexandria*, where his Parents [a] ſeem to have been perſons of conſiderable note and quality, and his Father, and poſſibly his Anceſtors, to have born very honourable Offices, and himſelf to have lived ſome time in great ſecular pomp and power. He was born and bred a *Gentile*, but by what particular occaſion converted to Chriſtianity, I know not, more then what we learn from a Viſion and Voice that ſpake to him, mentioned by [b] himſelf, that by a diligent reading whatever Books fell into his hand, and an impartial examination of the things contained in them, he was firſt brought over to the Faith. Having paſſed his juvenile ſtudies, he put himſelf under the inſtitution of the renowned [c] *Origen*, the great Maſter at that time at *Alexandria*, famous both for Philoſophic and Chriſtian Lectures, after which he is ſaid by ſome [d] to have publicly profeſſed Rhetoric and Eloquence; as indeed there ſeems a more peculiar vein of Fanſie and Rhetoric to run through thoſe fragments of his Diſcourſes which do yet

[a] *Vid. Euſeb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 260. A.*

[b] *Epiſt. ad Philem. ib. c. 7. p. 253.*

[c] *Ibid. l. 6. c. 29. p. 229. Hieron. de Script. in Dionyſ.*

[d] *Anaſtaſ. Sinait. Odeg. c. 22. p. 341. Maxim. Schol. in c. 5. de Cæleſt. Hierarch. p. 24. Tom. 2.*

yet remain. But I can ſcarce believe that the *Dionyſius* mentioned by *Anaſtaſius* and *Maximus*, and by them ſaid of a Rhetorician to be made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to have been the ſame with ours, were it for no other reaſon, then that he is ſaid to have written *Scholia* on the Works of S. *Denys* the *Areopagite*, which we are well aſſured had no being in the World till many years after his time. *Ann.* CCXXXII. *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* being dead, *Heraclas* one of *Origen's* Scholars, and his ſucceſſor in the *Catechetic School*, ſucceeded in his room; upon whoſe preferment *Dionyſius* then Presbyter of that Church was advanced to his place. Wherein he diſcharged himſelf with ſo much care and diligence, ſuch univerſal applauſe and ſatisfaction, that upon *Heraclas* his death, who ſate fifteen or ſixteen years, none was thought ſo fit to be again his ſucceſſor as *Dionyſius*, who accordingly entred upon that See *Ann.* CCXLVI. though *Euſebius* his *Chronicon* places it two years after; *Philippi Iun. Ann.* V. expreſly contrary to his Hiſtory, where he aſſigns the third year of that Emperour, for the time of his conſecration to that place.

[a] *Euſeb. lib. c. 35. p. 232.*

II. THE firſt years of his Epiſcopal charge were calm and peaceable, till *Decius* ſucceeding in the Empire *Ann.* CCXLIX. turned all into hurry and combuſtion, perſecuting the Chriſtians with the utmoſt violence, whereof the Church of *Alexandria* had a heavy portion. Indeed the Perſecution there had begun [b] a year before, while *Philip* the Emperour was yet alive, upon this occaſion: A certain *Gentile* Prieſt or Poet led the Dance, exciting the People of that place (naturally prone to ſuperſtition) to revenge the quarrel of their gods. The multitude once raiſed, ran on with an uncontrolable fury, accounting cruelty to the Chriſtians, the onely inſtance of piety to their gods. Immediately they lay hands upon one *Metras* an aged man, who refuſing to blaſpheme his Saviour, they beat him with clubs, pricked him in the face and eyes with ſharp Reeds, and afterwards leading him into the Suburbs, ſtoned him. The next they ſeized on was a Woman called *Quinta*, whom they carried to the Temple, where having refuſed to worſhip the Idol, ſhe was dragged by the feet through the ſtreets of the City over the ſharp flints, daſhed againſt great ſtones, ſcourged with whips, and in the ſame place diſpatched by the ſame death. *Apollonia* an ancient Virgin being apprehended, had all her teeth daſhed out, and was threatned to be burnt alive, who onely begging a little reſpite, of her own accord chearfully leapt into the flames. Incredible it is (but that the caſe is evident from more inſtances then one) with how fond a veneration the Church of *Rome* celebrates the memory of this Martyr [c]. They infinitely extol her for the nobility of her Birth, the eminent piety and vertues of her Life, her chaſtity, humility, frequent faſtings, fervent devotions, *&c.* (though not one ſyllable of all this mentioned by any ancient Writer) bring in a voice from Heaven ſtiling her, the *Spouſe of Chriſt*, and telling her, that God had granted her what ſhe had asked. They make her the tutelar Goddeſs or Guardian of all that are troubled with the tooth or headach, and in many ſolemn Offices of that Church, pray that at her interceſſion God would cure them of thoſe pains; nay formally addreſs their prayers to her, that ſhe would intercede with God for them on that behalf, and *by her Paſſion obtain for them* (they are the very words of the Prayer) *the remiſſion of all the ſins which with teeth and mouth they had committed through gluttony and ſpeaking.* Innumerable

[b] *Ep. ejus ad Fab. ibid. c. 41. p. 236.*

[c] *Vid. Bolland. de vit. SS. ad Febr. IX.*

are

are the miracles reported of her, and to me, it ſeems a miracle, and to exceed all the reſt, were it true, what is related of the vaſt number of her teeth. For beſides thoſe which are preſerved among the Reliques of foreign Churches (which are not a few) we are *told, that when King *Edward*, then afflicted with the Tooth-ach, commanded that all S. *Apollonia's* teeth in the Kingdom ſhould be ſought out and ſent him; ſo many were brought in, that ſeveral great Tuns could not hold them. It ſeems they were reſolved to make her ample amends for thoſe few teeth ſhe loſt at the time of her Martyrdom. But it is time to return to the *Alexandrian* Perſecution, where they every where broke open the Chriſtians houſes, taking away the beſt of their goods, and burning what was not worth the carrying away. A Chriſtian could not ſtir out day or night, but they preſently cried out, *Away with him to the fire.* In which manner they continued, till quarrelling among themſelves they fell foul upon one another, and gave the Chriſtians a little breathing time from the purſuits of their malice and inhumanity.

* *Vid. Chemnit. exam. Concil. Trid. Part.* IV. *de reliq. SS. p.* 13. *col.* 1.

III. IN this poſture ſtood affairs when *Decius* having uſurped the Empire, routed and killed his Maſter *Philip*, his Edict arrived at *Alexandria*, which gave new life to their rage and cruelty. And now they fall on afreſh, and perſons of all ages, qualities, and profeſſions are accuſed, ſummoned, dragged, tortured, and executed with all imaginable ſeverity; multitudes of whom, * *Dionyſius* particularly reckons up, together with the manner of their martyrdom and execution. Vaſt numbers that fled for ſhelter to the Woods and Mountains, met with a worſe death abroad, then that which they ſought to avoid at home, being famiſhed with hunger and thirſt, ſtarved with cold, over-run with diſeaſes, ſurprized by thieves, or worried by wild beaſts, and many taken by the *Arabs* and barbarous *Saracens*, who reduced them into a ſtate of ſlavery more miſerable then death it ſelf. In this evil time though many revolted from the Faith, yet others maintained their ſtation with a firm and unſhaken courage, and ſeveral who till that moment had been ſtrangers and enemies to the Chriſtian Religion, on a ſudden came in and publicly profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians in open defiance of thoſe immediate dangers that attended it. Whereof one inſtance may ſuffice. One who was thought to be a Chriſtian, and ready to renounce his Religion, being led into the place of Judicature, *Ammon*, *Zeno*, and the reſt of the military Guard that ſtood at the door, derided him as he was going in, gnaſhing upon him with their teeth, and making ſuch grimaces, ſuch mimic and antique geſtures, that all mens eyes were upon them. When behold on a ſudden before any one laid hand upon them, they came into open Court, and unanimouſly profeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians. An accident wherewith the Governors and the Aſſeſſors upon the Bench were ſtrangely ſurprized and troubled. The condemned were chearful and couragious, and moſt ready to undergo their torments, while the Judges themſelves were amazed and trembled. Sentence being paſſed upon them, they went out of Court in a kind of pomp and ſtate, rejoicing in the teſtimony they were to give to the Faith, and that God would ſo glorioufly triumph in their execution.

* *Ibid. p.* 238.

† *Ib. c.* 42. *p.* 240.

IV. S. *DIONYSIUS* bore a part in the common Tragœdy, though God was pleaſed to preſerve him from the laſt and ſevereſt act, as a perſon eminently uſeful to his Church. No ſooner had * *Sabinus* the *Præfect* received the Imperial Orders, but he immediately diſpatched a *Frumentarius*,

‡ *Epiſt Dion. ad Germ. ibid. c.* 40. *p.* 235.

tarius, or military Officer (whoſe place it was to ſeize Delinquents, and enquire out ſeditious reports and practices againſt the State, and therefore particularly belonged to Judges and Governours of Provinces) to apprehend him. The Serjeant went all about, and narrowly ranſacked every corner, ſearching all ways and places where he thought he might hide himſelf, but in the mean time never ſearched his own houſe, concluding he would not dare to abide at home, and yet there he ſtaid four days together, expecting the Officers coming thither. At length being warned of God, he left his houſe with his ſervants and ſome of the Brethren that attended him, but not long after fell into the hands of the Souldiers, and having received his ſentence, was conducted by a Guard under the command and conduct of a Centurion and ſome other Officers to *Taposiris*, a little Town between [c] *Alexandria* and *Canopus*, there probably to be beheaded with leſs noiſe and clamour. It happened in the mean while that *Timotheus* one of his friends, knowing nothing of his apprehenſion, came to the houſe where he had been, and finding it empty, and a Guard at the door, fled after him in a great amazement and diſtraction, whom a Country man meeting upon the Road, enquired of him the cauſe why he made ſo much haſt. He probably ſuppoſing to have heard ſome news of them, gave him a broken and imperfect relation of the matter. The man was going to a Wedding feaſt (which there they were wont to keep all night) and entering the houſe told his company what he had heard. They heated with Wine, and elevated with mirth, roſe all up and ran out of doors, and with a mighty clamour came towards the place where he was. The Guard hearing ſuch a noiſe and confuſion at that time of night, left their Priſoner and ran away, whom the rabble coming in found in bed. The good man ſuppoſing them to be Thieves, was reaching his cloaths that lay by him to give them; but they commanded him to riſe preſently and go along with them, whereat he beſought them (underſtanding now the errand upon which they came) to diſmiſs him and depart, at leaſt to be ſo kind to him, as to take the Souldiers Office upon them, and themſelves behead him. While he was thus paſſionately importuning them, they forced him to riſe, and when he had thrown himſelf upon the ground, they began to drag him out by the hands and feet, but quitted him not long after, and returned it's like to their drunken ſports. This Trage-comic Scene thus over, *Caius* and *Fauſtus*, *Peter* and *Paul*, Presbyters, and his fellow-priſoners, took him up, and leaving the Town, ſet him upon an Aſs, and conveyed him away [a] into a deſolate and uncomfortable part of the Deſarts of *Lybia*, where he together with *Peter* and *Caius*, lay concealed, till the ſtorm was over-paſt.

[a] *Vid. Epiſt. ejus ad Domit. ib. l. 7. c. 11. p. 260.*

V. THE Perſecution being in a great meaſure blown over by the death of *Decius*, *Dionyſius* came out of his Solitudes, and returned to *Alexandria*, where he found the affairs of his Church infinitely entangled and out of order, eſpecially by reaſon of thoſe great numbers that had denied the Faith, and lapſed into Idolatry in the late Perſecution, among which were many of the wealthy and the honourable, and who had places of authority and power; ſome freely renouncing, others ſo far degenerating from the Gallantry of a Chriſtian ſpirit, that when cited to appear and ſacrifice to the gods (as he tells us [b]) they trembled, and looked as pale and gaſtly, as if they had come not to offer, but to be made a ſacrifice, inſomuch that the very *Gentiles* derided and deſpiſed them.

[b] *Ib. l. 6. c. 40. p. 238.*

them. Moſt of theſe after his return ſued to be readmitted to the Communion of the Church, which the Eccleſiaſtic Diſcipline of thoſe Times did not eaſily allow of, eſpecially after the *Novatian* principles began to prevail, which denied all communion to the lapſed, though expreſſing their ſorrow by never ſo long and great a penance. Upon what occaſion *Novatus* and his partner *Novatian* firſt ſtarted this rigorous and ſevere opinion, how eagerly *Cyprian* and the *African* Biſhops ſtickled againſt it, how far it was condemned both there and at *Rome*, in what caſes and by what meaſures of Penance the lapſed Penitents were to be taken in, we have already noted in *Cyprian's* Life. S. *Dionyſius* was of the moderate Party, wherein he had the concurrence of moſt of the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, and as he * pleads the general judgment and practice of the holy Martyrs, many of whom had before their death received the lapſed upon their repentance again into the Church, and had themſelves freely communicated with them. Whoſe judgment he thought it not reaſonable ſhould be deſpiſed, nor their practice controlled, nor the accuſtomed order overturned. Indeed he himſelf had ever obſerved this courſe, and therefore at the beginning of the Perſecution had given [a] order to the Presbyters of the Church to reſtore peace, and give the Euchariſt to Penitents, eſpecially in danger of death, and where they had before earneſtly deſired it. Which was done accordingly, as appears from the memorable inſtance of *Serapion*, an aged perſon, mentioned by him, who having lapſed in the time of Perſecution, had often deſired reconciliation, but in that confuſed time could not obtain it: but being ſuddenly ſurprized by a ſummons of death, and having laid three days ſpeechleſs, on the fourth had onely ſo much uſe of his tongue reſtored him, as to bid his Nephew, a Boy that attended him, go for one of the Presbyters, to give him abſolution, without which he could not die. The Presbyter was at that time ſick, but pitying the mans caſe, gave the Boy a little part of the conſecrated Euchariſt, which he kept by him, bidding him moiſten it, and put it into his mouth. Which was no ſooner done, but he breathed out his ſoul with unſpeakable comfort and ſatisfaction, that he now died in communion with the Church.

* *Epiſt. ad Fab. ibid. c. 42. p. 241*

[a] *Ibid. c. 44. p. 246.*

VI. NOR was his care herein confined to his ſingle Dioceſs, but he wrote Letters about this matter to moſt of the eminent Biſhops and Governours of the Church. And that he might leave nothing unattempted, he treated with *Novatian* (or as he calls him *Novatus*) himſelf, endeavouring by all mild and gentle methods to reduce him to the peace and order of the Church. His Epiſtle to him, being but ſhort and very pathetical, we ſhall here ſubjoin [b].

[b] *Ibid. c. 45. p. 247.*

Dionyſius to *Novatus* our Brother, greeting:

FOraſmuch as you your ſelf confeſs, you were unwillingly drawn into this Schiſm, make it appear ſo by your willing and ready returning to the Church. For better it were to ſuffer any thing, then that the Church of God ſhould be rent aſunder. Nor is it leſs glorious to ſuffer Martyrdom upon this account, then in the caſe of not ſacrificing to Idols. Yea, in my mind much more honourable. For in the one caſe a man ſuffers onely for his own ſoul, but in this he undergoes Martyrdom for the whole Church of God. And if now thou ſhalt perſwade and reduce thy brethren to peace and concord, thy merit

merit will out-weigh thy crime. The one will not be charged to thy reproach, and the other will be mentioned to thy praiſe. And ſuppoſe thou ſhalt not be able to perſuade them, yet however ſave thy own ſoul. I pray that thou mayeſt live peaceably, and farewell in the Lord.

VII. NO ſooner had he well rid his hands of this, but he was engaged in another controverſie, which involved and diſturbed the whole Chriſtian Church, I mean that concerning the rebaptizing thoſe who had been baptized by Heretics, ſo hotly diſputed between S. *Cyprian* and *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*. [a] *Dionyſius* together with *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and a great many others in the *Eaſt*, ſtood on *Cyprian*'s ſide, maintaining that they ought to be baptized. But however carried himſelf in it with great temper and moderation; he diſtinguiſhed between Apoſtates who had received their baptiſm in the Catholic Church, and thoſe upon their return they did not baptize (as *Cyprian* alſo affirms) but onely admitted by impoſition of hands, and this rule and practice, he tells us [b], he had learned from his predeceſſor *Heraclas*: but then for pure Heretics, who had no other baptiſm then what had been conferred by Heretical perſons, (which in reality was null and of no effect) theſe he thought fit to be entered into the Church by Catholic baptiſm. Beſides that, he engaged more as a Mediator, then a Party, writing to Pope *Stephen* to uſe moderation in the caſe, as he did alſo to *Sixſtus* his ſucceſſor, and moſt other Biſhops of that time. Indeed that he was not ſtiff and rigorous in his ſentiments, may appear from the inſtance he relates in his Epiſtle to Pope *Sixtus*, wherein he begs his advice. [c] A certain man in his Church, who went among the Claſſe of the faithful, both in his and his Predeceſſors days, beholding the form and manner of Baptiſm as it was adminiſtred among the Orthodox, came to *Dionyſius*, and with tears bewailed his own caſe, and falling at his feet, confeſſed that the Baptiſm which he had received among the Heretics was nothing like this, but full of blaſphemy and impiety; that for this reaſon he was infinitely troubled in conſcience, and durſt not lift up his eyes to Heaven, begging that he might partake of the true and ſincere Baptiſm, and that grace and acceptation that was conferred by it. This *Dionyſius* would not admit, telling him that his long communion with the Church was equivalent to it, that he that had ſo often been preſent at the giving of thanks, and ſaid *Amen* to the prayers of the Congregation, that had ſtood before the holy Table, and had taken the holy food into his hands, and been ſo very long partaker of the body and bloud of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, that having done thus for ſo many years together, he durſt not admit him to another Baptiſm: bidding him to be of good chear, and with a firm faith and a good conſcience approach the holy Sacrament. All which notwithſtanding did not quiet the mans mind, but that ſtill he droopt under his fears and ſcruples, durſt not be preſent at the Lords Table, nor could hardly be perſuaded to come to the public Prayers. What anſwer *Sixtus* returned to this inſtance, is uncertain, but by this it is evident, that S. *Dionyſius* was no zealot for the contrary opinion, though it muſt be confeſſed, there was ſomething particular in this, that occurred not in ordinary caſes, he preſuming that ſo long a communion with the Church, ſo continued and open a profeſſion of the Orthodox Faith did tantamount a being legally initiated and baptized into it.

[a] *Ibid. l. 7. c. 4. p. 251.*

[b] *Ib. c. 7. p. 253.*

[c] *Ibid. c. 9. p. 254.*

VIII. IN theſe conteſts he paſſed over the ſhort reign of *Gallus*, *De-*
[a] *Dion. Epiſt. ad Herm. lib. c. 1. p. 250.* *cius* his ſucceſſor, who not taking warning [a] by his predeceſſors errour, ſtumbled at the ſame ſtone. And when he found all things quiet and peaceable, muſt needs fall a perſecuting the Chriſtians, whoſe prayers with Heaven ſecured the peace and proſperity of the Empire. But this alas was but a preparatory ſtorm to that which followed in the reign of
[b] *Ibid. c. 10. p. 255.* *Valerian*, whom our *Dionyſius* [b] makes to be the *Beaſt* in the *Revelation*, *to whom was given a mouth ſpeaking great things, and blaſphemies, and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.* He was at firſt extraordinarily kind to Chriſtians beyond any of the precedent Emperours, even thoſe who were themſelves accounted Chriſtians: ſo that his whole Family was full of pious and good men, and his houſe a kind of Church. But this weather was too fair and benign to laſt long: Being ſeduced and deluded by an Arch-Magician of *Egypt*, he was prevailed with to fall from his kindneſs, and to perſecute the Chriſtians, whom the Conjurer repreſented as perſons, who by wicked and execrable charms hindred the Emperours proſperity, colouring his pretence from their power over *Dæmons*, whoſe miſchievous Arts they obſtructed, and whom they ordinarily baniſhed with the ſpeaking of a word; and perſuading him that to urge the *Gentile* Rites, to maintain Luſtrations, Sacrifices, Divinations by the bloud and intrails of Men and Beaſts, was the ready way to make him happy. Whereupon Edicts were every where publiſhed againſt the Chriſtians, and they without the leaſt protection expoſed to the common rage.

[c] *Ep. ejus ad Germ. lib. c. 11. p. 257.* IX. ORDERS being come to *Alexandria*, *Dionyſius* [c] accompanied with ſome of his Clergy, addreſſed himſelf to *Æmilian* the Governour, who did not at firſt downright forbid him to hold their ſolemn Aſſemblies, but endeavoured to perſuade him to leave off that way of Worſhip, preſuming others would quickly follow his example. The anſwer he returned was ſhort and Apoſtolical, that *we muſt obey God rather then men*, openly aſſuring him, that he would worſhip the true God, and none but him, from which reſolution he would never ſtart, nor ever ceaſe to be a Chriſtian. The Governour told them, that both by word and writing he had acquainted them with the great clemency of the Emperours towards them, permitting them to be ſafe, if they would but act agreeably to nature, and adore the Gods that were Protectors of the Empire, and he hoped they would be more grateful then to refuſe it. The Biſhop replied, that every one worſhipped thoſe whom they thought to be gods, that as for themſelves they adored and ſerved that one God, who is the Creator of the World, and who gave that Government to the Emperours, and to whom they offered up dayly prayers for the permanency and ſtability of their Empire. To which the other rejoined, that if he were a god, none hindred them from worſhipping him together with them who were truly gods, they being enjoined to worſhip [not one, but] *gods*, and thoſe whom all men owned to be ſo. *Dionyſius* anſwered, *We cannot worſhip any other.* "I ſee, re-
"plied *Æmilian*, that you are a company of fooliſh and ingrateful
"people, and not ſenſible of the favour of our Lords the Emperours:
"wherefore you ſhall ſtay no longer in this City, but be ſent to *Cephro*
"in the parts of *Lybia*, for thither according to the Emperours com-
"mand, I reſolve to baniſh you. Nor ſhall either you, or any of your
"Sect have leave to keep your meetings, or to frequent your *Cæmeteria*;
"which

"which if any dare to attempt, it ſhall be at his peril, and he ſhall be pu-
"niſhed ſuitably to his crime. Be gone therefore to the place allot-
"ted you.

X. THE ſentence was ſpeedily put into execution, *Dionyſius* though then ſick, not being allowed one days reſpite to recover himſelf, or provide for his journey thither. Indeed when he came diſtinctly to underſtand the place of his exile, he was a little troubled, knowing it to be a place deſtitute of the ſociety of good men, and perpetually expoſed to the incurſions of Thieves and Robbers; but was better ſatisfied when told that it was near a great and populous City, whoſe neighbourhood would furniſh him with perſons both for Converſe, and for opportunities of Converſion. *Cephro* was the moſt rude and barbarous Tract of the *Lybian* Deſart, and *Colythius* (which as* *Nicephorus* tells us, was that particular part of it to which *Dionyſius* was deſigned) the moſt uncomfortable it's like of all the reſt. Thither therefore was he ſent, whom great numbers of Chriſtians quickly followed, partly from *Alexandria*, and partly out of other parts of *Egypt*. At his firſt arrival he was treated with rudeneſs and ſhowrs of ſtones, but had not been long there, before he not onely civilized their barbarous manners, but reclaimed them from idolatry, and brought them to embrace the Chriſtian Faith. And as he met with ſucceſs, ſo he ſhifted his quarters, preaching up and down thoſe wild and diſconſolate parts, and turning the Wilderneſs into a Church. Nor could all the malice and threatnings of the Governour hinder, but that the Chriſtians ſtill aſſembled at *Alexandria*, notwithſtanding that their beloved Biſhop was raviſhed from them, and that *Æmilian* proceeded with the utmoſt rigour againſt all that were brought before him, killing many with all the arts of cruelty, keeping others for the rack and torment, loading them with chains, and thruſting them into ſqualid and naſty Dungeons, forbidding any of their friends to come near them. Though even in the height of theſe afflictions God ſupported their ſpirits, and animated others to venture in, and to adminiſter comfort and neceſſaries to them, not ſcrupling though with the peril of their heads to interr the bodies of the Martyrs.

* *Lib. 6. c. 10. p. 402.*

XI. HOW long *Dionyſius* continued in his baniſhment, I find not, probably till *Valerian* was taken captive by the King of *Perſia*, *Ann.* CCLIX. when *Gallienus* his Son ruled alone, who from the unhappineſs of his Father took the meaſures of his carriage towards the Chriſtians: he ſaw that while he favoured the Chriſtians, Heaven ſmiled upon his deſigns, and things went on in a ſmooth and uninterrupted courſe; but when once he began to bear hard upon them, the Tide turned, and the divine vengeance purſued and overtook them, and that therefore nothing could be more prudent and reaſonable, then to give a check to the preſent fury, and ſuffer them to go on ſecurely in the exerciſe of their Religion, which he did by this following Edict[a].

[a] *Euſeb. l. 7. c. 13. p. 262.*

Emperour *Cæſar P. Licinius* GALLIENUS, *Pius, Felix, Auguſtus*, to *Dionyſius, Pinnas, Demetrius*, and the reſt of the Biſhops.

WE have given Order that the Indulgence of our bounty ſhall be extended throughout the World, that all Religious places ſhall be freed from force and violence. Wherefore ye alſo may freely enjoy the benefit of our Reſcript, ſo as no man ſhall dare to vex or moleſt you, and what you now may lawfully enjoy has been long ſince granted by Us. And for this end Aurelius Cyrenius *Our High Steward ſhall keep the Copy of this Edict which we have now granted.*

The like Reſcript he alſo ſent to other Biſhops, giving them the free leave of their *Cæmeteria*, the places where they bureid their dead, and often aſſembled for their Religious Solemnities, eſpecially the memorials of the Martyrs.

XII. SCARCE was *Dionyſius* quietly reſetled at home, when he was alarum'd by another accident, which forced him for a while again, if not to retire, at leaſt to keep ſo cloſe, that he was not capable to execute his charge. [a] *Æmilianus* the *Præfect* partly by his own ambition, and partly forced by an unhappy accident wherein he was involved, took the Empire upon him, the *Roman* Army in *Egypt* joyning with him, partly out of diſlike to *Gallienus*, partly out of affection to *Æmilian*, who was a brisk active man. Immediately he ſeized upon the Store-houſes, that Countrey being the common Granary of the Empire. *Gallienus* being acquainted with the news, ordered *Theodotus* his General to march with an Army into thoſe parts, who beſieged *Alexandria*, and reduced the City to great extremity. For they were not more vigorouſly aſſaulted by the enemy from without, then undermined [b] by Parties and Factions within, the City being divided into two Factions, one contending for *Gallienus*, and the other for *Æmilian*. So that there was no converſe nor commerce between them; *Dionyſius* being compelled in all his private affairs, and the public concernment of his Church to tranſact with his friends by Letters, it being ſafer, as he tells us, for a man to travel from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, then to paſs from one part of *Alexandria* to another, ſo barbarous and inhumane were the outrages committed there. The iſſue was, that *Gallienus* his Party prevailed to let in *Theodotus* and his Army, who ſeized the Tyrant, and ſent him to the Emperour, who cauſed him to be ſtrangled in Priſon.

[a] *Tr. Poll. in vit. Æmil. p. 778. & in vit. Gall. c. 4. p. 715.*

[b] *Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Hierach. ib. c. 21. p. 266.*

XIII. HOW ſtormy and tempeſtuous is the Region of this Lower World! one Wave perpetually preſſing upon the neck of another. The Perſecution was ſeconded by a Civil War and a cruel Famine, and that no ſooner over, but a terrible Plague followed cloſe at the heels of it; one of the moſt dreadful and amazing Judgments which God ſends upon mankind. It over-ran City and Country.

try, ſweeping away what the fury of the late Wars had left, there not having been known (ſaith the Hiſtorian [a]) in any Age ſo great a deſtruction of mankind. This Peſtilence (which ſome ſay [b] came firſt out of *Æthiopia*) began in the reign of *Gallus* and *Voluſian*, and ever ſince more or leſs ſtraggled over moſt parts of the *Roman* Empire, and now kept its fatal reſidence at *Alexandria*; where by an impartial ſeverity it mowed down both *Gentiles* and Chriſtians, and turned the *Paſchal* ſolemnity (it being then the time [c] of *Eaſter*) into days of weeping and mourning, all places were filled with dying groans, and ſorrows either for friends already dead; of thoſe that were ready to depart, it being now, as formerly under that great *Egyptian* Plague, and ſomething worſe, *there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not an houſe where there was not only one, but many dead.* In this ſad and miſerable time how vaſtly different was the carriage of the Chriſtians and the Heathens. The Chriſtians out of the ſuperabundance of their kindneſs and charity without any regard to their own health and life, boldly ventured into the thickeſt dangers, dayly viſiting, aſſiſting, and miniſtring to their ſick and infected brethren, chearfully taking their pains and diſtempers upon them, and themſelves expiring with them. And when many of thoſe whom they thus attended, recovered and lived, they died themſelves, as if by a prodigious and unheard of charity, they had willingly taken their diſeaſes upon them, and died to ſave them from death. And theſe the moſt conſiderable both of Clergy and People, chearfully embracing a death that deſerved a title little leſs then that of Martyrdom. They embraced the bodies of the dead, cloſed their eyes, laid them out, waſhed and dreſſed them up in their funeral weeds, took them upon their ſhoulders, and carried them to their Graves, it not being long before others did the ſame offices for them. The *Gentiles* on the contrary put off all ſenſe of humanity, when any began to fall ſick, they preſently caſt them out, ran from their deareſt friends and relations, and either left them half dead in the high-ways, or threw them out as ſoon as they were dead, dreading to fall under the ſame infection, which yet with all their care and diligence they could not avoid.

[a] *Zoſim. Hiſtor. l.1.p.347.*
[b] *Pomp.Let. in vit. Galli. p.m. 1235. Eutrop. H.Rom.l 9. p. 1924.*
[c] *Dionyſ. ib. c. 22.p.268.*

XIV. NOR were theſe the onely troubles the good man was exerciſed with, he had conteſts of another nature that ſwallowed up his time and care. *Sabellius* a *Libyan*, born at *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*, had lately ſtarted [d] dangerous notions and opinions about the doctrin of the holy Trinity, affirming the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be but one ſubſiſtence, one perſon under three ſeveral names, which in the time of the Old Teſtament gave the Law under the notion of the Father, in the New, was made man in the capacity of the Son, and deſcended afterwards upon the Apoſtles in the quality of the Holy Ghoſt. *Dionyſius* as became a vigilant Paſtor of his Flock, preſently undertakes the man, and while he managed the cauſe with too much eagerneſs and fervency of diſputation, he bent the ſtick too much the other way, aſſerting not onely ἑτερότητα ὑποστάσεων, a diſtinction of Perſons, but ἀνόμοιον καὶ ἀλλότριον, a difference of Eſſence, and an inequality of Power and Glory. For which he is ſeverely cenſured by S. *Baſil* and ſome of the Ancients, as one of thoſe that mainly opened the gap to thoſe *Arrian* impieties that after broke in upon the World. Though S. *Baſil* could not but ſo far do him right, as to ſay that it was not any ill meaning, but onely an over-vehement deſire to oppoſe his adverſary that betrayed him into

[d] *Dion.Epiſt. ad Sex. ib. c.6. p.252. Niceph. l.6.c.26.p 419.*
[e] *Baſil. ad Magn. Philoſ. Epiſt. XLI. p.60.*

ubi ſupr.

thoſe

thoſe unwary and inconſiderate aſſertions. Some Biſhops of *Pentapolis* immediately took hold of this, and going over to *Rome* repreſented his dangerous errours; where the caſe was diſcuſſed in a Synod, and Letters written to *Dionyſius* about it, who in a ſet *Apology* anſwered for himſelf, and declared his ſenſe more explicitly in this controverſie, as may be ſeen at large in [a] *Athanaſius*, who has with infinite pains vindicated our *Dionyſius*, his Predeceſſor, as a man ſound and orthodox, and who was never condemned by the Governours of the Church for impious opinions, or that he held thoſe abominable tenets which *Arrius* broached afterwards. And certainly S. *Baſil* might and would have paſſed a milder cenſure, had he either peruſed all *Dionyſius* his Writings, or remembred how much he concerned himſelf to clear S. *Gregory* of *Neocæſarea*, *Dionyſius* his contemporary, from the very ſame charge, for which he could notbut confeſs he had given too juſt occaſion.

[a] *De Sentent. Dionyſ. Tom.* 1. *p.* 548. *&c. vid Phot. Cod.* CCXXXII. *col.* 901.

XV. NO ſooner was this controverſie a little over, but he was engaged in another. [b] *Nepos* an *Egyptian* Biſhop lately dead (a man eminent for his conſtancy in the Faith, his induſtry and skill in the holy Scriptures, the many Pſalms and Hymns he had compoſed, which the Brethren ſung in their public Meetings) had not long ſince fallen into the errour of the *Millenaries*, and had publiſhed Books, to ſhew that the promiſes made in the Scriptures to good men, were Ἰουδαϊκώτερον, according to the ſenſe and opinion of the *Jews* to be literally underſtood, and that there was to be a *thouſand years* State upon Earth, wherein they were to enjoy ſenſual pleaſures and delights. Endeavouring to make good his aſſertions from ſome paſſages in S. *John*'s *Revelation*, ſtiling his Book Ἔλεγχος Ἀλληγορισῶν, *A Confutation of Allegorical Expoſitors*. This Book was greedily caught up and read by many, and advanced into that eſteem and reputation, that Law and Prophets, and the Writings of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles were neglected and thrown aſide, and the doctrine of this Book cried up, as containing μέγά τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον, ſome great and extraordinary myſtery, concealed before from the World: the more Simple and Unwary being taught to disband all ſublime and magnificent thoughts of our Lords glorious coming, the Reſurrection and final judgment, and our conformity to him in glory, and to hope for a ſtate in the Kingdom of God, wherein they ſhould be entertained with ſuch little and trifling, ſuch fading and tranſitory things as this World does afford. *Dionyſius* being then in the Province of the *Arſenoitæ*, where this Opinion had prevailed ſo far, as to draw whole Churches into Schiſm and Separation, ſummoned the Presbyters and Teachers, who preached in the Country Villages, and as many of the People as had a mind to come, adviſing them that in their Sermons they would publicly examine this Doctrin. They preſently defended themſelves with this Book, whereupon he began more cloſely to join iſſue with them, continuing with them three days together from morning to night, weighing and diſcuſſing the doctrins contained in it. In all which time he admired their conſtancy and love to truth, their great quickneſs and readineſs of underſtanding, with ſo much order and decency, ſo much modeſty and moderation were the Diſcourſes managed on both ſides, doubts propounded, and aſſent yielded. For they took an eſpecial care not pertinaciouſly to defend their former opinions, when once they found them to be erroneous, nor to ſhun any objections which on either part were made againſt them. As near as might be they kept to the preſent

[b] *Euſeb. ibid. c.* 24. *p.* 270.

preſent queſtion, which they endeavoured to make good; but if convinced by argument that they were in the wrong, made no ſcruple to change their minds, and go over to the other ſide, with honeſt minds, and ſincere intentions, and hearts truly devoted to God, embracing whatever was demonſtrated by the holy Scriptures. The iſſue was, that *Coracion* the Commander and Champion of the other Party, publicly promiſed and proteſted before them all, that he would not henceforth either entertain, or diſpute, or diſcourſe, or preach theſe opinions, being ſufficiently convinced by the arguments which the other ſide had offered to him: all the Brethren departing with mutual love, unanimity, and ſatisfaction. Such was the peaceable concluſion of this Meeting, and leſs could not be expected from ſuch pious and honeſt ſouls, ſuch wiſe and regular Diſputers. And happy had it been for the Chriſtian World, had all thoſe controverſies that have diſturbed the Church, been managed by ſuch prudent and orderly debates, which as uſually conducted, rather widen the breach, then heal and mend it. *Dionyſius* to ſtrike the controverſie dead, while his hand was in, wrote a Book *concerning the Promiſes*, (which S. *Hierom*, forgetting what he had truly ſaid [a] elſewhere, that it was written againſt *Nepos*, tells [b] us was written againſt *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lyons*, miſtaking the perſon probably for his opinion) in the firſt part whereof he ſtated the queſtion, laid down his ſenſe concerning it: in the ſecond he treated concerning the *Revelation of* S. *John* (the main Pillar and Buttreſs of this Opinion) where both by reaſon and the teſtimony of others, he contends that it was not written by S. *John* the *Apoſtle* and *Evangeliſt*, but by another of that name, an account of whoſe judgment herein we have repreſented in another place [c].

[a] *Deſcript. in Dionyſ.*
[b] *Præfat. in l. 18. Com. in Eſa. p. 242. T. 5.*
[c] *Antiq. Apoſt. Life of S. John n. 14.*

XVI. THE laſt controverſie wherein he was concerned was that againſt *Paul* of *Samoſata* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who had [d] confidently vented theſe and ſuch like impious *dogmata*, that there is but one perſon in the Godhead, that our bleſſed Saviour was, though a holy, yet a meer man, who came not down from Heaven, but was of a meer earthly extract and original, in whom the word (which he made not any thing diſtinct from the Father) did ſometimes reſide, and ſometimes depart from him, with abundance of the like wicked and ſenſleſs propoſitions. Beſides all which he was infinitely obnoxious in his [e] morals (as few men but ſerve the deſign of ſome luſt by Schiſm and bad opinions) covetous without any bounds, heaping up a vaſt eſtate (though born a poor mans ſon) partly by fraud and ſacriledge, partly by cruel and unjuſt vexations of his brethren, partly by fomenting differences, and taking bribes to aſſiſt the weaker party. Proud and vain-glorious he was beyond all meaſure, affecting Pomp and Train, and ſecular Power, and rather to be ſtiled a temporal Prince then a Biſhop, going through the ſtreets and all public places in ſolemn ſtate, with perſons walking before him, and crouds of people following after him. In the Church he cauſed to be erected a *Throne* higher then ordinary, and a place which he called *Secretum*, after the manner of Civil Magiſtrates, who in the inner part of the *Prætorium* had a place railed in, with Curtains hung before it, where they ſate to hear Cauſes. He was wont to clap his hand upon his thigh, and to ſtamp with his feet upon the Bench, frowning upon, and reproaching thoſe, who did not Theatrically ſhout and make a noiſe while he was diſcourſing to them, wherein he uſed alſo to reflect upon his predeceſſors and the moſt eminent perſons that had been before him, with all

[d] *Euſeb. ubi ſup. c. 27. p. 277, 281. Epiph. Hæreſ. LXV. p. 262. Athanaſ. de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. p. 920. Niceph. l. 6. c. 27. p. 420.*
[e] *Epiſt. Synod. II. Antioch. ap. Euſeb. ib. c. 30. p. 280. &c.*

all imaginable ſcorn and petulancy, magnifying himſelf as far beyond them. The Hymns that were ordinarily ſung in honour of our Lord, he aboliſhed as late and novel, and in ſtead thereof taught ſome of his proſelyted Females upon the *Eaſter* ſolemnity to chaunt out ſome which he had compoſed in his own commendation, to the horrour and aſtoniſhment of all that heard them, procuring the Biſhops and Presbyters of the neighbouring parts to publiſh the ſame things of him in their Sermons to the People, ſome of his Proſelytes not ſticking to affirm, that he was an *Angel* come down from Heaven. All which he was ſo far from controlling, that he highly encouraged them, and heard them himſelf not onely with patience but delight. He was moreover vehemently ſuſpected of incontinency, maintaining Ζωσφάντους γυναῖκας, *ſubintroduced Women* in his houſe, and ſome of them perſons of exquiſit beauty, contrary to the Canons of the Church, and to the great ſcandal of Religion. And that he might not be much reproached by thoſe that were about him, he endeavoured to debauch his Clergy, conniving at their Vices and Irregularities, and corrupting others with Penſions, and whom he could not prevail with by evil arts, he awed by power, and his mighty intereſt in the Princes and great ones of thoſe parts, ſo that they were forced with ſadneſs to bewail at home, what they durſt not publiſh and declare abroad.

XVII. TO rectifie theſe enormities moſt of the chief Biſhops of the *Eaſt* reſolved to meet in a Synod at *Antioch* [a], to which they earneſtly invited our *Dionyſius*. But, alas, age and infirmities had rendred him incapable of ſuch a journey, and had given him a Writ of Eaſe, upon which account he begged to be excuſed from it. But that he might not be wanting in what he could, he ſent Letters, wherein he declared his ſenſe and opinion of thoſe matters, and in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Antioch*, to ſhew his reſentment of the thing, he not onely wrote not to the man, but gave him not ſo much as the civility of a ſalutation. In this Synod the crafty Fox hid his head, diſſembling his ſentiments, and palliating his diſorders, and confeſſing and recanting what he was not able to conceal, ſo that for the preſent he ſtill continued in his place. How he was afterwards diſcovered and laid open, convicted, condemned and depoſed in another Synod in that City, and *Domnus* ſubſtituted in his room; how he refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence of the Council, and for ſome time maintained his ſtation by the power of *Zenobia*, a Queen in thoſe parts, and a *Jewiſh* Proſelyte whoſe favour he had courted and obtained; and how at laſt upon the Biſhops appeal he was turned out, and the Synodical Decree executed by the immediate order of the Emperour *Valerian*, is without the limits of my buſineſs to enquire.

[a] *Euſeb. lib. c. 27. p. 277. & c. 30. p. 279.*

XVIII. A little after this firſt Synod at *Antioch* died our S. *Denys* in the XII year of *Gallienus* [b] *Ann.* CCLXV. when he had ſitten ſeventeen years Biſhop of *Alexandria*, dying probably the ſame year and on the ſame day with S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, whoſe memories are accordingly celebrated *September* XVII. in the *Calendar* of the *Roman* Church. His memory was continued at *Alexandria* (as we learn from [c] *Epiphanius*) by a Church dedicated to him, but flouriſhed much more in the incomparable Vertues of his paſt life, and thoſe excellent Writings he left behind him, which mainly conſiſted of vaſt numbers of Epiſtles; and 'tis probable all his Writings were nothing elſe, his larger Tracts being written in the nature of Epiſtles. Which, were they ſtill extant, in ſtead of thoſe little

[b] *Vid. ib. c. 28. p. 278.*

[c] *Hær. LXIX. p. 311.*

little fragments preſerved by *Euſebius*, beſides other advantages, they would probably furniſh us with the moſt material tranſactions of the Chriſtian World in thoſe times, then which in thoſe early Ages there was not a more active and buſie period of the Church.

His Writings, whereof ſome Fragments onely are now extant.

Liber de Pœnitentia ad Cononem Epiſcopum Hermapolitanum.
Libellus de Martyrio ad Originem.
De Promiſſionibus adverſus Nepotem Libri II.
Ad Dionyſium Romanum adverſus Sabellium, Libri IV.
Ad Timotheum Libri de Natura.
De tentationibus Liber ad Euphran.
Commentarius in primam partem Eccleſiaſtis.
Epiſtola ad Cornelium Epiſcopum Romanum.
Epiſtola ad Stephanum Epiſcop. Rom. de Baptiſmo.
Ad Sixtum Papam de Baptiſmo Epiſtolæ III.
Adverſus Germanum Epiſc. Epiſtola.
Epiſtola ad Fabium Antiochiæ Epiſc.
Epiſtola ad Novatianum de Schiſmate.
Epiſtola de Pœnitentia ad Fratres per Ægyptum conſtitutos.
Ad gregem ſuum Alexandrinum Epiſtola objurgatoria.
Epiſtola ad Laodicenos.
Epiſtola ad Armenios de Pœnitentia.
Epiſtola ad Romanos Καθολική.
Alia ad eoſdem de Pace & Pœnitent.
Ad Confeſſores Novatianos Romæ Epiſtolæ III.
Ad Philemonem Presbyterum Romanum de Baptiſmo.
Epiſtola itidem ad Dionyſium Presbyterum Rom. de Baptiſmo.
Epiſtola ſuo & Eccleſiæ ſuæ nomine ad Sixtum & Eccl. Rom. de eadem re.
Ad Dionyſium Romanum de Luciano Epiſtola.
Epiſtola ad Hermammonem.
Epiſtola ad Domitium & Didymum.
Epiſtola ad Compresbyteros Alexand.
Epiſtola ad Hieracem Epiſc. Ægyptiac.
Epiſtola de Sabbato.
Epiſtola de Mortalitate.
De Exercitatione Epiſtola.
Epiſtola ad Ammonem Bernenicenſem Epiſcopum, contra Sabellium.
Alia ad Teleſphorum.
Ad Euphranorem alia.
Ad Ammonem & Euporum Epiſtola
Ad Baſilidem Epiſcopum Pentapolit.
Epiſtolæ plures. Ex his ſupereſt Epiſtola Canonica de diverſis Capitibus. Extat Gr. L. *Tom.* 1. *Concil.* & alibi cum Commentario Balſamonis.
Epiſtolæ Ἑορταστικαὶ, *ſeu Paſchales plurimæ.*
Epiſtola ad Eccleſiam Antiochenam adverſus Paulum Samoſatenum.

Doubtful, *or rather* Suppoſititious.

Epiſtola ad Paulum Samoſatenum Gr. L. *Concil.* Tom. 1.
Reſponſiones ad Pauli Samoſateni decem Quæſtiones, Gr. L. ibid.

The End of S. DIONYSIUS Alexandrinus's *Life.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE Three First Ages OF THE Christian Church.

Tatian. Orat. contr. Græc. p. 167.

Παρ' οἷς ἀσυνάρητος ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴ, πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθεύειν δυνατόν.

Chrysost. Homil. II. in verb. Esai. vidi Domin. Tom. 3. p. 740.

Καθάπερ γὰρ ὅροι καὶ στῆλαι ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰς ἀρούρας οὐκ ἐῶσι συγχεῖσθαι· οὕτως οἱ χρόνοι καὶ οἱ καιροὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἀλλήλοις συμπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ διείργοντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἕκαστα διακθέντες τάξιν, πολλῆς ἀπαλλάττουσιν ἡμᾶς ταραχῆς.

LONDON,

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Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
1	*Auguſti.* 43	C. Julius Cæſar Vipſanianus. L. Æmil. Paulus.	*Our Lords Circumciſion : His being preſented in the Temple. His flight into* Egypt. *The Maſſacre of the Infants at* Bethlehem. *The death of* Herod *about the time of the Paſſover.*
2	44	P. Vinicius Nepos. P. Alphinius Varus.	Archelaus *declared* Tetrarch *of* Judæa.
3	45	L. Ælius Lamia. L. Servilius Geminus.	*In the beginning of this (or rather the end of the foregoing year) our Lord returned out of* Egypt. *His education and abode at* Nazareth.
4	46	Sex. Ælius Catus. C. Sentius Saturninus.	Auguſtus *refuſes the title of* Lord.
5	47	L. Valerius Meſſala. Cn. Cornelius Cinna.	*Great Earthquakes hapned.* Tiber *overflows.* *An Eclyps of the Sun*, March. 28.
6	48	M. Æmil. Lepidus. L. Arruntius Nepos.	*About this time the* Jews *and* Samaritans *accuſed* Archelaus *to* Auguſtus, *who baniſhed him to* Vien *in* France.
7	49	A. Licinius Nerva. Q. Cec. Metellus Creticus.	
8	50	M. Furius Camillus. S. Nonius Quinctilianus.	
9	51	Q. Sulp. Camerinus. C. Poppæus Sabinus.	
10	52	P. Corn. Dolabella. C. Junius Silanus.	
11	53	M. Æmil. Lepidus. T. Statilius Taurus.	*The* Jews *taxed by* Quirinus *the* Roman *Governour.* In thoſe days roſe up Judas of Galilee, and drew away much people after him. *He is ſlain, and his two ſons crucified.*

Our Lord is generally ſuppoſed to have been born *Decem.* XXV. ſix days before the Commenceuent of the common *Æra. Ann. Auguſti Imp.* XLII. For though in ſtrictneſs the XLII. year of *Auguſt.* ended *Nov.* XXVII. (accounting his reign from his entering upon the *Triumvirate*) yet ſeeing the civil *Roman* year expired not till the laſt of *Decemb.* it may be ſaid to extend all that time. His XLIII. year in common reckoning, and the firſt year of the vulgar *Æra* of our Lord commencing *Jan.* 1. when the *Romans* began their year and the new Conſuls took place.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
12	54	T. Germanicus Cæſar. C. Fonteius Capito.	*By occaſion of the Paſſover our Lord goes up with his Parents to* Jeruſalem, *and there diſputes with the Rabbins in the Temple.*
13	55	C. Silius Nepos. L. Munacius Planeus.	Auguſtus *ſolemnly makes his Will, and lays it up with the* Veſtal *Virgins.*
14	56. *Tiberius ab Aug. 19.* 1	Sex. Pompeius Nepos. Sex. Apuleius Nepos.	Auguſtus *dies, and is interred with great funeral honours.* Serv. Numerius *affirms upon his Oath, that he ſaw him aſcend into Heaven.*
15	1 2	Druſus J. Cæſar. C. Norbanus Flaccus.	
16	2 3	T. Statil. Seſenna. L. Scribonius Libo.	*The Magicians and Mathematicians baniſhed* Rome *by* Tiberius.
17	3 4	C. Cælius Rufus. L. Pomponius Flaccus.	
18	4 5	Cl. Tib. Nero III. D. German. Cæſar II.	
19	5 6	M. Junius Silanus. L. Norbanus Balbus.	Joſephus *called* Caiaphas *made High-prieſt of the* Jews *by the favour of* Valerius Gratus *the* Roman *Governour.*
20	6 7	L. Valerius Meſſala. M. Aurelius Cotta.	
21	7 8	Cl. Tib. Nero IV. Druſus J. Cæſar II.	
22	8 9	C. Sulpicius Galba. D. Haterius Agrippa.	
23	9 10	C. Aſinius Pollio. C. Antiſtius Vetus.	
24	10 11	Sex. Cornel. Cethegus. L. Vitellius Varro.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
	Tiber. 11	Coſſus Cornel. Lentulus.	*Towards the end of this year* Pontius Pilat *is ſent to be* Procurator *of* Judæa.
25	12	M. Aſinius Agrippa.	
	12	Cn. Cornel. Lentulus. Gæt.	Pilat *commands the* Roman *Standards with the Image of* Tiberius *upon them to be brought into the Temple to the great offence of the* Jews.
26	13	C. Calviſius Sabinus.	
	13	M. Licinius Craſſus.	Herod Antipas *putting away the daughter of* Aretas *King of* Arabia, *marries* Herodias *his brother* Philips *wife.*
27	14	L. Calphurnius Piſo.	
	14	Ap. Junius Silanus.	Joſeph *our Lords reputed Father is by ſome ſaid to deceaſe this year.*
28	15	P. Silius Nerva.	
	15	C. Rubellius } Gemini.	John *the* Baptiſt *begins to preach and to baptize, (probably) about Mid-ſummer, or as* B. Uſher *thinks, Octob.* 19.
29	16	C. Fuſius }	
	16	C. Caſſius Longinus.	*Our Lord baptized Jan.* 6. *having compleated the* 29. *year of his age, and* 13. *days.*
30	17	M. Vinucius Quartinus.	*His* firſt *Paſſover April* 6.
	17	Tiber. Nero Cæſar. V.	*His* ſecond *Paſſover, March* 28. *His cure of the Paralytic at the Pool of* Bethesda. *His ſending out the* 12 *Apoſtles.*
31	18	L. Ælius Sejanus.	John *the* Baptiſt *beheaded.*
	18	Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.	*The third Paſſover, April* 14. 4000 *fed with* 7 *loaves. Chriſts Transfiguration. The* LXX. *Diſciples ſent out.* Zachæus *converted.* Bartimæus *cured of his blindneſs.*
32		A. Vitellius Nepos.	
	19	*Suff.* M. Fur. Camill⁹ Scrib.	
	19	Ser. Sulpit. Galba.	Lazarus *raiſed. Our Lords triumphant entry into* Jeruſalem. *The Lords Supper inſtituted. The* fourth *Paſſover. Our Lord apprehended, arraigned, crucified* April 3. *riſes again, and aſcends into Heaven.*
33	20	L. Cornelius Sylla.	*The* 7 *Deacons choſen. S.* Stephen *ſtoned,* Dec. 25.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.		*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
34	*Tiber.*	20	P. Fabius Perſicus.	*The Perſecution following S.* Stephen's *death.* S. Philip's *preaching at* Samaria. *His converting and baptizing the* Eunuch. Peter *and* John *return to* Jeruſalem.
		21	L. Vitellius Nepos.	
35		21	C. Ceſtius Gallus Camerinus.	S. Paul *converted*, Jan. 25. S. Peter *viſits the Churches.* Jonathan *the ſon of* Annas *made High-prieſt. Many favours conferred upon the* Jews *by* Vitellius.
		22	M. Servilius Rufus.	
36		22	Q. Plautius Plautianus. *al.* Lælianus.	Peters *Viſion.* Cornelius *his Converſion.* Peter *accuſed for his converſe with the* Gentiles *at his return to* Jeruſalem.
		23	Sex. Papinius Gallienus.	
37	*Caligula* à Mart. 16.	23	Cn. Acerronius Proculus.	S. Paul *comes to* Jeruſalem, *and after* 15 *days is by revelation commanded to depart thence. He goes for* Tarſus.
		24		
		1	C. Pontius Nigrinus.	
38		1	C. Cæſar Caligula. II.	*A cruel Perſecution raiſed againſt the* Jews *at* Alexandria *by* Flaccus *the Præfect of* Egypt
		2	L. Apronius Cæſianus.	
39		2	M. Aquilius Julianus.	Pontius Pilat *lays violent hands upon himſelf.* *The great increaſe of the Church of* Antioch. *The Believers firſt called* CHRISTIANS *there.*
		3	P. Nonius Aſprenas.	
40		3	C. Cæſar Caligula III. *Suff.* L. Gellius Publicola.	Caligula *commands* Petronius *to ſet up his Statue in the Temple at* Jeruſalem : *but at the great inſtance of the* Jews *it is deferred.*
		4	M. Cocceius Nerva.	
41	*Claudius* à 1 Febr.	4	C. Cæſar Caligula IV.	S. James *the* Great *the Apoſtle beheaded by the command of* Herod. Peter *delivered out of Priſon.*
		1	*Suff.* Q. Pompon. Secundus	
		1	Cn. Sentius Saturninus.	
42		1	Tib. Claudius Imp. II.	Barnabas *and* Paul *ſet forward in their preaching of the Goſpel. They plant the Chriſtian Faith in* Seleucia, Cyprus, *and other places.*
		2	C. Licinius Cæcina Largus	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.		Conſuls.	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
43	*Claudii.*	2	T. Claudius Imp. III.	Claudius *abrogates many of the* Roman *Feſtivals.*
		3	L. Vitellius II.	Elion *is made High-prieſt of the* Jews *in the room of* Matthias *the ſon of* Ananus *depoſed.*
44		3	L. Q. Criſpinus II. *al.* Vibius Priſcus.	Herod *dies, being immediately ſtruck by an Angel for his pride and ambition.*
		4	T. Statilius Taurus.	
45		4	M. Vicinius Quartinus.	*The Bleſſed Virgin ſaid by ſome to die this year, by others three years after.*
		5	M. Statilius Corvinus.	*The Apoſtles diſperſe themſelves to preach the Goſpel to the ſeveral Provinces of the* Gentile *World.*
46		5	C. Valerius Aſiaticus. M. Valerius Meſſala.	Paul *and* Barnabas *preach at* Lyſtra: Paul *ſtoned there. Their return to* Antioch.
		6	*al.* M. Jun. Silanus.	
47		6	T. Claudius Imp. IV.	30000 *of the* Jews, *raiſing a tumult in the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread ſlain by* Ventidius Cumanus *Procurator of* Judæa.
		7	L. Vitellius III.	
48		7	A. Vitellius *poſtea* Imp.	*A Council holden by the Apoſtles and others at* Jeruſalem *to determine the Controverſie about legal Rites. The Decrees of the Synod ſent to the Churches.*
		8	L. Vipſanius Poplicola.	
49		8	Cn. Pompeius Gallus.	Barnabas *preaches the Goſpel in* Cyprus: *S.* Paul *in* Syria, Cilicia, *&c.*
		9	Q. Verannius Lætus.	*The* Jews *baniſhed* Rome *by the edict of* Claudius.
50		9	C. Antiſtius Vetus.	*S.* Paul *having travelled through* Macedonia, *comes to* Athens, *diſputes with the Philoſophers, converts.* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite, *and thence paſſeth to* Corinth, *where he reſides* 18 *moneths.*
		10	M. Suillius Rufus Nervilianus.	
51		10	T. Claudius Imp. V.	*S.* Paul *continues at* Corinth, *where he meets with* Aquila *and* Priſcilla *not long before baniſhed* Rome *by the decree of* Claudius. *Hence he writes to the* Theſſalon.
		11	Ser. Cornelius Orfitus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
52	11	P. Cornelius Sylla Fauſtus.	S. Paul *departs from* Corinth, *paſſes to* Epheſus *thence to* Jeruſalem, *and returns back to* Epheſus.
	12	L. Salvius Otho Titianus.	
53	12	D. Junius Silanus.	*He preaches and diſputes daily in the School of* Tyrannus, *convinces the* Jews, *and converts great numbers to the Faith.*
	13	Q. Haterius Antoninus.	
54	13	M. Aſinius Marcellus.	S. Paul fights with Beaſts, *i.e. men of evil and brutiſh manners at* Epheſus. *He preaches there ſtill and in the parts thereabouts.*
	14		
	Nero à 13 Oct. 1	M. Acilius Aviola.	
55	1	Nero Claudius Imp.	S. Pauls *departure from* Epheſus. *He paſſes through* Macedonia *and* Greece, *and gathers contribution for the Saints at* Jeruſalem.
	2	L. Antiſtius Vetus.	
56	2	Q. Voluſius Saturninus.	S. Paul *comes to* Jeruſalem, *and is apprehended in the Temple, and ſecured in the Caſtle. His impriſonment at* Cæſarea, *and arraignment before* Felix *the* Roman *Governour.*
	3	P. Cornelius Scipio.	
57	3	Nero Claud. Imp. II.	S. Paul *kept priſoner at* Cæſarea *under* Felix.
	4	L. Calpurnius Piſo.	
58	4	Nero Cl. Imp. III.	S. Pauls *arraignment before* Feſtus. *He is ſent to* Rome, *where he arrives about the end of this, or the beginning of the following year.* *
	5	M. Valerius Meſſala.	
59	5	C. Vipſanius Poplicola. *al.* Apronianus	S. Pauls *free impriſonment at* Rome. *He writes his Epiſtles to the* Epheſians, Coloſſians, Philippians, *to* Timothy *and* Philemon.
	6	C. Fonteius Capito.	
60	6	Nero Cl. Imp. IV.	*About the latter end of this year* S. Paul *is ſet at liberty, and before his departure out of* Italy *writes his Epiſtle to the* Hebrews.
	7	Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus	

* The time of S. *Paul*'s being ſent to *Rome*, depends upon *Feſtus* his coming into *Judæa* to ſucceed in the room of *Felix*: which though it cannot be preciſely determined, yet plain it is, that it muſt be while *Pallas* (*Felix* his Brother, by whoſe mediation with the Emperour, *Felix* at his return had his life ſpared when accuſed by the *Jews* for his mal-adminiſtration) was yet in ſome favour with *Nero*, wherein he was declining ſome time before, and from which he ſeems wholly to have fallen upon *Agrippina*'s death (upon whoſe intereſt he ſtood at Court) who was ſlain *Neron.* V. *Ann. Chr.* LIX. *Pallas* himſelf being poiſoned *Neron.* VIII. *Ann.* LXII.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Consuls.*	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
61	*Neronis.* 7	C. Cæsonius Pætus.	*S.* Paul *now released, travels for the propagation of the Gospel, especially in the Western parts,* ἐπὶ δὲ τέρμα τῆς Δύσεως ἐλθὼν, Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Corinth. p. 8. *probably into* Spain, *or* Britain.
	8	C. Petronius Turpilianus *al.* Sabinus.	
62	8	P. Marius Celsus.	*S.* James *the* less, *the Brother of our Lord, and Bishop of* Jerusalem, *thrown by the* Jews *from the Temple, and knocked on the head with a Fullers Club.*
		L. Asinius Gallus.	
	9	*Suff.* Seneca & Trebellius.	
63	9	L. Memmius Regulus.	Simeon *chosen to be S.* James *his successor in the See of* Jerusalem.
	10	Paulus Virginius Rufus.	Anianus *succedes S.* Mark *in the Bishoprick of* Alexandria. Euseb. Chron.
64	10	C. Lecanius Bassus.	Nero *burns the City of* Rome, *and to wipe off the* odium *from himself, charges it upon the Christians, and raises the* First Persecution *against them under that pretext.*
	11	M. Licinius Crassus Frugi.	
65	11	P. Silius Nerva.	* *S.* Peter *and* Paul *suffer Martyrdom at* Rome.
		C. Julius Atticus Vestinus.	*Several prodigies at* Jerusalem *foreshew the destruction of that Church and State.*
	12	*Suff.* Anicius Cerealis.	
66	12	C. Suetonius Paulinus.	Nero *residing in* Achaia, *commits the mannagement of the War against the* Jews *to* Vespasian.
	13	L. Pontius Telesinus.	
67	13	L. Fonteius Capito.	Vespasian *carries on the War with great diligence and success.*
	14	C. Julius Rufus.	Josephus *is taken prisoner.*
68	*Galba* à Jun. 10. 1	C. Silius Italicus. M. Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus	Phanassus *the son of* Samuel *the last High Priest of the* Jews.

*Some of the most learned Chronologists of the *Roman* Church place the Martyrdom of these two great Apostles two years later, *viz. Ann. Chr.* LXVII. which if any like better, I will not contend, the Persecution probably extending to the last of *Nero*, though it seems most probable that they should suffer about the beginning of it.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Consuls.*	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
69	*Otho* à Jan. 15. } *Vitellius* ab April. 20 } *Vespasian* à 1. Julii } 1	Ser. Sulpitius Galba. *Imp.* II T. Vinius Rufinus. *al.* Crispinianus.	Vespasian *being proclaimed Emperour, leaves* Judæa, *goes to* Alexandria, *and thence to* Rome.
70	1	Fl. Vespasianus *Imp.* II.	Titus *remanded by* Vespasian *to prosecute the* Jewish *War.* Jerusalem *besieged, taken, sacked, and burnt.*
	2	T. Vespasianus Cæsar.	1100000 *of the* Jews *perish.* 97000 *taken prisoners.*
71	2	Imp. Vespasianus III.	*The* Jewish *Nobility, and the spoils of the Temple carried in triumph to* Rome.
	3	M. Cocceius Nerva, *postea* Imper.	*S.* Bartholomew *the Apostle said to be martyred this, by others, the following year.*
72	3	Imp. Vespasianus IV.	Ebion, *so called from an affected poverty, born at* Cocaba *a Village in* Basanitis, *and* Cerinthus *noted Heretics, begin more openly to shew themselves about this time.*
	4	T. Vespasianus Cæsar. II.	
73	4	Fl. Domitianus.	*S.* Thomas *slain at* Maliapor *in* India.
	5	M. Valerius Messalinus.	*S.* Martialis *at* Ravenna *in* Italy.
74	5	Imp. Vespasianus V.	*The last* Cense *made at* Rome: *several very aged persons then noted, mentioned by* Pliny, lib. 7. c. 49. *justifying the great Age of several Ecclesiastic persons of those times.*
	6	T. Vespasianus III.	
75	6	Imp. Vespasianus VI. Tit. Vespasianus IV.	*The Temple of Peace dedicated by* Vespasian, *and the* Jewish *spoils laid up in it.*
	7	*Suff.* Domitianus IV.	
76	7	Imp. Vespasianus VII. Tit. Vespasianus V.	
	8	*Suff.* Domitianus V.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
	Veſpaſiani 8	Imp. Veſpaſianus VIII.	Linus *Biſhop of the Church of the* Gentile *Chriſtians at* Rome *ſuffers Martyrdom, having ſate* 12 *years,* 4 *moneths, and* 12 *days: though others allow but* 11 *years,* 2 *moneths, and* 23 *days.*
77		Tit. Veſpaſianus VI.	
	9	*Suff.* Domitianus VI.	
	9	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus.	Antipas *a faithful* Martyr *ſlain at* Pergamus. Onuphr. *by others referred to* Ann. 93.
78	10	C. Cornelius Priſcus.	
	10	Imp. Veſpaſianus IX.	*A great eruption of* Veſuvius; *in the over-curious ſearch whereof* Pliny *the* Elder *periſhed the following year.*
79	*Titus à* Jun. 24 } 1	Tit. Veſpaſianus VII.	
	1	Titus Veſpaſ. Imp. VIII.	Titus *commands* Joſephus *his Hiſtory of the* Jewiſh *War to be laid up in the Library at* Rome.
80	2	Fl. Domitianus VII.	
	2	M. Plautius Sylvanus.	
81	3		
	Domit. à Sept. 13. } 1	M. Annius Verus Pollio.	
	1	Domitianus Imp. VIII.	
82	2	T. Flavius Sabinus.	
	2	Imp. Domitianus IX.	Domitian *baniſhes the Philoſophers out of* Rome *and* Italy, *and ſeverely puniſhes the inceſt of the* Veſtal *Virgins.*
83	3	T. Virginius Rufus II.	
	3	Imp. Domitianus X.	
84	4	Ap. Junius Sabinus.	
	4	Imp. Domitianus XI.	Anianus *S.* Marks *ſucceſſor in the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria, *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Avilius.
85	5	T. Aurelius Fulvus.	
	5	Imp. Domitianus XII.	
86	6	Ser. Cornelius Dolabella.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
87	*Domit.* 6	Imp. Domitianus XIII.	Domitian *aſſumes divine honours, commanding himſelf to be ſtiled* Lord *and* God.
	7	A. Voluſius Saturninus.	
88	7	Imp. Domitianus XIV.	
	8	M. Minucius Rufus.	
89	8	T. Aurelius Fulvius.	*Philoſophers and Mathematicians again baniſhed out of* Rome.
	9	A. Sempronius Atratinus.	
90	9	Imp. Domitianus XV.	Apollonius Tyanæus *the famous Magician, ſet up by the* Gentiles *as Rival to our Saviour is brought before* Domitian, *ſhews tricks of Magic, and is ſaid immediately to vaniſh out of his ſight.*
	10	M. Cocceius Nerva II.	*The* Second *Perſecution.*
91	10	M. Ulpius Trajanus.	* Cletus *Biſhop of* Rome *martyred this (if not rather the foregoing) year,* April 26. *he is ſucceeded by* Clemens, May 16.
	11	M. Acilius Glabrio.	
92	11	Imp. Domitianus XVI.	*About this time S.* John *is ſuppoſed to be ſent by the* Proconſul *of* Aſia *to* Rome, *and by* Domitian *to have been put into a Veſſel of hot oil, and then baniſhed into* Patmos.
	12	A. Voluſius Saturninus II.	
93	12	Sex. Pompeius Collega.	
	13	Cornelius Priſcus.	
94	13	L. Nonius Aſprenas Torquatus.	*S.* John *writes his Book of* Revelations.
	14	M. Arricinius Clemens.	Joſephus *finiſhes his Books of* Jewiſh Antiquities.
95	14	Imp. Domitianus XVII.	*Fl.* Clemens, Domitians *Couſin-german, and* Conſul *with him this year, put to death for being a Chriſtian. His Wife Fl.* Domitilla, Domitians *Neece, baniſhed for the ſame cauſe.*
	15	T. Flavius Clemens *Mart.*	

* This *Cletus* is by the *Greeks*, and that with greateſt probability, made the ſame with *Anacletus*, which breeds a great difference in their account of years. But becauſe the account of the *Greeks* is not ſo clear and ſmooth, we have choſen, in aſſigning the times of the Biſhops of *Rome*, to follow the Writers of that Church.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
96	15 16 *Nerva à* 18.Sept. 1	C. Fulvius Valens. C.Antiſtius Vetus	Nerva *revoking the Acts of* Domitian, *S.* John *is releaſed of his baniſhment, and returns to* Epheſus.
97	1 2	Coc. Nerva Imp. III. T. Virginius Rufus III. *Suff.* C. Cornelius Tacitus, *hiſtoricus.*	*S.* John (*this year probably*) *after ſolemn preparation writes his Goſpel at the earneſt requeſt of the* Aſian *Churches.*
98	2 *Trajan,* à Jan. 27. 1	Imp. Nerva IV. M. Ulpius Trajanus II.	Avilius *dying,* Cerdo *ſucceeds in the See of* Alexandria. *S.* Clemens *Biſhop of* Rome *is baniſhed, and condemned to the Marble Quarries in the* Taurica Cherſoneſus.
99	1 2	C. Sóſius Senecio II. A. Cornelius Palma.	
100	2 3	Imp. Trajanus III. M. Cornelius Fronto III. *Suff.* Plinius *junior.*	*S.* John *dies, and is buried at* Epheſus. *S.* Clemens *of* Rome *is thrown into the Sea, with an anchor tied about his neck,* November 9. *having been ſole Biſhop of* Rome 9 *years,* 11 *moneths, and* 12 *days.*
101	3 4	Imp. Trajanus IV. Sex. Articuleius Pætus.	Anacletus (*according to the computation of the Church of* Rome) *ſucceeds in that See,* April 3.
102	4 5	C. Soſius Senecio III. L. Licinius Sura.	
103	5 6	Imp. Trajanus V. L. Appius Maximus.	Elxai *a falſe Prophet, Author of a new Sect, ariſes.* Epiph. Hæreſ. 19.
104	6 7	L. Licinius Sura II. P. Neratius Marcellus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
105	*Trajani* 7	T. Julius Candidus.	Barſimæus *Biſhop of* Edeſſa *ſuffers Martyrdom; others place it,* Ann. 109.
	8	A. Julius Quadratus.	
106	8	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus.	*The* Greek Menology *mentions* 11000 *Chriſtian Souldiers baniſhed by* Trajan *into* Armenia, *and that* 10000 *of them were crucified upon Mount* Ararat.
	9	L. Tullius Cerealis.	
107	9	C. Soſius Senecio IV.	*The* Third Perſecution *wherein* Simeon *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *crucified in the* 120 *year of his age.*
	10	L. Licinius Sura III.	Ignatius *Biſhop of* Antioch *condemned, and ſent to* Rome *to be thrown to wild Beaſts.*
108	10	Ap. Annius Trebonius Gallus.	Ignatius *his bones are conveyed back to* Antioch, *and there ſolemnly interred.*
	11	M. Atilius Bradua.	
109	11	A. Cornel. Palma II.	Oneſimus *S.* Paul's *Diſciple, whom the Martyrologies make Biſhop of* Epheſus, *ſtoned at* Rome, Feb. 16.
	12	C. Calviſius Tullus II.	Primus *made Biſhop of* Alexandria.
110	12	Clodius Criſpinus.	Euariſtus *ſucceeds* Anacletus *Biſhop of* Rome, *though the* Greeks, *who make* Cletus *and* Anacletus *the ſame perſon, make him immediately to follow* Clemens.
	13	Solenus Orfitus Haſta.	
111	13	L. Calpurnius Piſo.	Juſtus *dying* Zacchæus *ſucceeds in the See of* Jeruſalem.
	14	Vettius Ruſticus Bolanus.	
112	14	Imp. Trajanus VI.	
	15	C. Julius Africanus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
113	*Trajani* 15	L. Publius Celsus.	
	16	C. Clodius Crispinus.	
114	16	Q. Ninnius Hasta.	
	17	P. Manlius Vopiscus.	
115	17	M. Valerius Messala. *vel ut al.* Adrianus & Salinator.	*The* Jews *at* Alexandria, *and about* Cyrene *in* Egypt *rebel, who are slain in great numbers.*
	18	C. Popilius Carus Pedo.	
116	18	Æmilius Ælianus.	Papias *Bishop of* Hierapolis *sets on foot the* Millenarian *Doctrin.*
	19	L. Antistius Vetus.	
117	19	Quinctius Niger.	
	20		
	Adrian ab Aug. 9. 1	T. Vipsanius Apronianus.	
118	1	Imp. Adrianus II.	*The* Fourth Persecution *raised against the Christians, reinforcing that which had been set on foot by* Trajan.
	2	T. Claudius Fuscus	
119	2	Imp. Adrianus III.	*Pope* Evaristus *martyred. He sate 9 years, 3 moneths, 10 days. He was succeeded by* Alexander *a* Roman.
	3	Q. Junius Rusticus.	Justus *made Bishop of* Alexandria.
120	3	L. Catilius Severus.	*The Christians severely prosecuted at* Rome, *whereof many Martyrs, and more driven to hide themselves in the* Cryptæ *and* Cœmeteria *under ground.*
	4	T. Aurelius Fulvus, *postea* Imp. Antoninus.	
121	4	M. Annius Verus II.	*A great tumult at* Alexandria *about the Idol* Apis *found there.*
	5	L. Augur.	
122	5	M. Acilius Aviola.	*The Persecution rages in* Asia, *under the Government of* Arrius Antoninus *the* Proconsul.
	6	Corellius Pansa.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
	Adriani 6	Q. Arrius Pætinus.	Adrian *comes to* Athens, *and is initiated in the* Eleuſinian *myſteries.*
123			Quadratus *Biſhop of* Athens, *and* Ariſtides *preſent Apologies to the Emperour in behalf of the Chriſtians.*
	7	C. Ventidius Apronianus.	
	7	M. Acilius Glabrio.	Serenius Granianus *writes to the Emperour in favour of the Chriſtians, by whoſe Reſcript to* M. Fundanus Proconſul *of* Aſia (Granianus *his ſucceſſor*) *the proceedings againſt them are mitigated.*
124			
	8	C. Bellicius Torquatus.	
	8	P. Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus II.	
125			
	9	Q. Vettius Aquilinus.	
	9	Veſproni⁹ Candid, Ver⁹ II Ambiguus Bibulus. *al.* M. Loll. Pedius	Adrian *reviſits* Athens, *finiſhes and dedicates the Temple of* Jupiter Olympius, *and an Altar to himſelf.*
126			
	10	Q. Jun. Lepidus.	
	10	Gallicanus.	
127			
	11	C. Cælius Titianus.	
	11	L. Nonius Aſprenas Torquatus.	Aquila, *a Kinſman of the Emperours, firſt turns Chriſtian, then apoſtatizing to* Judaiſm, *tranſlates the Old Teſtament into* Greek.
128			
	12	M. Annius Libo.	
	12	Q. Juventius Celſus.	
129			
	13	Q. Julius Balbus.	
	13	Q. Fabius Catullinus.	Ælius Adrianus *having repaired* Jeruſalem, *calls it after his own name,* Ælia.
130			*The Martyrdom of* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome, *after he had ſate* 10 *years,* 5 *moneths,* 20 *days, to whom ſucceeded* Sixtus *a* Roman.
	14	M. Flavius Aper.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Consuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
131	*Adriani.* 14	Ser. Octavius Lænas Pontianus.	Hymenæus *made Biſhop of* Alexandria, *being the ſixth Biſhop of that See.*
	15	M. Antonius Rufinus.	
132	15	Sentius Augurinus.	*The* Jews *rebel againſt the* Romans *under the conduct of* Barchochab *an Impoſtor.*
	16	Arrius Severianus.	Juſtin Martyr *converted to Chriſtianity about this time, or it may be, the following year.*
133	16	Hiberus.	*The* Jews *diſperſed and overcome by the prudent Arts of* Julius Severus *the* Roman *General, though not fully ſuppreſſed till the following year, when* Barchochab *was executed.*
	17	Jul. Silanus Siſenna.	
134	17	C. Julius Servilius Urſus Severianus.	Baſilides *the* Hæreſiarch *makes himſelf famous at* Alexandria.
	18	C. Vibius Juventius Verus.	
135	18	Pompeianus Lupercus.	Marcus, *the firſt of the* Gentile *Converts, made* Biſhop *of* Jeruſalem, *all hitherto having been of the Circumciſion.*
	19	L. Junius Atticus Acilianus.	
136	19	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus.	Getulius, Amantius, Cerealis, *and ſeveral others ſuffer Martyrdom.*
	20	Sex. Vetulenus Pompeianus.	
137	20	L. Ælius Verus Cæſar II.	Phlegon *the* Trallian, *formerly ſervant to the Emperour* Adrian *here ends his Book of* Olympiads. Olym. 229. An. 1.
	21	P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius.	
138	21 *Antoninus Pius* Jul. 10	Sulpicius Camerinus.	
	1	Quinct. Niger Magnus.	
139	1	Imp. Antoninus Pius II.	
	2	Bruttius Præſens.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
140	*Antonini Pii.* 2	Imp.Anton.Pius III.	*Upon* Sixtus *his Martyrdom* Teleſphorus *is choſen Biſhop of* Rome, *according to the* Roman *account.*
	3	M. Aurelius Cæſar.	J. Martyr *preſents his firſt (uſually put ſecond) Apology for the Chriſtians.*
141	3	M. Peducæus Syloga Priſcinus.	
	4	T. Hoenius Severus.	
142	4	L. Cuſpius Rufinus.	*About this time the moſt abſurd and ſenſleſs Heretics, the* Ophitæ, Cainitæ, *and* Sethiani *ariſe.*
	5	L. Statius Quadratus.	
143	5	C. Bellicius Torquatus.	
	6	T. Claudius Atticus Herodes.	
144	6	Lollianus Avitus.	Eumenes *or* Hymenæus *Biſhop of* Alexandria *dies*, Marcus *the ſeventh Biſhop of that See ſucceeds.*
	7	C. Gavius Maximus.	Valentinus *the Heretic appears.*
145	7	Imp. Anton. Pius IV.	
	8	M. Aurelius Cæſar II.	
146	8	Sex. Erucius Clarus II.	Marcion *after his frequent recantations, again lapſes into Hereſie, which he propagates more induſtriouſly then before.*
	9	Cn. Claudius Severus.	
147	9	M. Valerius Largus.	
	10	M. Valerius Meſſalinus.	
148	10	C. Bellicius Torquatus II.	
	11	M. Salvius Julianus II.	
149	11	Ser. Cornelio Scipio Orfito.	Celadion *ſucceeds as the eighth Biſhop of* Alexandria.
	12	Q. Nonius Priſcus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Consuls.*	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
150	*Anton. Pii.* 12	Romulus Gallicanus.	
	13	Antistius Vetus.	
151	13	Sex. Quinctilius Gordianꝰ.	
	14	Sex. Quinct. Maximus.	
152	14	Sex. Acilius Glabrio.	*Pope* Telesphorus *martyred, having sate* 11 *years,* 9 *moneths,* 3 *days.* Petav. *&c.* Hyginus *succeeds.*
	15	C. Valerius Omollus Varianus.	
153	15	Bruttius Præsens II.	
	16	M. Antonius Rufinus.	
154	16	L. Aurelius Cæsar.	* Anicetus *according to the account of the* Greeks *succeeds about this time in the See of* Rome, *not long after which S.* Polycarp *comes thither: and this no doubt much truer then the computation of the Church of* Rome.
	17	Sextilius Lateranus.	
155	17	C. Julius Severus.	
	18	M. Rufinus Sabinianus.	
156	18	Plautius Sylvanus.	*Pope* Hyginus *martyred, after he had sitten four years, wanting two days, to whom* Pius *succeeds.* Petav. Ricciol. Briet. *&c.*
	19	Sentius Augurinus.	
157	19	Barbatus.	
	20	Regulus.	
158	20	Q. Fl. Tertullus.	
	21	Licinius Sacerdos.	
159	21	Plautius Quinctillus.	
	22	Statius Priscus.	

*In the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Rome* recorded by *Optatus* and S. *Augustin*, *Anicetus* is set before *Pius:* according to which account *Anicetus* his succession in that See, and consequently *Polycarps* coming to *Rome*, must be placed fifteen years sooner. See the life of S. *Polycarp*, Num. IV. p. 115.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
160	*Anton. Pii.* 22	T. Vibius Barus.	
	23	Ap. Annius Bradua.	
161	23 *M. Aurelius L. Ælius Verus:* à 6. Martii. 1	M. Aurelius Cæſar III. L. Ælius Verus Cæſar II.	
162	1	Q. Junius Ruſticus.	Juſtin *the* Martyr *preſents his other Apology to the Emperour in behalf of the Chriſtians.*
	2	Vettius Aquilinus.	*The Fifth Perſecution begun.*
163	2	L. Papirius Ælianus.	Juſtin *ſuffered Martyrdom (probably about this time) at* Rome, *or at moſt, the next year.*
	3	Junius Paſtor.	
164	3	C. Julius Macrinus.	Marcus *and* Timotheus *martyred at* Rome.
	4	L. Cornelius Celſus.	
165	4	L. Arrius Pudens.	*Upon Pope* Pius *his martyrdom,* Anicetus *is advanced into the Chair: though* Euſebius *and the* Greeks *according to their accompt, make his Pontificate Commence,* Ann. Chriſt. 154. *and accordingly fix the time of* Polycarps *coming to* Rome.
	5	M. Gavius Orfitus.	
166	5	Q. Servilius Pudens.	
	6	L. Fuſidius Pollio.	
167	6	L. Aurelius Verus.	S. Polycarp *Biſhop of* Smyrna *ſuffers Martyrdom there, together with* Germanicus *and others.*
	7	T. Numidius Quadratus.	
168	7	T. Junius Montanus.	Theophilus *made Biſhop of* Antioch, *who learnedly defends the cauſe of Chriſtianity againſt the* Gentiles, Euſebius *refers it to the following year.*
	8	L. Vettius Paulus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
169	*M. Aurelii* } 8 *L. Ælii* } *Veri.* }	Soſius Priſcus.	Gervaſius *and* Protaſius *undergo Martyrdom about this time at* Millain.
	9	Q. Cælius Apollinaris.	
170	9	L. Julius Clarus.	Melito *Biſhop of* Sardis, *and* Apollinaris *Biſhop of* Hierapolis *preſent their Apologetics to the Emperour for the Chriſtians.*
	10	M. Aurelius Cethegus.	
171	10	L. Septimius Severus II. *al.* T. Tibinus Serenus.	Montanus *and his Accomplices Authors of the new Prophecy, begin now more plainly to diſcover themſelves, having craftily broached their errours ſome years before.*
	11	Herennianus. *al.* C. Scoedius Natta.	
172	11	Claudius Maximus.	Tatian, *heretofore* Juſtin Martyrs *Scholar, becomes authour of the Sect, called* Encratitæ.
	12	Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	Bardeſanes *the* Syrian *infected with* Valentinianiſm.
173	12	Claudius Severus.	*Pope* Aniceſus *crowned with Martyrdom, having been Biſhop of* Rome 8 *years*, 2 *moneths*, 7 *days.*
	13	T. Claudius Pompeianus.	Soter *ſucceeds.*
174	13	Annius Trebonius Gallus.	M. Aurelius *his Victory over the* Quadi *and* Marcomanni *in* Germany, *gained by the Prayers of the Chriſtian Legion.*
	14	L. Flaccus.	
175	14	Calpurnius Piſo.	
	15	M. Salvius Julianus.	
176	15	T. Vitraſius Pollio.	
	16	M. Flavius Aper.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
177	*M.Aurel.*16	L. Aurel.Commodus Imp.	Soter *being taken away by martyrdom,* Eleutherus *a* Greek *ſucceeds in the Church of* Rome.
	17	Plautius Quinctillus.	Athenagoras *the Chriſtian Philoſopher of* Athens *is now ſuppoſed to have preſented his Apology.*
178	17	Vettius Rufus.	*The foregoing year a Perſecution raged horribly in* France, *wherein beſides many others died* Pothinus *Biſhop of* Lyons, *to whom ſucceeded* Irenæus, *the year following.*
	18	Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	
179	18	Imp. L.Aurelius Commodus II.	*The* Cataphrygian *Hereſie greatly prevails.*
	19	Veſpronius Candidus Verus.	
180	19	Bruttius Præſens II.	Julianus *created Biſhop of* Alexandria.
	Commodus à Mart.16. 1	Sex. Quinctilius Gordianus.	Pantænus *a Chriſtian Philoſopher opens the* Catechetic *School at* Alexandria.
181	1	Imp.Commodus III.	*The Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians much abated.*
	2	Antiſtius Burrhus.	
182	2	Petronius Mamertinus.	Theodotion *of* Pontus, *firſt a* Marcionite, *then a* Jew, *tranſlates the Old Teſtament into* Greek.
	3	Trebellius Rufus.	*The Temple of* Serapis *at* Alexandria *burnt down.*
183	3	Imp. Commodus IV.	
	4	M.Aufidius Victorinus.	
184	4	M. Eggius Marullus *ſeu* Marcellus.	Commodus *introduces the worſhip of* Iſis (*formerly prohibited*) *into* Rome.
	5	M.Papirius Ælianus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
185	*Commodi* 5	Triarius Maternus.	
	6	M. Atilius Metilius Bradua	
186	6	Imp. Commodus V.	*About this time* Lucius *a Prince of* Britain *is ſaid to have ſent Letters to Pope* Eleutherius *to furniſh him with Preachers to publiſh the Chriſtian Faith in theſe parts.*
	7	M. Acilius Glabrio.	Origen *born.*
187	7	Tullius *ſeu* Clodius Criſpinus.	Apollonius *a great Philoſopher, and (as S.*Hierom *affirms) a* Senator, *pleads his own, and the cauſe of the Chriſtian Religion before the Senate, for which he ſuffers Martyrdom.*
	8	Papirius Ælianus.	
188	8	C. Allius Fuſcianus.	*The* Capitol *burnt by Lightning, which deſtroyed the adjacent buildings, eſpecially the famous Libraries.*
	9	Duillius Silanus.	
189	9	Junius Silanus.	Demetrius *ordained Biſhop of* Alexandria, *who ſate* 43 *years.*
	10	Q. Servilius Silanus.	Serapion *made Biſhop of* Antioch, *this, or as others, the following year.*
190	10	Imp. Commodus VI.	Commodus *will have himſelf accounted* Hercules, *the ſon of* Jupiter, *and accordingly habits himſelf; with other extravagant inſtances of folly.*
	11	Petronius Septimianus.	
191	11	Caſſius Apronianus.	Julian *a* Senator, *and many others ſaid to be martyred about this time.*
	12	M. Attilius Metilius Bradua II.	
192	12	Imp. Commodus VII.	*Pope* Eleutherius *having ſate* 15 *years and* 23 *days, dies; in whoſe room* Victor *an* African *ſucceeds.*
	13	P. Helvius Pertinax.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
193	*Pertinax* à 1 Januar. *Did. Julian,* à Mart. 28. *Severus* à Maii 11. 1	Q. Sofius Falco. C. Julius Clarus.	
194	*Severi* 1	Imp. Severus II.	Clemens Alexandrinus Pantænus *his Scholar and ſucceſſor in the Catechetic School, was famous about this time.*
	2	Clodius Albinus Cæſar II.	*Pope* Victor *excommunicates* Theodorus *the Heretic.*
195	2	Q. Fl. Tertullus.	Narciſſus *made Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. *He is famous for miracles and an holy life.*
	3	T. Fl. Clemens.	
196	3	Cn. Domitius Dexter.	*Pope* Victor *revives the controverſie about the celebration of* Eaſter, *threatens to excommunicate the* Aſiatic *Churches, for which he is ſeverely reproved by many, and eſpecially by* Irenæus. *Several Synods holden to this purpoſe.*
	4	L. Valeri⁹ Meſſala Priſcus.	
197	4	Ap. Claudius Lateranus.	*The* Jews *and* Samaritans *rebel, and are overcome, and their Religion ſtrictly forbidden.* Severus *triumphs for that Victory.*
	5	M. Marius Rufinus.	
198	5	Tib. Aterius Saturninus.	
	6	C. Annius Treboni⁹ Gallus	
199	6	P. Cornelius Anulinus.	Severus *creates his ſon* Antoninus *Emperour, his ſon* Geta Cæſar, *and beſtows a large* Donative *upon the Souldiers, which gave occaſion to* Tertullian *to write his Book* De Corona.
	7	M. Aufidius Fronto.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
200	*Severi* 7	Tib. Claudius Severus.	*The Chriſtians at* Rome *ſeverely treated by* Plautianus *Præfect of the City, and in* Afric *by* Saturninus *the* Proconſul.
	8	C. Aufidius Victorinus.	Tertullian *writes his Apologetic either this, or the following year.*
201	8	L. Annius Fabianus.	*Pope* Victor *after 9 years, and 2 moneths, being martyred, leaves the place to* Zephyrinus.
	9	M. Nonius Mucianus.	Tertullian *preſents his Diſcourſe to the Preſident* Scapula.
202	9	Imp. Severus III.	*The* Sixth Perſecution; *wherein* Leonidas, Origens *Father ſuffers Martyrdom at* Alexandria : Irenæus *at* Lyons *in* France.
	10	Imp. Antoninus Caracalla.	
203	10	P. Septimius Geta.	Origen *a very Youth ſets up a* Grammar *School at* Alexandria, *and becomes famous.*
	11	L. Septimius Plautianus.	*At* 18 *years of Age he is preferred by* Demetrius *the Biſhop to be Inſtructor of the Catechumens.*
204	11	L. Fabius Chilo Septimius.	*The* Secular *Games celebrated at* Rome, *upon which occaſion, probably,* Tertullian *wrote his Book* De Spectaculis, *and it may be, that* De Idololatria.
	12	M. Annius Libo.	
205	12	Imp. Antoninus Caracalla II.	
	13	P. Septimius Geta Cæſar.	
206	13	M. Nummi⁹ Annius Albin⁹.	Origen *makes the famous attempt upon himſelf, in making himſelf an* Eunuch.
	14	Fulvius Æmilianus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
207	*Severi* 14	M. Flavius Aper.	Tertullian *writes againſt the* Marcionites; *and his Book* De Pallio, *and was then (probably) made Presbyter of* Carthage.
	15	Q. Allius Maximus.	*About this time* Minucius Felix *is ſuppoſed to publiſh his Dialogue called* Octavius.
208	15	Imp. Antoninus Caracalla III.	
	16	P. Septimius Geta Cæſar II.	
209	16	T. Claudius Pompeianus.	
	17	Lollianus Avitus.	
210	17	M. Acilius Fauſtinus.	
	18	C. Cæſonius Macer Rufinianus.	
211	18	Q. Epidius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus.	
	Antoninus Caracalla à 4 Febr. 1	Pomponius Baſſus.	
212	1	M. Pompeius Aſper.	Alexander *a* Cappadocian *Biſhop, made Biſhop of* Jeruſalem.
	2	P. Aſper.	
213	2	Imp. Caracalla IV.	
	3	P. Cælius Balbinus.	
214	3	Silius Meſſala.	*A diſputation held at* Rome *between* Caius *and* Proclus *one of* Montanus *his Diſciples; whereupon Pope* Zephyrin *excluded* Proclus *and* Tertullian *communion with the Church of* Rome, *which occaſioned* Tertullians *ſtarting aſide to* Montanus *his Party.*
	4	Q. Aquilius Sabinus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Conſuls.	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
215	*Antonini* 4	Æmilius Lætus.	Tertullian *writes againſt the Orthodox, againſt whom he inveighs under the name of* Pſychici.
	5	Anicius Cerealis.	
216	5	Q. Aquilius Sabinus II.	
	6	Sex. Corn. Anulinus.	
217	6		*A* Greek *Tranſlation of the Bible, called the* Fifth Edition, *found in a Hogs-head at* Jericho, *inſerted by* Origen *into his* Octapla.
	7 *Macrinus & Diadumen. F* 1 *à* 10. April.	Bruttius Præſens	
		Extricatus.	
218	2	Anton. Diadumenus Cæſar.	
	Antoninus Elagabalus 1 *à* 7 Jun.	Adventus.	
219	1	Imp. Elagabalus II.	*Pope* Zephyrin *dies. He ſate 22 years, and ſo many days. Succeeded by* Calliſtus.
	2	Licinius Sacerdos.	
220	2	Imp. Elagabalus III.	Julius Africanus *a famous Chriſtian Writer, ſent upon an Embaſſie to the Emperour, for the rebuilding of* Nicopolis (*anciently* Emmaus) *a City in* Paleſtin.
	3	M. Aurelius Eutychianus Comazon.	
221	3	Annius Gratus.	
	4	Claudius Seleucus.	
222	4	Imp. Elagabalus IV.	Hippolytus *Biſhop of* Portus *compoſes his* Paſchal *Canon.*
	Alexander Mam. 1 *à* Martii 6.	M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Cæſar.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
	Alexandri		
	1	Maximus.	*Among the famous men of this time was* Ulpian *the Lawyer, who collected all the Imperial Edicts formerly publiſhed againſt the Chriſtians.*
223	2	Papirius Ælianus.	
	2	Claudius Julianus.	*The Chriſtians cruelly perſecuted at* Rome *at the inſtigation of* Ulpian *the great Lawyer.*
224	3	Claudius Criſpinus.	*Pope* Calliſtus *martyred, after he had ſate* 5 *years,* 1 *moneth,* 12 *days.* Urban *choſen in his room.*
	3	L. Turpilius Dexter.	
225	4	M. Mæcius Rufus.	
	4	Imp. Alexander II.	
226	5	C. Quinctilius Marcellus.	
	5	D. Cælius Balbinus II.	
227	6	M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus.	Hippolytus *Biſhop of* Portus *ſuffers Martyrdom.*
	6	Vettius Modeſtus.	Origen *ordained Presbyter by* Alexander *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *and* Theoctiſtus *of* Cæſarea.
228	7	Probus.	
	7	Imp. Alexander III.	
229	8	Dio Caſſius *hiſtoricus.*	*The* Sixth Greek Edition *found at* Nicopolis.
	8	Calpurnius Agricola.	Origen *proſecuted, and Synodically condemned by* Demetrius *Biſhop of* Alexandria.
230	9	Clementinus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
231	*Alexandri* 9	T. Claudius Pompeianus.	Origen *reſigns up his Catechetic School to his Scholar* Heraclas, *who is ſoon after choſen Biſhop of* Alexandria.
	10	Felicianus.	*Pope* Urban *beheaded. He is ſucceeded by* Pontianus.
232	10	Julius Lupus.	Origen *departs from* Alexandria, *and fixes his reſidence at* Cæſarea *in* Paleſtin.
	11	Maximus.	Plotinus *becomes* Ammonius *his Scholar at* Alexandria.
233	11	Maximus II.	
	12	Ovinius Paternus.	
234	12	Maximus III.	Pontianus *Biſhop of* Rome *baniſhed into* Sardinia.
	13	Urbanus.	
235	13 14	L. Catilius Severus.	Maximinus *raiſes the* Seventh Perſecution *againſt the Chriſtians.* Origen *writes his exhortation to Martyrdom.*
	Maximinus à 18 Martii 1	L. Ragonius Urinatius Quintianus.	*Pope* Pontianus *ſuffers martyrdom in* Sardinia. Anterus *ſucceeds in the Chair.*
236	1	Imp. Maximinus.	Anterus *ſcarce having poſſeſſed his place one moneth, is ſlain; and* Fabian *elected in his room.*
	2	C. Julius Africanus.	
237	2 3	P. Titius Perpetuus.	
	Pupienus Balbinus à Maii 26. 1	L. Ovinius Ruſticus Cornelianus.	
238	1	M. Ulpius Crinitus.	
	Gordianus à Menſe Martii. 1	C. Nonius Proculus Pontianus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
239	*Gordiani* 1	Imp. Gordianus.	Zebinus *Biſhop of* Antioch *dies*; Babylas *is choſen to that See.*
	2	M. Acilius Aviola.	
240	2	Vettius Sabinus.	*About this time* Origen *is thought to have taken his ſecond journey to* Athens, *where he finiſhed his Commentaries upon* Ezekiel.
	3	Venuſtus.	
241	3	Imp. Gordianus II.	
	4	T. Claudi⁹ Pompeian⁹ II.	
242	4	C. Aufidius Atticus.	
	5	C. Aſinius Prætextatus.	
243	5	C. Julius Africanus.	Origen *is ſent for into* Arabia, *where he diſputes with, and converts* Beryllus *from his unſound and erroneous opinions.*
	6	Æmilius Pappus.	
244	6	Fulvius Æmilianus.	
	Philipp⁹ à menſe April. 1	Peregrinus.	
245	1	Imp. Philippus.	
	2	Tib. Fabius Titianus.	
246	2	Bruttius Præſens.	Dionyſius, *one of* Origens *Scholars, and ſucceſſors in the* Schola Κατηχήσεων, *made Biſhop of* Alexandria.
	3	Nummius Albinus.	
247	3	Imp. Philippus II.	*The* Annus Milleſimus ab U.C. *begun this, ended the following year, and celebrated by the Emperour with all imaginable ſolemnity and magnificence.*
	4	M. Philippus F. Cæſar.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.		*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
248	*Philippi*	4	Imp. Philippus III.	Cyprian *choſen Biſhop of* Carthage.
		5	M. Julius Philippus F. II.	
249	*Decius* à Maio.	5	Fulvius Æmilianus II.	*A tumult raiſed at* Alexandria *by an Impoſtor, gives occaſion to a preliminary Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians there.*
		6		
		1	Vettius Aquilinus.	
250		1	Imp. Meſſius Decius.	*The* Eighth Perſecution *raiſed by* Decius. *S.* Cyprian *in retirement.* *Pope* Fabian *martyred. After whoſe deceaſe a vacancy in that See for above a year,* Novatian *endeavouring to thruſt himſelf in.*
		2	Annius Maximus Grátus.	
251	*Gallus & Voluſianus F.* à Dec.	2	Imp. Decius II.	*Great Schiſms in the* African *Churches about the lapſed.* Cornelius *elected Biſhop of* Rome.
		3		
		1	Q. Etruſcus Deci⁹ F. Cæſar.	
252		1	Imp. Trebonian⁹ Gallus II.	*The* Novatian *Doctrines condemned in a Synod of* 60 *Biſhops at* Rome. *The Emperours renew the Perſecution begun under* Decius. *A great mortality throughout the World.*
		2	C. Vibius Voluſianus.	
253	*Valerianus* cum *Gallieno F.* à Dec.	2	C. Vibius Voluſianus II.	Cornelius *firſt baniſhed, then recalled, cruelly beaten, and at laſt beheaded.* Lucius *ſucceeds him.*
		3		
		1	M. Valerius Maximus.	
254		1	Imp. Licinius Valerianus II	Origen *dies, and is buried at* Tyre. Valerian *the Emperour at firſt a great Patron of the Chriſtians.*
		2	Imp. Gallienus.	
255		2	Imp. Valerianus III.	*Pope* Lucius *after one year, and three moneths ſuffers Martyrdom.* Stephen *a* Roman *choſen to be his ſucceſſor.*
		3	Imp. Gallienus II.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
256	*Valeriani* 3	M. Valerius Maximus.	*The great controverſie about the rebaptizing ſuch as had been baptized by Heretics hotly ventilated.*
	4	M. Acilius Glabrio.	*The heats between* Cyprian *and* Stephen *of* Rome.
257	4	Imp. Valerianus IV.	*The* Nineth Perſecution *begun by* Valerian.
	5	Imp. Gallienus III.	Sabellius *confounds the perſons in the Trinity, and ſpreads his Hereſie.*
258	5	M. Aurelius Memmius Fuſcus.	*Pope* Stephen *ſlain* Aug. 2. *which others refer to the foregoing year.* Sixtus *ſucceeds.*
	6	Pomponius Baſſus.	*S.* Cyprian *beheaded at* Carthage, Sept. 14.
259	6 *Gallienus ſolus, capto Valer.*	Fulvius Æmilianus *al.* Gallienus IV.	*Pope* Sixtus *and his* Deacon Laurentius *receive the Crown of Martyrdom.*
	7	Pomponius Baſſus II. *al.* Valerianus *jun.*	Dionyſius *ſucceeds in the See of* Rome.
260	7	Cornelius Secularis.	Paul *of* Samoſata *made Biſhop of* Antioch.
	8	Junius Donatus.	Gallienus *ſtops the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians.*
261	8	Imp. Gallienus IV.	Dionyſius *Biſhop of* Alexandria *writes to Pope* Dionyſius *to vindicate himſelf from the ſuſpicion of* Sabellianiſm *charged upon him.*
	9	Voluſianus.	
262	9	Imp. Gallienus V.	Æmylian *attempts to make himſelf Emperour, and beſieges* Alexandria, *where the Chriſtians are reduced to great ſtraits.*
	10	App. Pompeius Fauſtinus.	
263	10	Nummius Albinus.	
	11	Maximus Dexter.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
264	*Gallieni* 11	Imp. Gallienus VI.	
	12	Æmilius Saturninus.	
265	12	Valerianus Cæſar II.	*A Synod held at* Antioch *againſt* Paulus Samoſatenus *the Biſhop of it.*
	13	L. Cæſonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus.	Dionyſius *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and* Gregory *Biſhop of* Neocæſarea *depart this life.*
266	13	Imp. Gallienus VII.	Hymenæus *ordained Biſhop of* Jeruſalem.
	14	Sabinillus.	
267	14	Ovinius Paternus.	
	15	Arceſilaus.	
268	15	Ovinius Paternus II.	Claudius *the Emperour perſecutes the Chriſtians at* Rome.
	Claudius à Mart. 21. 1	Marinianus.	
269	1	Imp. Aur. Claudius.	
	2	Ovinius Paternus III.	
270	2	Flavius Antiochianus.	*Another* Synod *held at* Antioch, *wherein* Paul *of* Samoſata *is condemned and depoſed, and* Domnus *placed in his room.*
	Aurelianus à Mart. 1	Furius Orfitus.	*Pope* Dionyſius *dies*, Decem. 26.
271	1	Imp. Aurelianus.	Felix *choſen Biſhop of* Rome.
	2	Pomponius Baſſus *al.* C. Jul. Capitolinus.	
272	2	Quietus.	*Many ſuffer Martyrdom about this time.*
	3	Voldumianus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.		*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
273	*Aureliani*	3	M. Claudius Tacitus.	
		4	Furius Placidianus.	
274		4	Imp. Aurelianus II.	Zenobia *Queen of the* Palmyreni, *a* Jeweſs, *and (if ſome might be credited) a* Chriſtian, *overcome by* Aurelian, *and carried in triumph to* Rome.
		5	C. Julius Capitolinus.	
275		5	Imp. Aurelianus III.	*Pope* Felix *crowned with martyrdom, after he had ſitten 4 years and 5 moneths. His ſucceſſor was* Eutychianus *a* Tuſcan.
	Tacitus à 25. Sept.	1	T. Nonius Marcellinus.	
276		1	Imp. M. Cl. Tacitus II.	
	Florianus April 12.			
	Probus à Jul. 1.	1	Fulvius Æmilianus.	
277		1	Imp. Aurelius Probus.	*The* Manichæan *Hereſie ſprings up, planted by* Manes *a* Perſian, *originally called* Curbicum, *the Author of that wild and execrable Sect.*
		2	Anicius Paulinus *al.* M. Furius Lupus.	
278		2	Imp. Probus II.	Anatolius *Biſhop of* Laodicea, *eminent for his ſkill in Philoſophy and Humane Learning. He had formerly been Colleague with* Theotecnus *Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Palæſtin. Cyrillus *the* 18 *Biſhop of* Antioch.
		3	M. Furius Lupus *al.* Virius.	
279		3	Imp. Probus III.	
		4	Ovinius Paternus *al.* C. Junius Tiberianus.	
280		4	Junius Meſſala.	
		5	Gratus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.		*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
281	*Probi*	5	Imp. Probus IV.	Theonas *created Biſhop of* Alexandria, *the* 15 *Biſhop of that Church.*
		6	C. Junius Tiberianus.	
282	*Carus cum FF. Numeriano, Carino* Aug. 12.	6		
		7	Imp. Probus V.	
		1	Pomponius Victorinus.	
283		1	Imp. M. Carus.	
		2	M. A. Carinus Cæſar.	
284		2	Imp. Carinus.	Eutychianus *Biſhop of* Rome *crowned with Martyrdom*, Decem. 8. *His ſucceſſor was* Caius, *a* Dalmatian, *and a Kinſman (as is ſaid) of* Diocleſian.
	Dioclesianus à Sept. 17.	1	Imp. Numerianus.	*The* Diocleſian *Æra begins here.*
285		1	Imp. Diocleſianus II.	
		2	Ariſtobulus.	
286		2	Maximus Junius Priſcillianus.	*The Thebæan *Legion under the command of* Mauricius, *being ſent to attend upon* Maximian *in his expedition againſt the* Bagaudæ, *and refuſing to do ſacrifice, are firſt decimated, and then univerſally deſtroyed at* Octodurus *in* France.
		3	Vettius Aquilinus.	
287		3	Imp. Diocleſianus III.	Diocleſian *and* Maximian *write to the* Proconſul *of* Afric *to puniſh the* Manichees, *to burn their Books, execute their Perſons, and confiſcate their Eſtates.*
		4	Imp. Maximianus Herculeus.	

* Though this ſeems the moſt proper period for the Martyrdom of the *Thebæan* Legion when *Maximian* was ſent againſt the Rebels in *France*; yet is it ſaid in the Acts of their Martyrdom, that in their journey out of the *Eaſt*, they came to *Rome*, and were confirmed in the Faith by *Marcellinus* then Biſhop of it. Which if ſo, they could not ſuffer ſooner then *Ann. Chr.* CCXCVI. when *Marcellinus* ſucceeded in that See.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
288	*Dioclesiani* 4	M. Aurelius Maximus.	
	5	Pomponius Januarius.	
289	5	Annius Baſſus.	
	6	L. Ragonius Quinctianus.	
290	6	Imp. Dioclesianus IV.	Tharacus, Probus, *and* Andronicus *ſuffer Martyrdom at* Tarſus *in* Cilicia.
	7	Imp. Maximianus Herculeus II.	
291	7	C. Junius Tiberianus.	
	8	Caſſius Dio.	
292	8	Afranius Hannibalianus.	
	9	M Aur. Aſclepiodotus.	
293	9	Imp. Dioclesianus V.	Dioclesian *aſſumes the title of* Lord, *challenges divine honours, and ſuffers himſelf to be adored as God.*
	10	Imp. Maximianus III.	
294	10	Conſtantius Chlorus Cæſar.	
	11	Galerius Maximianus Cæſar.	
295	11	Nummius Tuſcus.	
	12	Annius Cornelius Anulinus.	
296	12	Imp. Dioclesianus VI.	Caius *Biſhop of* Rome *martyred* April 22. Marcellinus *a* Roman *ſucceeds in the Government of that Church, who in the* Dioclesian *Perſecution lapſed and ſacrificed to Idols, though recovering he died a Martyr.*
	13	Conſtantius Cæſar II.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	*Conſuls.*	Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.
0	*Diocleſiani* 13	Imp. Maximianus Herculeus V.	
297	14	Galerius Cæſar II.	
	14	Anicius Fauſtus.	
298			Zabdas *ordained the* 27 *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem.
	15	Severus Gallus.	
	15	Imp. Diocleſianus VII.	
299			
	16	Imp. Maximianus Herculeus VI.	
0	16	Conſtantius Chlorus Cæſar III.	*The Chriſtians at* Rome *haraſſed out in working at* Diocleſians Baths, *moſt of whom, when the Work was finiſhed, were put to death, though the* Tenth Perſecution *did not univerſally begin till three years after,* Ann. Chr. 303. Diocleſ. 19.
300	17	Galerius Armentarius Cæſar III.	

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